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# HOME RULE IN A NUTSHELL.

A POCKET BOOK FOR SPEAKERS AND  
ELECTORS.

*CONTAINING A BRIEF EXPOSITION OF THE  
ARGUMENTS FOR HOME RULE, AND ANSWERS  
TO THE OBJECTIONS RAISED. :: :: ::*

BY

JEREMIAH MACVEAGH, M.P.

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, M.P.,  
*First Lord of the Admiralty.*

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*FOURTH EDITION, REVISED, ENLARGED AND RESET.*

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London :

**THE DAILY CHRONICLE, Fleet Street.**

THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY, 2 Great Smith Street.

HOME RULE COUNCIL, Great Smith Street.

Dublin :

SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER, 86 Middle Abbey Street.



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# INTRODUCTION

BY

**RIGHT HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, M.P.,**

*First Lord of the Admiralty.*

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The facts and arguments collected in this brief epitome deserve the attention of fair-minded and patriotic Englishmen. They represent in a temperate and compendious form the appeal of an Irishman for the grant of an Irish Parliament, and thus express once more what has been the persistent and consistent desire of the great majority of the Irish people ever since the Act of Union more than a hundred years ago. We in Great Britain, however, are called upon to examine this appeal from a British and from an Imperial point of view. Its sincerity is beyond dispute. We should naturally wish to accede to it. But can we wisely and safely do so? How will Irish Home Rule affect the unity of the British Empire and the integrity of the United Kingdom? How will it touch the fortunes of the British race? Will it strengthen Great Britain in the modern world? Is it on the true lines of Imperial development? Will it make us more secure from dangers, and better able to overcome them in the hour of need? If the answers to these questions are unfavourable, the British people might well be forced in these stern and unrestful times to return a negative answer. But if they are favourable, what a sorry part will a man have played who out of carelessness, prejudice, or partisanship is guilty of obstructing a settlement earnestly desired by the Irish people, and politic and necessary in itself!

It is because we believe that the answers to these questions will be found to be extremely reassuring to all who examine the Home Rule question with sincerity, that we confidently anticipate a good and enduring arrangement. The House of Commons is overwhelmed with unsifted business. Home Rule will relieve it. The British Parliamentary system is not sufficiently representative of the local and provincial life of the nation. Home Rule all round will, by opening other roads to political distinction, notably enrich it. New and vivifying pulses will begin to beat, and the new nerve centres of a higher organism will spring into being. The two greatest modern States with whom we have to compete, the German Empire and the American Union, are to-day administered respectively through 23 and 46 separate but subordinate Parliaments. And this is the only way by which the whole strength of a twentieth century community can be effectually applied to government and progress.

It is idle to argue that centralisation is right, or that devolution is right. These terms are purely relative. Neither is exclusive. Either separately would be wrong. The truth resides in a harmonious combination of the two. The movement of the modern world is not towards the concentration of millions of individuals upon a single centre, but the consolidation around that centre not of individuals, but of other perfectly formed subsidiary centres. This is the true type and model alike of the great modern nation, and of the extended Empire, in which both Devolution and Centralisation must proceed simultaneously or successively to a harmonious balance, in which all services necessary to national or Imperial unity and strength are ever more highly centralised, and in which all other business not affecting the whole body is continually devolved to lesser centres which become themselves in natural freedom the replenishing cells of energy and life.

Truly comprehended, many groups of phenomena are seen to relate to the same fundamental principles. The balance of



divided functions described above is noticed in industrial economics as the division and combination of labour. It is the essence of every effective military organisation. Even a unit so small as a cavalry squadron conforms to it. Although here all training seeks to procure the maximum of cohesion for a single attacking line, yet each troop is within its proper scope autonomous and self-contained, and each drills and dresses by its own centre guide and troop leader. It is only after this first indispensable stage has been established that the superior grouping is attempted, and it is only because the first stage has been attained that the larger formation becomes possible. Who has not heard of the glories of the Union Brigade at Waterloo? How often has its fame been proclaimed as an example of Unionism? Yet, there never was a body which was more essentially Federal in its character. Each of its three regiments, the Royals, the Inniskillings, and the Greys, was organised separately, under its own officers, with its own interior economy, and with its own traditions, *upon a national basis*, and then, and not till then, combined together. It is not intended to press this analogy too far. But to what a nondescript and unwieldy mob would a general have reduced that noble brigade, who had sought to eliminate the principle of nationality, and to melt the three component regiments into one single mass of red-coated cavalry soldiers! To march with the movement of the ever-growing world, to stand the strain of an ever tenser competition, it is vitally necessary that we, like our most formidable rivals, should know how to combine the fullest expression of national and local aspirations and activities with the strongest framework of Imperial unity. We can do it if we try; and we can do it now.

As the latest century unfolds the whole world to our eyes, the larger syntheses are revealed. We see the four consolidations of the human family which, measured in terms of energy and force, realised or latent, are in the ascendant—the Russian power, the Yellow races, the Teutonic alliance, and the English-speaking peoples. There is no solution of a political

question which would give more unaffected pleasure than the grant of Home Rule through all the self-governing dominions of the British Empire. We must not, as Lord Salisbury in his last great speech reminded us, expect that the vast developments which the mind foresees will take place within the compass of our own short lives. But still it must always be a guiding star of British statesmanship, not only to federate that Empire, but to draw nearer in bonds of friendship and association to the people of the United States. We have seen even in the last fifteen years very great and good changes take place, altering sensibly the point of view from which the two nations regard each other. The reconciliation of the English and the Irish peoples is all that is needed to still the last voices of antiquated hostility. The road to the unity of the English-speaking races, with all that that carries with it, is, no doubt, a long one, and we cannot see the end of it. But it is an open road, and an Irish Parliament, loyal to the Crown, and free to make the best of the Emerald Isle, is assuredly the first milestone upon it.

## FOREWORD.

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THE welcome extended to the previous Editions of this little volume has so far exceeded my most sanguine anticipations that it is now necessary to again revise it for another issue. Its circulation is already approaching a quarter of a million, which in itself would go to show the existence of a want for a statement of the Home Rule case in a popular form and at a popular price.

I have availed of the opportunity to bring the figures up to date, and I have added a number of new sections dealing with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's Home Rule record; the views of other leading Unionists such as Disraeli, the late Marquess of Salisbury, Lord Llandaff, Lecky, Goldwin Smith, etc.; and a selection of the more recent disloyal utterances from the lips of the self-styled "Loyalists" of North-East Ulster. I have also inserted Maps illustrative of the attitude of Ulster and of Ireland to the movement for Self-Government.

The facts regarding the bogeys of Religious Intolerance, Papal Decrees, etc., have been embodied in a separate publication, "HOME RULE OR ROME RULE," which may be obtained, post free, for 1½d., from the Home Rule Council, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

JEREMIAH MACVEAGH.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
*March, 1912.*



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# HOME RULE IN A NUTSHELL.

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## WHAT HOME RULE MEANS.

Home Rule means Self-Government, but does *not* mean Separation. Home Rule means that the Irish people should govern themselves through an Executive responsible to a Parliament, in all purely Irish affairs. But an Irish Parliament would have nothing to say regarding the Crown, the Army, the Navy, Treaties, Peace or War, Foreign or Colonial affairs, Coinage, Religious Liberty or Personal Freedom. These matters would be dealt with by the Imperial Parliament, in which (*pending Home Rule for Scotland, Wales, and England*) Ireland would have a reduced representation; and the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament over the Irish Parliament would be undisputed and indisputable.

Mr. Parnell said on June 7th, 1886:—

“The right hon. gentleman, the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen), spoke about the sovereignty of Parliament. I entirely agree upon that point. We have always known the difference between a co-ordinate and a subordinate Parliament, and we have always recognised that the legislature which the Prime Minister proposes to constitute is a subordinate Parliament. You leave the power and supremacy of Parliament untouched and unimpaired just as though this Bill had never been brought forward. We fully recognise this to be the effect of the Bill, and I now repeat what I have always said, that the Irish people have accepted it as a settlement.”

And such has been the position of the Nationalists from that day to this. In October, 1910, Mr. Redmond went to America to collect the American dollars, of which so much was said. To

explain precisely his aims to American people he published in "M'Clure's Magazine" for that month—the magazine having the widest circulation in America—the following passage:—

"Here, then, is 'what Ireland wants': 'Legislative and executive control of all purely Irish affairs, subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament.' In other words, we want an Irish Parliament, with an executive responsible to it, created by Act of the Imperial Parliament, and charged with the management of purely Irish affairs (land, education, local government, transit, labour, industries, taxation for local purposes, law and justice, police, etc.), leaving to the Imperial Parliament, in which Ireland would probably continue to be represented, but in smaller numbers, the management, just as at present, of all imperial affairs—army, navy, foreign relations, customs, Imperial taxation, matters pertaining to the Crown, the Colonies, and all those other questions which are Imperial and not local in their nature, the Imperial Parliament also retaining an overriding supreme authority over the new Irish legislature, such as it possesses to-day over the various legislatures in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other portions of the Empire."

Again, on February 15th, 1911, Mr. Asquith said in the House of Commons:—

"I have said before, and I repeat, that I think the case of Ireland is a case of paramount urgency and importance, and I believe that, by the policy which I have presented to the country on behalf of my friends and supporters at both General Elections, we can only arrive at a satisfactory solution of this standing problem by creating in Ireland an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive responsible to that Parliament, dealing with purely Irish affairs and subject always to the condition that Mr. Gladstone laid down, and which every supporter of Home Rule has adopted up to this time, the indefeasible supremacy of this Imperial Parliament must be maintained."

Mr. Redmond said on that occasion :—

“Certainly I say for my colleagues and for myself that we accept that definition absolutely.”

Liberals and Nationalists are thus at one on the definition of Home Rule, and the general policy of the Government on the question is, as it has been throughout, clear and straight.

## WHY IRELAND SHOULD HAVE HOME RULE.

Many reasons will be found in the following pages, but one of the best of all democratic reasons is—*because she wants it*, and because since the passing of the Act of Union in 1800 she has never ceased to demand it.

## THE SPIRIT OF NATIONALITY.

The spirit of Nationality demands self-government, and that spirit cannot be eradicated. Nationality may be only a sentiment, but sentiment rules the world, and no wise statesman seeks to ignore it. Centuries of oppression have failed to suppress Irish Nationality; it has spoken from the battlefield, from the felon's cell, from the scaffold, from the platform, from the ballot-box, from the Senate. The impulse of Nationality comes from higher than earthly powers, and is indestructible. If the results of the Act of Union had been as good as they have been bad, Ireland would still yearn for the recognition of Nationality—just as the British people would yearn for it, and fight for it, if they were being wisely governed by German archangels in Berlin. “Good Government,” said Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, “is no substitute for self-government”; and judged by results, the government of Ireland has been bad beyond comparison.

“I would trust,” said Henry Grattan, “any people with the custody of its own liberty. I would trust no people with the custody of liberty other than its own”; and, again: “Government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery.”

## NO IDENTITY.

Moreover, there is no identity—national, historical, religious, commercial, industrial, or geographical—between Great Britain and Ireland. The national characteristics are different. The economic conditions are also different, for Great Britain is rich, whilst Ireland is poor; Great Britain is a manufacturing country, whilst Ireland is agricultural. The same laws and the same taxation are obviously unsuited for the two countries.

Speaking in his constituency (South Tyrone) on July 21st, 1911, Mr. A. L. Horner, K.C., M.P., said:—"The social, economic, and industrial conditions of Ireland are entirely different from those of Great Britain"; and in that sentence the Irish Unionist M.P. gave away the case for Irish Unionism. He was referring, it is true, to the Insurance Bill; but the facts remain.

## HOW THE UNION WAS CARRIED.

That Act of Union was carried by the most colossal turpitude that history records. "A process of blackguardism and baseness," Gladstone called it. Lecky, the historian (himself an Irish Unionist M.P.), declared that "all the unbribed intellect of Ireland" was against that measure. It was passed into law by unexampled bribery, corruption, and fraud. Lord Grey recorded that no less than 116 of the 162 Members of the Irish Parliament who supported the Act of Union had been bribed by Pitt and Castlereagh with offices, pensions, or peerages. About a million and a quarter was thus spent on *open* bribery, and the amount was actually charged against Ireland; and another million was spent on *secret* bribes. Hear Lecky:—

*"The years between 1779 and 1798 were probably the most prosperous in Irish history, and the generation which followed the Union was one of the most miserable. The sacrifice of Nationality was extorted by the most enormous corruption*

*in the history of representative institutions.* It was demanded by no considerable portion of the Irish people; it was accompanied by no signal, political or material benefit that could mitigate or counteract its unpopularity; and it was effected without a Dissolution, in opposition to the immense majority of the representatives of the counties and considerable towns, and to the innumerable addresses from every part of the country. Whatever may be thought of the abstract merits of the Act of Union as it was carried, it was a crime of the deepest turpitude, which, by imposing with every circumstance of infamy a new form of government on a reluctant and protesting nation, has vitiated the whole course of Irish opinion."

"The Peerage was sold," said Grattan, "the caitiffs of corruption were everywhere—in the Lobby, in the streets, on the steps, and at the doors of every Parliamentary leader—offering titles to some, offices to others, corruption to all."

That eminent Unionist, Professor A. V. Dicey, wrote in the *Fortnightly Review* in August, 1881:—

"The Act of Union was, in short, an agreement which, could it have been referred to a court of law, must at once have been cancelled as *a contract hopelessly tainted with fraud and corruption.*"

Mr. Fox, in 1806, characterised the Union as "atrocious in its principle and abominable in its means." "It was," he said, "a measure the most disgraceful to the Government of the country that was ever carried or proposed." (*Morning Chronicle*, February 4th, 1806).

Mr. Gladstone said:—"I know *no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man* than the making of the Union between England and Ireland." (Speech at Liverpool, November 28th, 1886.)

"With the testimony of all history," said Mr. Butt, "I may assume that the Union was carried by a system of force, fraud,



and corruption for which no parallel is to be found in the history of a nation which was even nominally free." (*Freeman's Journal*, 19th November, 1873.)

The Marquess of Downshire received £52,000; Lord Shannon, £45,000; the Marquis of Ely, £45,000; Lord Clanmorris, £23,000; Lord Belvidere, £15,000, and so on.

Other inducements besides money were offered to the members and patrons of Irish boroughs to procure their betrayal of their country. Mr. Stanhope, in his *History of Ireland*, says that peerages, baronetcies, bishoprics, livings, judgeships, regiments; places and preferments, legal, civil, and military; social advancements and Castle patronage, were bestowed "according to the character and weakness of the individual to be secured." "Twenty-two Irish peerages," he says, "were conferred, six English peerages, and twenty-two promotions were made in the Irish peerage—forty-eight patents of nobility as a reward for dirty work."

Moreover, Pitt cold-bloodedly forced the Irish people into the Rebellion of 1798 in order to have an excuse for bringing about the Union.

Lecky, the Protestant and Unionist historian, largely admits this. "The mistakes of the Government," he says, "undoubtedly contributed very largely to the hideous scenes of social and political anarchy, to the religious hatreds and religious panics, which alone rendered possible the legislative Union. Nor can it, I think, be denied that it is in a high degree probable that *a desire to carry a legislative Union had a considerable influence in dictating the policy which in fact produced the rebellion*, and that there were politicians who were prepared to pursue that policy even at the risk of a rebellion, and who were *eager to make use of the rebellion when it broke out, for the purpose of accomplishing their design.*"

For Irishmen, therefore, the Act of Union has no binding moral or legal force. They regard it as their fathers regarded it before them, as a great criminal act of usurpation, carried by

violence and by fraud ; and they say that no lapse of time, and no mitigation of its details can ever make it binding upon honour or conscience. Resistance to the Act of Union will always remain for them, so long as that Act lasts, a sacred duty.

## FAILURE OF THE ACT OF UNION.

*The Act of Union has been a stupendous failure, has crushed Irish trade and industries, has weighted the country with intolerable taxation, has substituted poverty for wealth, has dispersed the Irish race all over the world, and has maintained discontent and disaffection.*

Here are a few figures which show how the development of Irish industries has been affected since the Union. In Dublin in the year 1800 there were 90 master woollen manufacturers, employing 4,918 hands; and in the year 1840 the industry was practically dead. There were, in 1800, 30 master wool-combers in Dublin, employing 230 hands; while in 1834 the industry was practically dead. There were 13 carpet manufacturers in Dublin in 1800, employing 230 hands, and in 1841 there were none. In the town of Kilkenny there were to be found, in 1800, 56 blanket manufacturers, employing 3,000 hands; and in the year 1822 the industry was gone. In Dublin, in the year 1800, there were 2,500 silk loom weavers at work, and in 1840 the industry was gone. In the year 1799 there were 2,500 calico looms at work in Balbriggan; in 1841 there were but 228. In Wicklow, in 1800, there were 1,000 hand-looms at work; in 1841 there were none. In the City of Cork there were at work in the year 1800 the following industries, which had since declined:—1,000 braid weavers, of whom only 49 remained in 1834; 2,000 worsted weavers, of whom only 90 remained in 1834; 3,000 hosiers, of whom only 28 remained in 1834. There were also 700 wool-combers, 2,000 cotton weavers, and 600 linen check weavers, each of which industries was dead in 1834. All these industries which were in existence at the time of the Union had either totally disappeared or had been partially destroyed before the year 1841.

## DESTRUCTION OF IRISH INDUSTRIES.

Mr. Arthur Balfour, in a remarkable speech made some years ago in England, admitted that England had deliberately destroyed Irish industries. Speaking at Alnwick on July 19th, 1895, he said:—"There was a time, an unhappy time, when the British Parliament thought they were well employed in crushing out Irish manufactures in the interests of the British producer. It was a cruel, and has proved to be a stupid policy."

History proves it. So far back as the middle of the seventeenth century England began to legislate to destroy Irish industries. At that time, and after, Irish industries were beating England in her own markets. But England, as soon as she realised that, instantly proceeded to impose duties upon every Irish manufacture in turn, in order to destroy them. The great woollen industry of Ireland was destroyed by an Act of the English Parliament. Previous to that the cattle industry had been destroyed; and when they were no longer able to export live stock from Ireland, the Irish people commenced to make preserved meat and bacon, and, as soon as that was prosperous, that industry was attacked by England, and similarly destroyed, so far as export to England was concerned. Every industry to which the Irish people had recourse was dealt with in the same way. Cotton, glass, iron, hats, sugar refining, shipbuilding—every industry to which Ireland turned was destroyed by England by the imposition of prohibitive duties or by the closing of ports. The Colonial and Indian markets were closed absolutely against Ireland, and prohibitive duties were placed upon all Irish manufactures to keep them out of the English markets. "One by one of each of our nascent industries," observed Lord Dufferin, "was either strangled in its birth or handed over, gagged and bound, to the jealous custody of the rival interests of England, until at last every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed, and even the traditions of commercial enterprise have perished through desuetude."

These industries were strangled, and the evil cannot be undone in generations or by any other power than an Irish Legislature.

### PROSPERITY THE HANDMAID OF FREEDOM.

Compare that record with the experience of Ireland from 1782 to 1800, when she had a Parliament. When an Irish Parliament was given full powers, its use of them exceeded all anticipation. Lord Clare, one of Castlereagh's tools in the Union bribery, made this admission in 1798, concerning the system which he was fated to destroy :—

“There is not a nation on the face of the habitable globe which has advanced in cultivation, in manufactures, with the same rapidity in the same period as Ireland.”

Judge Jebb, another distinguished man, in a pamphlet published in the same year wrote :—

“In the course of fifteen years our commerce, our agriculture, and our manufactures have swelled to an amount that the most sanguine friends of Ireland could not have dared to prognosticate.”

Lord Plunkett, in 1799, said :—

“Ireland's revenues, her trade, her manufactures, had thriven beyond the hope or the example of any other country of her extent, within these few years [before the Union], advancing with a rapidity astonishing even to herself.”

The Bankers of Dublin held a meeting on December 18th, 1798, at which they passed the following resolution :—

“Resolved, that since the renunciation of the power of Great Britain in 1782 to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of this kingdom have eminently increased.”

And Lecky wrote in his History :—

“From the concession of free trade in 1779 to the Rebellion of 1798, the national progress of Ireland was rapid and uninterrupted. *In ten years from 1782 the exports more than trebled.*”

Sir Jonah Barrington wrote:—

“At that period Ireland appeared to have nothing to desire: the people were united; Catholics and Protestants were on the most cordial terms.”

Just one example of the improvement in trade: The export of linen in 1783 was 16,039,705 yards, valued at £1,069,313; in 1796 was exported 46,319,705 yards, valued at £3,113,687, three times as much as in 1783. All other trades prospered in proportion.

From 1785 to 1800, the consumption of luxuries increased much more in Ireland than in England. This is considered a true test of a nation's prosperity.

| Increase per cent. |     |     |     | Ireland. | England. |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------|----------|
| Tea,               | ... | ... | ... | 84       | 45       |
| Coffee,            | ... | ... | ... | 600      | 75       |
| Tobacco,           | ... | ... | ... | 100      | 64       |
| Wine,              | ... | ... | ... | 74       | 52       |
| Sugar,             | ... | ... | ... | 57       | 53       |

## LEGISLATIVE FRUITS OF THE UNION.

Parliament has found it necessary to pass, since the Act of Union, eleven Acts for the direct relief, otherwise than by the ordinary poor law, of exceptionally extreme poverty, and consequent distress; ten for the indirect relief of poverty by means of advancing money for public works; four for giving the extremely poor employment at the public expense; four for contending with famine fever; four for saving from perishing by starvation the thousands of children deserted through the abject poverty of their parents; three for the relief and assistance of railway companies otherwise unable to proceed with their works; four for the artificial assistance of banks, and for sustaining commercial credit; and four for the rescue of encumbered estates from hopeless insolvency—making in all 43 Acts in acknowledgment of the ruin and despair that have haunted all sorts and conditions of men.

## HOW IRELAND IS GOVERNED TO-DAY.

The Government of Ireland consists of a series of Bureaus, each independent of the other, and most of them absolutely irresponsible. There are, in all, some *sixty-seven Boards, Departments, and Offices*: in fact, Ireland, as has been said, has *enough Boards to make her coffin*. Some of these bodies are responsible solely to the British Government; some of them are local branches of English Boards and English Departments responsible to the head officials in London; some of them are responsible in theory to the Chief Secretary. One can imagine what the feelings of a new Chief Secretary must be for the first week or two he is in office on finding every morning he awakes that he is President of a new Department or Board, which he has never heard of before, whose officials he has never met, whose work he has no conception of, and for whom he is in theory responsible to Parliament. *Of Boards alone there are about a score*. No man living could in reality make himself responsible for the work of these Boards. They are worked by permanent officials; and when the Chief Secretary comes to the House of Commons all he can do is to read the answers sent to him by the Government officials.

The Irish people have not the slightest voice in the management of any of these Boards or Departments.

It was of this system that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said in 1885:—

“The time has come to reform the absurd and irritating anachronism which is known as Dublin Castle; to sweep away altogether these alien boards of foreign officials, and to substitute for them a genuine Irish Administration for purely Irish affairs.”

And it was of this system that the Earl of Dudley, whom the Unionists sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, declared:—

“The only way to govern Ireland properly is to govern it according to Irish ideas instead of according to British ideas.”

Lord Dudley also said (November 20th, 1902) :—

“There were those who seemed to believe that the only way in which a great Empire could be successfully maintained was by suppressing the various distinguishing elements of its component parts—in fact, by running it as a huge regiment, in which each nation was to lose its own individuality, and to be brought under a common system of discipline. That was not his view. In his opinion they were much more likely to break up an Empire by any such attempt. Lasting strength and loyalty were not to be secured by any attempt to force into one system or to mould into one type those special characteristics which were the outcome of a nation’s history, but rather by a full recognition of the fact that those very characteristics formed an essential part of the nation’s life, and that under wise guidance and sympathetic treatment they would enable her to play her own special part in the life of the Empire to which she belonged. It was upon that principle that he would proceed during his term of office, believing that any national development to be lasting or healthy must be spontaneous.”

Sir West Ridgeway, who was Under-Secretary for Ireland under various Conservative Governments, declared :—

“I went to Ireland with an open mind free from bias, and there were soon impressed upon it certain facts. I quickly realised that the system was deficient and cumbersome, and that the gulf which yawned between the people and the Government could only be bridged by associating the people with the government of their own affairs.”

Lord Dunraven, a member of the last Unionist Government, says :—

“It is easier to say what it is not than what it is. It is not a democratic form of government, for the people have nothing to say to it, either through some representative machinery in Dublin or through their representatives at Westminster. It is not despotism, because the Lord



Lieutenant has very little power. It is not exactly an oligarchy, though a small but avaricious section of the community appears to think that the country should be run for their benefit alone. It is a sort, and a very bad sort, of bureaucracy—a government by departments in Ireland, uncontrolled by Parliament, uncontrolled by any public body in Ireland, and subject only to a department in London. *It is the most expensive system of government in the world. Head for head, the government of Ireland costs more than the government of any civilised community on the whole face of the earth.* Under it there is no security whatever against absolute waste and misapplication of money.”

Lord MacDonnell, ex-Under Secretary for Ireland, speaking in the House of Lords during the Veto Bill debate, described the system as one which, “applied to any of your self-governing Colonies, would drive them to rebellion in a year.”

Sir Redvers Buller, Sir R. Hamilton, and other Under-Secretaries have also placed similar views on record.

## THE COST OF IRISH MISGOVERNMENT.

The government of Ireland is the costliest and most extravagant in the world. *England and Wales have ten times the population of Ireland, and the population of Scotland is about the same as that of Ireland.* And Ireland, even comparatively, is much poorer than England or Scotland. Yet, according to a Treasury Statement in the House of Commons on November 1st, 1911, Civil Government costs in England and Wales 18s. 8d., and in Scotland 23s. 3d.; but in Ireland it is £2 4s. Including Customs and Excise and Post Office Services, the figures are: England, 29s. 2d.; Scotland, 33s. 4d.; Ireland, £2 11s. 9d.

Under the head of Law and Justice, provision is made in the Estimates (1910-11) for £1,761,293 for England and Wales,

£227,415 for Scotland, and no less than £2,453,903 for Ireland! In Ireland, the whole cost of Police and Education is charged on Imperial Funds, whereas in England and Scotland a large part is borne by local rates.

The police for England and Wales cost 3s. 4½d. per head of the population, for Scotland the figure is 2s. 5½d., and for Ireland it is actually 6s. 8d.

The Local Government Board cost in the same financial year £324,975 for England and Wales, £23,918 for Scotland, and £115,897 for Ireland!

The Department of the Secretary for Scotland costs, in the 1910-11 Estimates (pages 221 and 223), £44,189, but the Departments of the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary for Ireland absorb £80,754, the Lord Lieutenant receiving £20,000 allowance, just double the salary of the President of the United States of America.

The Department of the Registrar-General for Scotland entails a vote of £12,102 a year, whilst the same Department in Ireland accounts for £21,467.

The cost of "Irish Services defrayed out of Imperial funds" rose in the ten years between 1895 and 1905 from £5,939,000 to £7,635,500.

Ireland is ruined by the present system. The British Empire does not gain by it. The only class that does profit by it is a horde of officials.

Scotland at present has a larger population than Ireland. But *of Government officials assessed for income tax there are in Scotland 963, in Ireland 4,403.* Their salaries are in Scotland £320,764; in Ireland £1,448,066. These are the official figures given in the Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for 1911 (pages 129 and 130).

The sixty-seven departments and offices employ very nearly 100,000 officials, and have handed over to them seven and a half millions of money for the government of the country.

It is squandered unchecked and unchallenged by any Irish authority; and although there is a nominal Parliamentary

control, it amounts to three days a year devoted to Irish Supply, and then generally to questions of policy. Some of the votes have not been discussed for a generation.

The excessive cost of Irish government can be illustrated in another way. Of her national income of £1,800,000,000 a year, England spends less than one-fortieth part on her home government. Of her national income of £70,000,000 a year, Ireland is forced to spend on her home government more than one-tenth.

Under the present system no one in Ireland has any interest in economising in the Government, because every penny economised in the Government, under the present system, goes, not to the Irish people, but back into the Treasury.

The administration is thus *immeasurably more costly than the government of other small nations of Europe, such as Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, and so forth; and the mere Civil Government of Ireland costs more than the whole cost of the government (home and foreign), Army and Navy, Royal Family, and so forth, of Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, or Greece.*

*Belgium, with four times the trade of Ireland, and with a much larger population, is governed at about half the cost of the crazy and inefficient system maintained in Ireland. And what a contrast, Belgium well-governed, rich and contented. Ireland poor, naturally discontented, and so badly governed that Dublin Castle has become a by-word in the mouths of all men.*

The London *Globe* (Unionist) of January 29th, 1912, wrote :—

“The Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, Under-Secretary, and Assistant Under-Secretaries, charged with the duty of governing Ireland with its population of four and a-half millions cost the taxpayer no less a sum than £32,000, or just £3,000 a year more than the United States of America find it necessary to pay a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary of State and his Assistant Secretaries to control the destinies of ninety-two millions of people.”

## THE IMPERIAL ASPECT.

The Parliamentary machine at Westminster has practically broken down. Only about one day in the year can be spared to the Scottish Estimates, or the administration of Egypt, or the great Empire of India, or other matters of equally vital importance; but time can be found, and is found, for debating at great length whether the advowson of an English rectory should be sold, whether the designs of a new bridge over the Thames are æsthetic and artistic, whether the finances of the Borough of Sligo are sound, whether the township of Rathmines is all that it should be, and so forth. The Empire must be neglected in order that the Parish Pump may be attended to.

If new sewers are to be laid in an Irish town, or a new tramway system started, or an electrical system to be installed, the local authority must come to Westminster, and brief eminent counsel at the Parliamentary Bar, and pay huge fees in all directions; and frequently the lawyers and experts have to be told how to pronounce the names of the towns about which they are arguing. A few years ago, for example, a Bill for the amalgamation of three Irish railways was before Parliament for three sessions, had to run the gauntlet of three Parliamentary Committees, and cost nearly £100,000. It could have been disposed of in Dublin in a tenth of the time and at a twentieth of the cost.

That system is bad for Great Britain and bad for Ireland. It is even worse for Ireland than for Great Britain, for Irish affairs, national or parochial, are necessarily decided by men of whom few have ever seen Ireland, who know absolutely nothing of the country, and care less.

Every day the sittings of the House of Commons furnish argument in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. There is a congestion of work there, growing rapidly day by day, which is showing the English people that if they do not lighten the load by sending local affairs home to Ireland, to Scotland, and

to Wales, for management, representative institutions in England will sink beneath the burden. In the Session of 1903, £3,718,380 was voted in Committee of Supply without one word of debate. That sum increased year by year until 1910, when £52,236,081 was voted by Closure, so that the House of Commons is practically losing its control over Finance. Moreover, every year useful Departmental Bills have to be abandoned by the Government, because time cannot be found to discuss them. Many important Imperial matters are neglected; Reforms for England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales are delayed; Ministers and Members are overworked; and no progress can be made without wholesale recourse to Closure, "Guillotine," "Kangaroo," and similar methods of restricting freedom of speech.

The power of the "Unofficial Member," too, has reached vanishing point. Much valuable legislation was formerly introduced by Private Members, but such proposals have now the most slender of chances. The tendency, in short, is under the present system towards Government by Bureaucracy and Officialism.

Speaking at Sparkhill on January 26th, 1912, Mr. Austen Chamberlain said:—

"The House of Commons, in five out of the last six years, had had double sessions, and there was no adequate time for Ministers to attend to the work of their own offices; there was no time for them to think out beforehand the measures which they were about to introduce. The House of Commons, sitting so continuously, was tired, jaded, and unequal to the work which there was to do. The result was bad for individuals, it was bad for the nation, and for the House of Commons. The result was that instead of government by the representatives of the people in the House of Commons they had the decrees of an autocratic Government automatically registered by a tired majority, which voted the closure first and whatever they were asked to vote afterwards."

Mr. Balfour, speaking in the House of Commons on October 24th, 1911, pointed the moral of the congestion of public business. At the same time he furnished a telling argument in favour of Home Rule. Protesting against the House being required to meet at that date after the labours the members had already gone through during the year, Mr. Balfour said (*Standard*, October 25th):—

“It is a question of our efficiency, and I say you are running risks if you require members to sit ten months out of every twelve. I have heard the late Mr. Gladstone speak in the strongest language about the injury done to this assembly by throwing on it burdens which no other assembly in the world is asked to bear. The injury does not stop with the Assembly. It extends to the departments, to the Ministers and to the legislation. How many departments do their work properly if they are never allowed any repose from the labour which is thrown upon them by debates in the House? Quiet thought on matter of public importance is made impossible, and you do not get the best out of the brains of the eminent men whom you have as your permanent civil servants.”

Finally, if the Irish in America are to be won over to acceptance of an Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and America, the Irish Question must be settled.

## THE COLONIES AND HOME RULE.

Speakers on Unionist platforms are for ever appealing to the electors to hearken to the voice of the Colonies. They urge the merits of Colonial preference, and wax eloquent on the necessity for binding more closely the Colonies and the Mother Country.

Will they listen to the voice of the Colonies on Home Rule?

*Every Colony in the British Empire is in favour of giving Self-Government to Ireland.* Every Prime Minister at the Imperial Conference was a Home Ruler, and all of them were the guests of the Irish Party at a banquet given in their

honour. The Colonies are in favour of Irish Home Rule because they themselves have Home Rule and know the blessings which follow in its train.

*Home Rule has been the salvation of the British Empire.* Where it was granted, the possessions were retained; where it was refused (as in the case of the United States) the possessions were lost.

France, Spain, Holland, and Portugal insisted on governing their Dependencies from Paris, Madrid, The Hague, and Lisbon, respectively—and lost them. Great Britain allowed her Colonies to work out their own destiny, and to-day they are indissolubly knit in the bonds of Empire.

*There are already twenty-eight Parliaments in the British Empire,* including even Alderney and Sark and the Isle of Man; and it will survive the addition of another in Dublin. The Empire is strong because of its twenty-eight Parliaments; it will be still stronger with twenty-nine, for Ireland will then be a source of strength, instead of, as to-day, a source of weakness.

These twenty-eight Parliaments are not inclusive of nine Colonies, which have partial self-government through partly elected, partly nominated Legislatures, or Legislative Councils; in other words, we have to-day, in one form or another, some thirty-seven Home Rule constitutions within the Empire!

The German Empire has twenty-three separate and subordinate Parliaments; the American Union has forty-six.

*Home Rule begets Loyalty and Prosperity; the withholding of it spells Decadence, Discontent, Disloyalty, Rebellion.* Canada won Home Rule at the point of the sword, but the Canadian Rebels became the most loyal of subjects, and Canada one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown.

The Canadian Parliament has, on no less than five occasions—in 1882, in 1884, in 1886, in 1887, in 1903—passed resolutions in sympathy with the demand of Ireland for Home Rule.

The Australian House of Representatives and the Senate of the Australian Commonwealth petitioned the late King Edward



in the same sense. South Africa a few years ago was being drenched in human blood; but the war of races has given place to Home Rule, and General Botha, who led the Boers in the field, is now one of the heroes of the British populace.

*Ireland gave Generals and soldiers to fight for Great Britain in South Africa. The Unionist policy is to refuse Home Rule to the race whose soldiers fought by your side, although you have freely given it to those who fought against you.*

### SIR WILFRID LAURIER ON HOME RULE.

The venerable Canadian statesman, Sir Wilfrid Laurier has placed his views on record in the following pronouncement:—

“To-day England has an Empire which is second to none, and which has only been equalled once in the course of history. Now the question is asked many a time, by friends and foes, how will the fabric be maintained, how can it be kept together, and how can so many elements be kept under the sway of the Empire of Great Britain? That, however, is a question no longer to be asked. It is a question answered sixty years ago, when the principle of local autonomy and legislative independence was introduced in all parts of the British Empire. *The Empire of Rome fell by concentration; but the Empire of England exists by freedom, by local autonomy, by legislative independence.*”

### THE SYMPATHY OF THE CIVILISED WORLD.

The Irish demand for Self-Government has the sympathy of every civilised country in the world; and wherever the envoys of the Irish Nationalists go, official receptions are tendered to them by the leading public men, including Presidents of the United States like Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft, Governors of the American States, Parliaments, Senates, Statesmen, Judges, Mayors, and Municipalities.

## CHIEF SECRETARIES.

*There have been fifty-four Chief Secretaries in Ireland since 1802. As a rule, the Chief Secretary never sees Ireland till he goes over to govern it; and as soon as he begins to know anything about the country he is transferred to some other post.*

## THE POPULATION TEST.

There can be no better test of the government or progress of a country than its population. The population of every civilised country, except Ireland, has increased and is increasing. In Ireland it has declined, and is still declining. In 1841 it stood at 8,175,124, but has steadily gone down, until to-day it amounts to only 4,381,951—or barely half. During the same period the population of England and Wales has bounded up from 15,914,148 to 36,075,269, whilst Scotland has increased from 2,620,184 to 4,759,521. *Ireland, in other words, had in 1841 well over one-third of the whole population of the United Kingdom, and nearly three times as many people as Scotland; to-day she has less inhabitants than Scotland, and hardly a tenth of the population of the United Kingdom. Is there in the whole world a parallel to that awful tragedy?*

## THE SCOURGE OF EMIGRATION.

The people have fled from the land as if it were stricken with a plague. They have gone in millions, and with bitterness in their hearts; and have carried a sense of their wrongs into every corner of the world. Their children—few of whom have ever seen Ireland—have inherited the feelings of their fathers; and the result of the withholding of justice from Ireland was shown a few years ago in the wrecking by the Irish-Americans of the proposed Treaty between Great Britain and the United States. Every statesman understands the gravity of that situation, but some, in the eagerness of party zeal, pretend to close their eyes to it.

4,236,365 people have emigrated from Ireland since 1851, the earliest year for which official statistics are available, and that figure, therefore, does not include the emigration during the Famine of 1847. The population to-day is 4,381,951; in other words, *the emigration in that period has been greater than the present population!*

And what was the character of that emigration? Nearly 90 per cent. (it was 86·9 per cent. in 1910) of those who leave the country are between the ages of 15 and 35—the very life-blood of the nation. The drain is still going on, for 32,457 people emigrated in 1910.

### BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

What of those who remain at home? *The birth-rate of Ireland is one of the lowest in Europe*, and is still declining. In 1909 (the latest year for which exhaustive statistics are available) it was 26·36 for Scotland, 25·6 for England and Wales, and only 23·5 for Ireland.

The marriage rate in the three countries presents the same contrast: 7·3 in England and Wales, 6·4 in Scotland, and only 5·2 in Ireland, whilst the death rate is 14·5 in England and Wales, 15·8 in Scotland, and no less than 17·2 in Ireland.

### SPREAD OF DISEASE.

Grasping landlordism, insanitary dwellings, low wages, poor food, have so debilitated what remains of the race that *serious forms of disease are spreading rapidly in the country*. In 1910 no less than 558 in every 100,000 were classed as “insane under care,” although only thirty years ago the number was as low as 250 per 100,000. The corresponding figures for England and Scotland, respectively, for 1910 are 361 and 378.

### GENERAL GORDON ON IRELAND'S POVERTY.

General Gordon wrote from Glengariff, in County Cork, November, 1880:—

“I must say, from all accounts and from my own observation, that the state of our fellow-countrymen in the parts I

have named is worse than that of any people in the world, let alone Europe. I believe that these people are made as we are—that they are patient beyond belief, loyal, but at the same time broken-spirited and desperate, living on the verge of starvation in places where we would not keep our cattle. The Bulgarians, Anatolians, Chinese, and Indians are better off than many of them are. . . . I am not well off, but I would offer Lord — or his agent £1,000 if either of them would live one week in one of these poor devil's places, and feed as these people do."

### WAGES.

Wages are lower than elsewhere. *Forty-four per cent. of the population is engaged in agriculture, as compared with ten per cent. in Scotland, and eight per cent. in England and Wales*; but the Board of Trade figures show that the average wages of agricultural labourers are 19s. 7d. in Scotland, 18s. 4d. in England, and only 11s. 3d. in Ireland.

Hundreds of thousands of those unable to obtain a living in their own country have come to Great Britain to flood the labour market here.

### EVICTIIONS.

Under the protection of the British Government, Irish landlords have been allowed since the Act of Union to confiscate the improvements of, and to turn out upon the roadsides, hundreds of thousands of families who had more right to the land from which they were driven than had the landlords who dispossessed them, for it was the tenants who had reclaimed the barren soil, who had drained and fenced it, who had built the houses. These things are done in England by the landlord; in Ireland by the tenant. *Yet in Ireland in the last century more than 4,000,000 people were rooted out of their homes by Irish landlords under the protection of the British Government and British arms!*

Lord John Russell, speaking in the House of Lords on the 23rd March, 1846, said :—

“More than 50,000 families were in that year turned out of their wretched dwellings without pity and without refuge. We have made Ireland—I speak it deliberately—we have made it the most degraded and the most miserable country in the world. . . . All the world is crying shame upon us; but we are equally callous to our ignominy, and to the results of our misgovernment.”

The iniquitous system of land tenure continued till our own times. The first check was given to it by Gladstone's Irish Land Act of 1881, which was denounced by the Tories as “spoliation,” “confiscation,” and “robbery” of the landlords' interests. “The very name of Irish landlordism,” wrote the *Times*, “stinks in the nostrils of Christendom.”

It would be impossible to calculate what these Evictions cost to the British taxpayer, but the Evicted Tenants Commission found that *on the Clanricarde Estate alone* the clearances cost £27,895 of public money in fourteen years (May, 1879, till February, 1893).

## FAMINES.

Largely as a result of the iniquitous Land System which prevailed, the country was swept in 1847 with one of the most terrible famines in the story of the world, and *a million and a half of people were swept away*; but there is not only the history of one great famine: there is the history of constantly recurring famines every few years over a large portion of the west and north-west seaboard of the country.

“Let us alone,” cried the leaders of the Irish when the great famine of 1847 was impending; “repeal the Union, restore to us our own Parliament, let us manage our own affairs, *we* will not let our people starve.”

But starve they did. And the landlords turned men, women and children out of house and home with such fury that the number of dwellings fell from about 1,500,000 in 1846 to

1,046,294 in 1851. In one case a whole village was pulled down containing 270 souls. Aye—and worse remains to be told. When the people were starving to death, the Government refused to prohibit the exportation of shiploads of grain and cattle which were being sold in England to pay the rent to the landlords!

There was famine in 1876, '77, '78, and '79, and in those four years over 10,000 *families* were evicted.

John Bright, speaking in the House of Commons on August 25, 1848, said:—

“Let us think of the half-million who within two years past have perished miserably in the workhouses, on the highways, and in their hovels—*more—far more—than ever fell by the sword in any war this country ever waged*; let us think of the crop of nameless horrors which is even now growing up in Ireland, and whose disastrous fruit may be gathered in years and in generations to come.”

### POPULAR DISCONTENT.

Take the test of the contentment of the people. There have been since the Union three insurrections, all of them suppressed in blood, with sacrifices untold in the prison cell and upon the scaffold; and at the end of it all to-day it is an admitted fact that the overwhelming majority of the Irish people are thoroughly disaffected.

### TAXATION AND FINANCIAL RELATIONS.

Side by side with alarming decrease in population and increase in poverty, walks the spectre of Taxation. Ireland some years ago accused Great Britain of robbing her of several millions a year, and that accusation became so insistent that it was decided to investigate it. A tribunal was appointed for the purpose. Great Britain was the defendant, Great Britain appointed the tribunal. Yet that tribunal, so appointed and constituted, brought in a verdict in favour of Ireland, *a*

verdict to the effect that Ireland was over-taxed to the extent of about £3,000,000 a year, and that that had gone on for half a century. That was in 1893-4.

Since then, so far from relief having been given, £3,000,000 additional has been put upon Ireland, and in the most cruel way, because it has been added almost entirely to the taxation of the poor. Reformers have been engaged in the task of endeavouring to bring down indirect taxation, at any rate to the level of direct taxation. But that was not done in Ireland. *The indirect taxation of Great Britain is under 50 per cent. of the whole. In Ireland it is over 70 per cent. of the whole,* and every addition made to the burden of Ireland for the last ten years has been a burden that has fallen upon the poorer classes of the community.

The taxation of Ireland in 1801 (the year after the passing of the Act of Union) was £2,521,219; in 1841 it was £5,077,000; in 1895 it had risen to £7,075,000, although the population had meanwhile diminished by nearly a half; and in 1905 it had further mounted to £8,254,000.

These, be it noted, are Treasury figures, and Irish Nationalists insist that they vastly understate the case; but Great Britain is the book-keeper, and, for the time being, those figures must be taken as accurate. One fact can be challenged by no one—the present system is a bad one for Great Britain, for she is losing heavily on the Government of Ireland; and it is a bad one for Ireland, because she is taxed intolerably to aid in maintaining a method of government which is extravagant, inefficient, and unsuited to her needs. As Mr. Redmond said in January, 1905:—

“What a cruel thing it is that while every industry and interest in the country is neglected, while education is starved, while the labourers can get no justice, while the artizans of the towns cannot get decent habitations, while drainage of Irish rivers is neglected, while Irish railways are the worst and dearest in the world, and nothing is done to improve transit facilities, while the piers and harbours of



the country are a disgrace and a danger to human life, and while all these things are so because of want of money—what a scandal and a crime it is that all the while we are supporting the most expensive Government in the world, and are paying from £3,000,000 to £5,000,000 a year more than our taxable capacity warrants as compared to Great Britain. Just think of how Ireland would be transformed if even a portion of this money of which we are annually robbed were spent under the paternal care of a native Government upon some of these matters I have mentioned, instead of being squandered as it is to-day.”

### CAN IRELAND PAY HER WAY?

An Irish Government could effect vast savings in the extravagant system which obtains at present, but it could not do so immediately unless by displacing the present occupants of appointments. An Imperial Grant is, therefore, necessary, partly to finance self-government in its early stages, partly by way of restitution for admitted over-taxation. Moreover, the Treasury is losing heavily to-day on the government of Ireland, although it has hitherto been running Ireland at a profit; and as the loss will henceforth be a growing one, it will be economical for the Treasury to “cut the loss,” and let Irishmen see what they can do in governing themselves.

### THE UNIONISTS ON THE TAXATION GRIEVANCE.

The Unionists say that as the Government expenditure in Ireland exceeds Ireland's contribution to Imperial expenditure (which is not admitted), there can, therefore, be no grievance. The excessive expenditure in Ireland is, however, chiefly on account of the garrison of military and armed police, and the excessive staff of judges, crown lawyers, and other similar officials, maintained in Ireland for Imperial purposes. This garrison would never have existed at the present day but for the past and present misgovernment of Ireland in the supposed

interests of Great Britain and of the Irish "Loyalist" minority. The position consequently appears to be that Ireland is discontented because she is impoverished from past and present over-taxation, and from other forms of misgovernment; and the Unionist answer to her complaints is that she must pay for the maintenance of the system against which she protests! Millions of pounds are wasted every year in the government of Ireland, of which Great Britain contributes about one-fourth.

How much saner and more statesmanlike was the attitude taken up by the *Saturday Review* (Unionist) of 25th July, 1896, immediately after the Report of the Royal Commission on Financial Relations was issued:—

"Ten out of the thirteen Commissioners agree in that we have taken £2,750,000 a year more from Ireland than Ireland ought to have paid. And this fleecing of England's weaker sister has been going on at this rate for something like half a century. According to the finding of a Commission, mainly composed of Englishmen, we owe Ireland considerably over £100,000,000 sterling, a sum that, wisely expended on light railways, harbour extensions and drainage schemes, would go far, even now, towards making Ireland prosperous. Had this sum been left in Ireland to fructify, it is more than likely that Ireland would never have suffered as she suffered in the early Eighties, and then we should have had Home Rule in a much milder form. But will England, even now, act generously in the matter?—there's the rub. We hope so, and shall press the point in and out of season. The report has yet another bearing; *it explains the existence of the physical force party in Irish politics, just as the illegal levy of ship money explained Hampden's revolt.* Moreover, we want to make friends with the Irish, and that is to be accomplished by giving them what they want, so far as their desires are consistent with higher laws, and not what we think they ought to want."

## EDUCATION.

To-day, admittedly, Ireland lags behind every nation in Western Europe in trade, commerce, agriculture, in technical skill, in science, and in art. Why? Is it because the Irish race are less talented than the people of any other race in the world? Anyone who knows anything of the history of the world, and especially anyone who knows anything of the history of the British Empire, will make no such assertion. No; *Ireland lags behind in the race of nations because there is no nation in which education has been so denied, neglected, and starved.* There is not any test of a Government better than this test of education, and the Government which for a century has denied, neglected, and starved education, is a Government which cannot justify its existence before the public opinion of the world. First of all education was denied altogether and made a penal offence. Then a system of education was established which has no parallel in the whole history of the world.

Primary education is controlled by the Board of National Education, which consists of twenty nominated members, of whom there are two High Court Judges, two Bishops, two Lords, a Baronet, a Knight, two Deputy-Lieutenants, one Privy Councillor, a County Council Chairman, a Provost and a Fellow of Trinity College, a Professor, and one ex-Teacher. They dispense the public money, but nobody—not even the Government—has the slightest control or authority over them in matters of administration.

More public money is spent every year in Ireland on Police than on Education, and the Policeman receives a higher salary than the National Teacher. England and Wales, on the other hand, spends more than twice as much on Education as on Police, and Scotland more than three times as much.

Intermediate Education is administered by a similar Board,

and here is what Mr. Wyndham, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, had to say of it in April, 1902:—

“Money,” said he, “has been lavished on Intermediate Education in Ireland. . . . But how can such expenditure be turned to good account when Elementary Education is not levelled up to the necessary standard, when only 55 per cent. of the children attend the schools, and when continuation schools do not exist? Money devoted to Intermediate Education under such circumstances is money thrown away.”

In Technical Education there is to be found a similar inefficiency. Mr. Wyndham's words are:—

“In the nine years between 1892 and 1900 sums amounting to £6,276,404 were devoted to technical instruction in England and Wales. Ireland lost two years altogether in that period, but in the remaining seven years she was only able to spend £71,900 on technical instruction, and out of that comparatively insignificant sum no less than £55,000 was expended in the last year.”

University Education, in a form which the Catholics of Ireland could accept, was denied for a century (although the Conservatives had promised it year after year for a quarter of a century), until Mr. Birrell carried into law the Irish Universities Act of 1908.

In the last four years, from 1902 to 1906, the Education Vote in England increased by £3,374,600. In Scotland during the same period the increase was £619,128, but in Ireland, over the same period, the Education Vote increased by only £92,228. An Equivalent Grant of £185,000 a year is due to Ireland in connection with the Education Bill of 1902, but it was annexed for other purposes, and practically none of it has been devoted to primary education in Ireland.

Another anomaly was that prior to last year the amount to be spent upon Intermediate Education in Ireland depended upon the amount of whisky consumed by the people! More than half of the income of the Intermediate Board in Ireland

came from the whisky tax. There has been a wave of temperance, to the delight of everybody, flowing over these countries. What has the result been in England? Did that wave of temperance reduce by £20,000 a year the Intermediate Grants? It did not reduce them by one penny; whereas in Ireland for the last four or five years, the diminution in the consumption of whisky had this direct result, that the grants for Intermediate Education were reduced by about £12,000 to £15,000 a year, and one could not even raise the question for discussion in Parliament, because there was no Vote on the Estimates which would enable it to be done. Little wonder that in their Report to Parliament for 1910-11, the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland describe the financial outlook as alarming.

*What Ireland wants is a Department of Education responsible to the public opinion of Ireland.* That is the only possible remedy, but it is not possible so long as Ireland is deprived of the right of self-government. To abolish the Board, and to put their absolute power into the hands of a new ring of irresponsible officials in Dublin Castle, would be to alienate still more the confidence of the Irish people.

### THE RESULTS OF IGNORING IRISH OPINION.

Every year in the last century this Parliament has proved its incapacity or unwillingness, or both, of passing legislation satisfactory to Ireland. Take as an example the Land Act. On that question Parliament passed some forty or fifty Land Acts, but so ignorant was Parliament of the task and of the real meaning of the problems which it had to grapple with; so incompetent was it for the task of governing Ireland; so deaf was it to the voice of the Irish Members—that all these forty or fifty had, one after another, to be “scrapped.”

Or take the Report in 1906 of the Commission appointed by Lord Dudley to inquire into the state of the Poor Law in Ireland. The Commissioners trace back the history of the Poor Law in Ireland, and show that in the year 1836—seventy

years ago—a Royal Commission was appointed composed of some of the most eminently capable men in Ireland, to consider the question, whether the English Poor Law system was suitable to Ireland, and ought to be extended to that country. The Commission reported unanimously that it was unsuitable, and ought not to be extended to Ireland. Lord John Russell, who was Home Secretary at that time, was not satisfied, and he asked a Member of the Poor Law Commission in England, who was an Englishman, who had never been in Ireland in his life, to pay a short visit to that country, and form his own impressions. This stranger spent three weeks in Ireland, and came back with the recommendation to Lord John Russell that the unanimous Report of the Royal Commission should be thrown on one side, and that the Government should extend the English Poor Law system to Ireland. Lord John Russell tore up the Report of the Irish Royal Commission, and acted upon the report of this English gentleman. And now, seventy years after, the Commission appointed by Lord Dudley unanimously report that, from the commencement, the English Poor Law system was quite unsuitable, that it had been a ghastly and costly failure, and they recommend the Government to abolish it. No wonder that the people are still emigrating from Ireland, when we have at one and the same time the most extravagant, and the most inefficient Government in the world.

#### MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AND HOME RULE.

*"I have always been a Home Ruler,"* said Mr. Chamberlain on June 19th, 1886. Mr. Chamberlain never was opposed to Home Rule. *He was hostile to certain details of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, and chiefly to the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster, but he never challenged the principle; and he offered to vote for the Home Rule Bill if the Irish members were retained.* He took part in a Round Table Conference with a view to bringing about an agreement on the details, and he boasted that "he was a Home Ruler before Gladstone."

He even went so far as to tell Mr. Parnell in the precincts of the House of Commons that "he might have an Irish Republic if he pleased, so far as he (Mr. Chamberlain) was concerned, if he would only help to dish the Whigs and the arm-chair politicians, Lord Hartington in particular." He also publicly threatened in 1885 to retire from the Gladstone Ministry rather than consent to an Irish Coercion Act; and in the same year he proposed to Mr. Parnell that he (Mr. Chamberlain) and Sir Charles Dilke should enter on a campaign in the South and West of Ireland in pursuance of the same policy of dishing the Whigs. In connection with that proposed campaign (which Parnell refused to countenance), Mr. Chamberlain privately circulated a lithographed letter, setting forth his "unauthorised programme," and the following is a passage from that document:—

"I consider that Ireland has a right to a local government, more complete, more popular, more thoroughly representative, and more far-reaching than anything that has hitherto been suggested. I believe that there are questions not local in any narrow sense, but which require local and exceptional treatment in Ireland, and which cannot be dealt with to the satisfaction of the Irish people by an Imperial Parliament. *Chief among them are the education question, and the land question, and I would not hesitate to transfer their consideration and solution entirely to an Irish Board,* ALTOGETHER INDEPENDENT OF ENGLISH GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE. *Such a Board might also deal with railway and other communications, and would, of course, be invested with powers of taxation in Ireland for these strictly Irish purposes."*

In other words: a Parliament with drastic powers, except that it was not to be called a Parliament.

To September 15, 1885, belongs this extract: "I have proposed that there should be established in Ireland and in Scotland, perhaps also in Wales and in England, national councils for dealing with affairs which, although they are national, are yet not of Imperial concern."



Here are a few more extracts from Mr. Chamberlain's speeches and writings:—

“What is needed is that the Irish legislation should be domestic in its origin, and not foreign.”—*Fortnightly Review*, July, 1885.

And again in 1885:—

“I would concede *the widest possible measure* of democratic Government to the Irish people. I propose to *sweep away all the network of Boards appointed by the English Government* carrying with them the seed of English authority, whose interference produces so much irritation, so much annoyance, and so much injury to Ireland.”

Speaking at West Islington on the 17th June, 1885, he referred to the existing system of government in Ireland as follows:—

“The pacification of Ireland at this moment does, I believe, depend upon the concession to Ireland of the right to govern itself in the matter of its purely domestic business. Now what is the alternative? Are you content, after eighty years of failure, to renew once more the dreary experience of repressive legislation? Is it not discreditable to us that even now it is only by unconstitutional means that we are able to secure peace and order in one portion of Her Majesty's dominions? *I do not believe that the great majority of Englishmen have the slightest conception of the system under which this free nation attempts to rule a sister country. It is a system which is founded on the bayonets of 30,000 soldiers encamped permanently as in a hostile country. It is a system as completely centralised and bureaucratic as that with which Russia governs Poland, or as that which was common in Venice under Austrian rule. An Irishman at this moment cannot move a step, he cannot lift a finger in any parochial, municipal, or educational work without being confronted, interfered with, controlled by an English official appointed by a foreign Government,*



*and without the shadow or shade of representative authority. I say the time has come to reform altogether the absurd and irritating anachronism which is known as Dublin Castle, to sweep away altogether these alien boards of foreign officials, and to substitute for them a genuine Irish Administration for purely Irish business."*

"The conclusion, then, at which we arrive is that the consideration of the Irish land question should be taken up anew, and this time in frank concert with the Nationalist party. *Mr. Parnell himself should be challenged in the interests of his constituents to take up the burden of office,* and to co-operate with English Statesmen in the solution of a problem which lies at the root of Irish misery and discontent. If the Leader of the Irish Party shrinks from this responsibility, as his enemies proclaim that he will, the offer should be made in turn to other chiefs of the Irish Party, some of whom—and notably Mr. Healy—have shown a remarkable constructive capacity and resource."—*Fortnightly Review*, January, 1886.

"There are two principles in the Bill which I regard as vital. The first is the principle of autonomy *to which I am able to give a hearty consent.* The second is involved in the method of giving effect to this autonomy. In the Bill the Government have proceeded on the lines of separation or of Colonial independence; whereas they should have adopted the principle of Federation *The key of the position is the maintenance of the full representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament,* and her full responsibility for all Imperial affairs."—Letter to Mr. T. H. Bolton, M.P., May 7th, 1886.

After declaring that the hopes of Imperial Federation also rested on the maintenance of one central Parliament, he concluded that letter in the following words:—

"If, as you anticipate, the Prime Minister should find himself in a position to make the concession (*i.e.*, the retention of the Irish members) which has been pressed upon him

by so many of his most earnest and loyal supporters, I share your hope that the present imminent danger of a fatal breach in the ranks of the Liberal Party may be happily averted."

In his speeches in Parliament, Mr. Chamberlain went even farther. "Maintain the representation of Ireland at Westminster," he said, "and the supremacy of Parliament would be an established fact." Here is the *locus classicus*, delivered in a speech on the Land Purchase Bill on April 16, 1886:—

"As I understood, my right hon. friend does not dismiss the possibility of the retention of the Irish members from his further consideration. Well, sir, that is a matter of first and cardinal importance; it is a matter to which I have always attached the greatest possible weight, because *if the Irish members are retained at Westminster, the Imperial Parliament remains the Imperial Parliament, and its supremacy would then be an established fact.*"

And again on June 1, 1886, he reiterated his approval of the principle of Home Rule, if this point were secure:—

"The Government have had two courses before them. They might, if they had seen fit, have withdrawn the Bill altogether, and they might have submitted a resolution affirming the principle in the language of the Prime Minister. *If they had done that, I should have voted for the resolution without hesitation.* What is the principle of the Bill which we should have voted for by such a resolution, as it has been defined by the Prime Minister? It is the establishment of a legislative authority in Ireland to deal with exclusively Irish affairs. *That is, as I have said, a principle which I could cordially accept.*"

"If they (the Irish people) desire to have a Ministry—a Prime Minister, a Minister of Agriculture, a Minister of Public Works, and a Minister of Education, and a Cabinet—and to imitate on a small scale everything that goes on at Westminster, and in Parliament Street and Whitehall, all I

can say again is, *that that seems to me to be a matter entirely for their discretion, and with which I at all events have no desire whatever to interfere.*”—Birmingham, January 29th, 1887.

“I was a friend to Ireland long before many of those who now abuse me took the slightest interest in the claims of the Irish, and I WAS A HOME RULER LONG BEFORE MR. GLADSTONE. We may have differences now, and unfortunately we have, as to the kind of Home Rule which is to be given to Ireland.”—Dingwall, April 19th, 1887.

“Palpable as are the evils arising from undue interference by the central authority with local government in England, we find them intensified when we come to deal with the question of local government in Scotland, and still more so in the case of Ireland. There the interference is not merely that of a superior or of an official—*it is moreover the interference of an alien authority.* A control which in any case would be borne with some impatience, becomes odious and intolerable when it is *the badge of a foreign supremacy.* It is difficult for Englishmen to realise how little influence the people in Ireland have in the management of even the smallest of their local affairs, and how constantly the alien race looms before their eyes as the omnipresent controlling power. ‘The Castle,’ as it is called, is in Ireland synonymous with the Government. Its influence is felt, and constantly felt, in every department of administration, local and central; *and it is little wonder that the Irish people should regard the Castle as the embodiment of foreign supremacy.* The rules of the Castle are to them foreign either in race or in sympathy, or in both. The Lord Lieutenant is rarely an Irishman; and, if Irish in race, he is sure to be selected from a class having no political idea or sympathy in common with the great bulk of the people whom he is to rule. The same observation applies to the Chief Secretary, and to the Under-Secretary

and Assistant Under-Secretaries. These are the rulers of Ireland, and, as Irishmen keep constantly reminding us, these rulers owe their position, not to the favour and confidence of the Irish people, but to the favour and confidence of one or other of the English parties.”—*Fortnightly Review*, July, 1888.

IT WILL BE NOTED THAT SOME OF THESE PRONOUNCEMENTS WERE MADE BEFORE, AND SOME AFTER, THE INTRODUCTION OF MR. GLADSTONE'S BILL.

### LORD DERBY ON ENGLAND'S CONCESSIONS.

“It is by no means clear to the unprejudiced observer that any gratitude has been earned (in the dealings of England with Ireland). Why have we altered the Land Laws? To put an end to Irish agitation? Why have we cared to put an end to Irish agitation? Because it was not only discreditable to England as a ruling power, but a practical obstruction to the transaction of English business. Fixity of tenure has been the direct result of two causes—Irish outrage and Parliamentary obstruction. The Irish know it as well as we. Not all the influence and eloquence of Mr. Gladstone would have prevailed on the English House of Commons to do what has been done in the matter of Irish Tenant Right if the answer to all objections had not been ready, ‘How else are we to govern Ireland?’ . . . In the history of English relations with Ireland it has always been the same. *By an unfortunate fatality every concession made to the weaker State has been under pressure.*”

### LORD SALISBURY ON IRISH GOVERNMENT.

The verdict of the late Marquess of Salisbury in 1865 was as follows:—

“What is the reason that a people with so bountiful a soil, with such enormous resources (as the Irish), lag so far behind the English in the race? Some say that it is to be

found in the character of the Celtic race, but I look to France, and I see a Celtic race there going forward in the path of prosperity with most rapid strides—I believe at the present moment more rapidly than England herself. Some people say that it is to be found in the Roman Catholic religion; but I look to Belgium, and there I see a people second to none in Europe except the English for industry, singularly prosperous, considering the small space of country that they occupy, having improved to the utmost the natural resources of that country, but distinguished among all the peoples of Europe for the earnestness and intensity of their Roman Catholic belief. Therefore, I cannot say that the cause of the Irish distress is to be found in the Roman Catholic religion. An hon. friend near me says that it arises from the Irish people listening to demagogues. I have as much dislike to demagogues as he has, but when I look to the Northern States of America I see there people who listen to demagogues, but who undoubtedly have not been wanting in material prosperity. It cannot be demagogues, Romanism, or the Celtic race. What then is it? *I am afraid that the one thing which has been peculiar to Ireland has been the Government of England.*"

#### DISRAELI ON IRISH GOVERNMENT.

Speaking in the House of Commons on August 3rd, 1843, Disraeli pleaded with Parliament to end the "great misgovernment" of Ireland, which he described as "the bane of England and the approbrium of Europe." On February 16th, 1844, again speaking in the House, he declared that "England logically was in the odious position of being the cause of all the misery in Ireland." "What, then," he asked, "is the duty of an English Minister? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would effect by force. That is the Irish question in its integrity." Twenty-five years later (March 16th, 1868), he was reminded of that speech, and replied: "In my conscience, the sentiment of that speech was

right." Again, during the electoral campaign of 1874 Disraeli, after a fashion not unfamiliar in later times, angled for the Irish vote by throwing out hints that on the Home Rule question he had an open mind. In the first week of the meeting of the new Parliament Lord Robert Montagu, reminding him of his Buckinghamshire speech, asked what he intended to do. "It is some time since the observations referred to were made," said Dizzy, "and a great deal has happened in the interval."

### JOHN BRIGHT ON REPEAL OF THE UNION.

Speaking at Liverpool on June 3rd, 1863, Mr. Bright said:—

"I have never said that Irishmen are not at liberty to ask for, and, if they could accomplish it, obtain the Repeal of the Union. I say that we have no right whatever to insist upon a Union between Ireland and Great Britain on our terms only . . . I am one of those who admit—as every sensible man must admit—that the Act which the Parliament of the United Kingdom has passed, the Parliament of the United Kingdom can repeal. And, further, I am willing to admit that everybody in England allows, with regard to every foreign country, that any nation, believing it to be to its manifest interest, has a right both to ask for, and to strive for, national independence."

### LORD LLANDAFF AND HOME RULE.

Lord Llandaff, when he was Mr. Henry Mathews, was Home Secretary in the Tory Government. In his address to the electors of Dungarvan in 1874, he said:—

"The question of Home Rule was one on which your opinions were hardly elicited in 1868. *The country has now demanded that an Irish Parliament shall legislate for Ireland* under conditions which were laid down at the recent Conference in Dublin, and which many leaders of public opinion concurred in adopting. *I consider that a*

*demand so made is one which your representative ought to support, and I have become a member of the Home Rule League formed to carry out the views of the Conference."*

## PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH ON NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

Another leading Unionist, Professor Goldwin Smith, wrote as follows in the *Daily News* on the 23rd November, 1867 :—

*"The real root of the disaffection which exhibits itself . . . is, as I believe, the want of national institutions, of a national capital, of any objects of national reverence and attachment, and consequently of anything deserving to be called national life. . . . The Irish Union has missed its port, and, in order to reach it, will have to tack again. We may hold down a dependency, of course, by force, in Russian and Austrian fashion, but force will never make the hearts of two nations one—especially when they are divided by the sea. Once get rid of the deadly international hatred, and there will be hope of real union in the future."*

## LECKY ON NATIONALITY.

Lecky, the historian, who was an Irish Tory and M.P. for Dublin University, wrote :—

*"It is a question of Nationality as truly as in Hungary or in Poland. . . . It appears to me to be perfectly evident, from the existing state of public opinion in Ireland, that no Government will ever command the real affection and loyalty of the people which is not in some degree National, administered in a great measure by Irishmen, and through Irish Institutions. As in Hungary, as in Poland, as in Belgium, National Institutions alone will obtain the confidence of the nation. To give, in a word, to Ireland the greatest amount of Self-Government that is compatible with the unity and security of the Empire should be the aim of every statesman."*

## WHAT AN IRISH PARLIAMENT MIGHT DO.

Evidences of the neglect of Irish interests could be supplied to a wearisome extent. Fisheries, Canals, Harbours, Housing, Education, amongst the number. Take, for example, the question of Arterial Drainage. Ruin and desolation have spread over a vast area. Royal Commissions have sat upon the question and made reports, but all in vain. The facts are indisputable, but the answer from successive Governments is always the same—No money! Belgium, where the cost of government is half that of Ireland, has spent £16,000,000 on drainage works in the last twenty-five years; but in Ireland, under British rule, though overtaxed millions every year, every demand for a great scheme of arterial drainage is met by a non-possumus.

Again, the utterly defective condition of railway and transit facilities is the most serious of all the causes which keep Ireland in a state of chronic poverty. The rates of carriage in Ireland must be reduced fully 50 per cent. before profitable employment can be provided for the people of Ireland and emigration stopped. It is beyond dispute that nine-tenths of the ordinary agricultural products consumed in the English markets, and which are produced, or could be, in abundance in Ireland, are supplied by foreign producers. The question of Irish railways has been discussed by several Royal Commissions, which have recommended nationalisation, State purchase, amalgamation, and other remedies, but which have never led to any practical result whatever.

Or take the subject of waste lands in Ireland, which are capable of reclamation for agriculture. It is estimated that the cost of reclamation would be £6 10s. per acre, or £9,750,000 in all. Reclamation of waste land in other European countries (which are, however, self-governed) has been carried out on far larger scales at a far greater cost.



Forestry is another neglected national resource. Mr. Howitz, the eminent Dutch Forest Conservator, who gave evidence before the Eardley-Wilmot Committee of the House of Commons in 1886, made a special report on Ireland, and declared that had the forests of Ireland been protected and fostered they would now represent the value of £100,000,000. This operation also would be easy had Ireland at her disposal for works of national utility the millions which are now wrung from her every year, and expended without a thought of the well-being of the nation.

### IRELAND AND PROTECTION.

It is sometimes urged that an Irish Parliament would be Protectionist. It was an unfortunate coincidence that Free Trade coincided with a further decadence in Irish Trade, but even if an Irish Parliament had power to tax British imports it would refrain from doing so—for the simple reason that England is her best (practically her only) market, and she would not be so foolish as to invite reprisals. Every Irishman knows, moreover, that the future of his country depends on the revival of industries, and that a tax on food would constitute a barrier by raising the cost of living. Great Britain is Ireland's market for over 80 per cent. of her exports. Doubtless a large section of Irish farmers would sympathise with the idea of Protection, just as a large section of British farmers does; but the industrial population, the agricultural labourers, and the farmers who have not yet become owners of their holdings, would certainly take a different view.

### IRISH CAPACITY FOR GOVERNMENT.

In nearly every country in the world Irishmen have shown their capacity for government. In every country but their own the Irish race have been industrially successful, have risen to the highest positions, and have shown themselves well fitted for the arts of government and of industry. They have

given to the British Empire some of its greatest Statesmen, Generals, Diplomats—men like Henry Grattan, Edmund Burke, O'Connell, Parnell, Gavan Duffy, Duke of Wellington, Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener, etc. How is it that the Irishman abroad is always at home, and that the Irishman at home is always abroad?

## THE SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

*Here are a few unsolicited Tory testimonials:—*

Mr. Gerald Balfour, who conducted the Irish Local Government Act of 1898 through Parliament, said at the time:—

“If the councillors do their work with business capacity, and in a spirit of toleration, it will mitigate one of the arguments which had always been felt to tell heavily in England against Home Rule.”

The same Mr. Gerald Balfour said on the 24th March, 1900:—

“I am of opinion that the Act has been successfully worked, and that the local bodies have shown themselves not unequal to the heavy task imposed upon them.”

Later on Mr. George Wyndham declared, on the 27th February, 1902:—

“This Act effected nothing less than a social revolution. It took the political power in the matter of local affairs out of the hands of one class, and gave the whole of it to the other classes. In respect of economy and efficiency that social revolution has not been a failure. It has exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine.”

The Report of the Local Government Board for 1901 declared:—

“The duties (of the local authorities) have been satisfactorily and creditably discharged, not in one part of Ireland, but throughout all Ireland.”

The Report for 1902 said :—

“The term of office of the first County Councils and Rural District Councils, on whom, with their officers, rests the credit of having successfully assisted in carrying the Local Government Act into operation, expired in June, and the new Councils, with the experience of the past three years, will, no doubt, endeavour to bring the system into a state of even greater efficiency. Attention has been directed to certain political differences which have been introduced by some of the smaller bodies into their ordinary business transactions, but it is only fair to state that these cases have been quite the exception, and not the rule. They have been promptly dealt with, and we feel confident that the conduct of their affairs by the various local authorities and their officials will continue to justify the delegation to them of the large powers transferred to their control by the Local Government Act. In no other matters have the Councils been more successful than in their financial administration.”

The Report of 1903 follows similar lines. It states :—

“The general administration of the Local Government Act by County and District Councils continues on the whole to be satisfactory, and the manner in which the several local bodies transact their business calls for no special observation. The collection of the rates has been efficiently carried out. Very great and most creditable improvements have taken place in the care of the sick during past years.”

The Reports of the Government from the passing of the Act right down to the time when the Tories left office tell the same tale.

*Since the establishment of Local Government in Ireland, the average total county rates for the whole country have been reduced by threepence in the £, and during the same period there was an increase of over 10 per cent. in Imperial taxation.*

## COERCION THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE.

The only alternative to Home Rule is Coercion, and, as John Bright said, "Force is no remedy." Since the Act of Union there have been twelve Acts for the suspension of habeas corpus; nineteen Peace Preservation Acts, whether so called or otherwise; nineteen Acts for limiting and controlling the possession of arms and gunpowder; seventeen for the prevention of resistance to the law by means of outrages against persons and property; twenty-six against unlawful and dangerous societies, combinations, assemblies, and processions; eleven for the suppression of rebellions, insurrections, and disturbances; and two for curtailing the freedom of the Press.

## REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.

Another Tory panacea is Redistribution. They say Ireland is largely over-represented in the Imperial Parliament. Tested on a population basis that is quite true; but *the Act of Union guaranteed a perpetual Irish representation of 100 Members*. If Ireland had then obtained a representation on the basis of population, she would have had 230 Members instead of 100, so that if Ireland is getting over-representation now, she was under-represented for half a century. Moreover, that population largely increased up to 1841, but nobody then proposed to increase the Irish representation.

## A HOME RULE REFERENDUM.

Driven from the Redistribution refuge, the Unionist says:—"Well, let us have a Referendum!" They have had many Referendums since the Liberals adopted Home Rule in 1886; and if they want any further test, let them take a Referendum of the Irish people, who have the best right to say how Ireland should be governed. And if they will not have that, why not a Referendum of the British Empire? If the Empire is really being disintegrated, let us refer the question to the Colonies as well as to Great Britain.

## IRELAND AND BRITISH SOCIAL REFORM.

Working men and Social Reformers in Great Britain owe more to Ireland than they will ever be able to repay. The Irish National Movement is essentially Democratic; the aristocracy have no share or part in it; and the Home Rule Members have been drawn from the ranks of the people.

The movement has been supported, not by the cheques from the rich, but by the pennies and shillings of the Irish working classes in Ireland, Great Britain, and America.

The Irish were thus the pioneers of Democratic Representation, and in the Payment of Members. They also led the way in Land Reform, in Disestablishment, and in Housing of the Working Classes; and they have secured, by loans from public funds, houses and plots of land for the Agricultural Labourers.

Whilst thus progressive at home, they were never unmindful of the needs of the working classes in Great Britain. Long before a Labour Party came into being, the Irish Home Rule Members formed the only Labour Party in Parliament. Practically every measure passed for the benefit of the British democracy for nearly a century was carried into law by the casting votes of the Irish Members.

Lecky, the historian, writes (*History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. viii., p. 483):—

“A majority of the Irish Members turned the balance in favour of the great Democratic Reform Bill of 1832, and from that day there has been scarcely a Democratic measure which they have not powerfully assisted. When, indeed, we consider the votes they have given, the principles they have been the means of introducing into English legislation, and the influence they have exercised upon the tone and character of the House of Commons, it is probably not too much to say that their presence in the British Parliament has proved the most powerful of all agents in accelerating the Democratic transformation of English politics.”

Contrast with that the record of the Ulster Tories, who never once threw in their lot with any measure for the uplifting of the working classes or the poor, but have ever been—and are to-day—the advance guard of Reaction.

Gratitude, therefore, demands that the working classes in Great Britain should now reciprocate by helping Ireland. Self-interest also demands it. So long as the present system of government is maintained in Ireland, Irishmen will be forced to seek a livelihood in other countries. Millions of them have been driven to England, Scotland, and Wales, with the result that the labour market is congested. They never wanted to leave Ireland. It was bad government that drove them forth; and if they had been allowed to stay at home there would be less unemployment in Great Britain to-day.

Government statistics show that over 20,000 Irishmen come across to Great Britain every year, to work in the agricultural districts at harvesting. Why? Because without the money thus earned they would not be able to pay their rent to the landlords, to keep the roofs over their humble homes, and to maintain their families. Wages in Ireland are also lower than elsewhere. *Forty-four per cent. of the population is engaged in agriculture, as compared with ten per cent. in Scotland and eight per cent. in England and Wales;* but the Board of Trade figures show that the average wages of agricultural labourers are 19s. 7d. in Scotland, 18s. 4d. in England, and only 11s. 3d. in Ireland.

But Self-Government always spells prosperity, and when Home Rule makes Ireland prosperous, Irishmen will be only too glad to remain in the land that gave them birth. British workers will support Ireland's claim to Home Rule because they believe it to be just, because it gives them a chance of showing their gratitude for Ireland's support of the British Democracy, and because they will be serving themselves as well as Ireland.

## THE "SEPARATION" BOGEY.

Ireland has always had a "separate" Government, and she has it to-day; what she wants is to reform the present cumbersome and extravagant and deadly system, and to have control of her own affairs. But Separation, in the sense in which Tories use the term, is one of the silliest of bogeys. No sane man in Ireland wants Separation. Irishmen have had a large part in the building up of the Empire, and they have not the remotest desire to sacrifice their share of the heritage. They may be knaves, mercenaries, or anything the Tories like to name them; but nobody has ever called them fools.

Further, every sane man in Ireland knows that Great Britain will never consent to separation; and Ireland if she desired it could never achieve it, because she is so easily within reach of Great Britain's enormous strength. A few thousands of Boers could defy the British Empire because they were protected by distance; rebellion in Ireland has never been successful, because Ireland was so accessible; and with the march of Science, Ireland is ten times nearer England to-day than a century ago.

The argument that Home Rule cannot be granted because Ireland is so near is contrary to common sense. Ireland's nearness is the best guarantee against the possibility of Separation.

Even if she wanted it, she could not get it. Great Britain has a population of forty millions, with an Army on which she spends over £34,000,000 a year and a Navy which costs over £38,000,000 a year; whilst Ireland has a population of four millions (from which the pick is taken by emigration) with no Army and no Navy, without a Dreadnought, a machine-gun, or even a pop-gun. If the English Tory, with his forty million people and all their resources, is afraid of the Irishman with his four million people and no resources, it speaks volumes for the courage of the Irishman, but it does not say much for the English Tory.

As Dean Swift once said : " Twelve men fully armed should always be equal to one man in his shirt."

It is also said that a foreign army might land in Ireland under Home Rule. A foreign army might land to-day, so far as that is concerned. The only difference is that, with Ireland disaffected, the invaders might find a friendly population; but with Ireland contented and self-governed, does anyone outside Colney Hatch imagine that they would want the Germans to come in? Moreover, the enemy could land in Ireland only after destroying the British Fleet, and if the Fleet were destroyed the enemy might land *anywhere*, and would for convenience sake prefer the coast of Kent or Sussex or Essex.

### THE "DISLOYALTY" BOGEY.

Irishmen are not disloyal to the Throne, but they are disaffected towards the system of government which has caused such havoc and ruin to their country. Mr. Redmond said in one of his speeches in Parliament :—

" I ask the House of Commons what race of men who are not both fools and slaves would be loyal to such a system of government as I have outlined? Sir, the history of the Empire, if it proves anything, proves this, that loyalty has been the result and not the forerunner, of the concession of self-government. Where you have given self-government, there you have loyalty; where you withhold self-government, there you have had disaffection and disaster. Let me ask, Are the Irish to-day less loyal than were the Canadians, to whom you gave Home Rule when they were rebels with arms in their hands fighting upon the field of battle? Are the Irish less loyal than the Boers, who, the other day, were under arms against the English Power, and to whom you have now given responsible government? Don't you know, every man who is acquainted with the Colonies, that the Colonies of Australia would not be loyal for twenty-four



hours if you attempted to govern them from Westminster or from Downing Street? If you have any doubt upon this ask the Colonial Premiers."

An extremist here or there has occasionally made a foolish speech, but has no Tory ever made a foolish speech? King George, as a matter of fact, received—as all the 'Tory newspapers admitted—a more enthusiastic welcome in Ireland than in any other part of his Dominions. He did not, it is true, receive "official" welcomes, the simple explanation being that whenever they were tendered on previous occasions, the action of the people was always misrepresented by the Tory newspapers as an evidence that the people were quite satisfied with the present system.

It may be recalled in this connection that on the occasion of the Accession of Queen Victoria, Canada was seething in discontent; and that when the Government in this country ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung in Canadian churches, the Canadians rose *en masse* and left the churches. They were actually in rebellion when the Queen ascended the Throne. General Botha, too, was "disloyal" till Home Rule was given to South Africa; so was Australia.

### THE REAL DISLOYALISTS.

The real disloyalists in Ireland are the self-styled "loyal minority," who are loyal only to their own interests, and who threaten rebellion every time any part of their Ascendancy is endangered. It is a matter of history that the Orangemen conspired against King William IV., with the object of placing the Duke of Cumberland on the Throne. They threatened rebellion when Gladstone was disestablishing the Irish Church; they threatened rebellion when the Ballot Act was introduced; they threaten rebellion to-day. Individual Irish "loyalists" also spouted the rankest treason when a Member of the Royal Family married the Catholic King of Spain, when the Irish

University Act was about to receive the Royal Assent, and on many other occasions. (See section "Loyal Ulster," page 66, and "Loyalty Up-to-Date," page 68).

### THE "RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE" BOGEY.

In earlier editions of this booklet, the bogey of possible Religious Intolerance under Home Rule was exhaustively dealt with, but the facts have now been incorporated in a separate volume under the title, "**Home Rule or Rome Rule.**" **This pamphlet should be read by every student of the controversy.** It contains full particulars with regard to the attitude of the Papal authorities, Papal interference, PAPAL DECREES, PRIESTS IN POLITICS, etc.; it embodies statistics showing conclusively that the only intolerance in Ireland is to be found in the North-East corner of Ulster; it includes a mass of opinions from leading Irish Protestants; and Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.P., contributes an interesting Preface. It may be had for 1d., or by post for 1½d., from the Home Rule Council, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

### IRISH MEMBERS AND ENGLISH EDUCATION.

The Irish Party frankly and conscientiously believes in denominational education for Catholic children, but they have at the same time always been strongly in favour of the removal of Nonconformist grievances. They distinguish between the single-school areas and the urban areas, on the ground that in the latter the parents have a choice of schools. The Irish Nationalists unsuccessfully endeavoured in the Bill of 1902 to secure a joint control of denominational schools by (1) local authority, (2) parents, and (3) managers, and were supported by all the Liberals in that effort; and they also voted for the Third Reading of the Birrell Bill. Those proposals may not have been completely satisfactory to Nonconformists, but they were good enough for the House of Lords to reject.

## ORANGEISM.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, a Unionist, and whose voice is received as the voice of a prophet, wrote in his "Irish History and Irish Character":—

"The peasantry, though undoubtedly in a disturbed state, might have been kept quiet by lenity, but they were gratuitously scourged and tortured into open rebellion. These were crimes not of individual ruffians but of faction—a faction which must take its place in history beside that of a Robespierre, Couthon, and Carriere. The murders by the Jacobins may have excited more indignation and pity, because the victims were of high rank, but in the use of torture the Orangemen seemed to have reached a pitch of fiendish cruelty which was scarcely attained by the Jacobins. The dreadful Civil War of 1798 was the crime—as a candid study of its history will prove—not of the Irish people, but of the Orange terrorists, who literally goaded the people into insurrection."

Edmund Burke, that great statesman, whose writings Mr. Gladstone has described as "a mine of gold upon the Irish question," referred in the following terms to the Orange ascendancy party of his day:—

"I am afflicted, deeply and bitterly afflicted, to see that a very small faction of Ireland should arrogate to itself the whole of that great kingdom. I am more afflicted in seeing that a very minute part of that small faction should be able to persuade any person here that on the support of their power the connection of the two Kingdoms essentially depends. This strange error, if persevered in (as I am afraid it will), must accomplish the ruin of both countries."

Lord Palmerston, as least as good an Imperialist as Lord Londonderry, wrote in 1826, from Derry City, in Ireland:—

"The day is fast approaching, as it seems to me, when this matter will be settled as it must be; and in spite of the

orgies . . . and the bumpers pledged to . . . 'No surrender,' the days of Protestant ascendancy, I think, are numbered. It is strange, in this enlightened age and enlightened country, people should be still debating whether it is wise to convert four or five millions of men from enemies to friends, and whether it is safe to give power to Ireland."

In point of numbers, the Orangemen are really contemptible compared with the Protestant population of Ireland, and even of Ulster generally. The members of the Orange Society, which is secret and oath-bound, are drawn almost exclusively from the Protestant Episcopalian body in Ulster. According to the Census returns for 1911, the total number of Protestant Episcopalians in Ulster was 366,171; the total number of Catholics being 690,134; of Presbyterians, 421,566; and of Methodists, 48,490. The Orangemen are only to be found, in any appreciable strength, in three or four counties, and it is a question whether the whole numerical strength of the Orange Society, not to say its fighting strength, would be 25,000 men.

This is the faction who in Ireland to-day are the instigators and the promoters of the more violent and unreasoning features of the agitation against Home Rule. That faction instigated religious differences—one of the greatest crimes that men could be guilty of. They invoked religious hatreds in order to destroy the Parliament of Ireland, and to-day precisely the same agencies are at work. Religious fears and differences are availed of in support of the Union by men whose fathers' bigotry and intolerance brought about the Union.

An up-to-date specimen of the bigotry, intolerance, and intimidation in which the faction indulges is to be found in the words of Colonel Wallace, J.P., D.L., Grand Master of the Orangemen at Ulster, spoken at Belfast on July 12th, 1911:—

"What keeps Ireland going now? Protestant money and English subsidies. What keeps the mills going and employs the workers? Protestant money. What pays the wages of

thousands of Roman Catholic workers? Protestant money. What would happen if the Protestant men of wealth realised what they could and left the country. If the Protestant employers of labour shipped their works to the other side of the water, *if the Protestant employers refused to employ anyone who wasn't a Protestant*, do you think the wretched Roman Catholics who would be starving would be shouting for 'Ireland a Nation' then? Let them pause and carefully consider all these things."

### MR. REDMOND'S "STRONG HAND" SPEECH.

The Unionists, by wilful misrepresentation, are alleging that, in one of his speeches, Mr. Redmond threatened that "the Ulster Unionists would be overborne by the strong hand." What Mr. Redmond did say at Coalisland, County Tyrone, is as follows:—

"I don't want Home Rule for Ireland to come in the garb of a bitter political defeat for any intelligent and honest section of my countrymen. I know, of course, that there is *one section* of the minority opposed to us that has no title to the names of honesty or intelligence, a section that it is impossible, hopeless, to conciliate or placate, a section that will, I believe, to the bitter end continue their policy of hatred and ascendancy. I am not speaking of them. *After all, in reality they are only a handful even of the Protestants of Ulster, and I fear that they must be overborne by the strong hand.* But I am speaking of the overwhelming majority of those who are ranked to-day as our opponents in Ulster. Now, over these men, I say to-day, that if I can avoid it I want no party triumph. I want to influence their intelligence, I want to dissipate their suspicions, and I want to soften their hearts, and therefore, so long as it is possible for me to do so, even against hope, I will preach to them the doctrine of conciliation. I say here to-day that *there are no lengths, short of the abandonment*

*of the principles which you and I hold, to which I would not go to win the confidence of these men, and not to have them lost to Ireland. There are no safeguards which I would object to in a Home Rule Bill to-morrow to satisfy the fears which these men entertain, and he is the best Irishman who does his best to-day by preaching toleration and conciliation, to bring all the sons of gallant Ulster into line in the battle for Ireland."*

### MR. PARNELL'S "LAST LINK" SPEECH.

Another favourite quotation is that Mr. Parnell once stated in Cincinnati that the Nationalist object was "to sever the last link that binds England and Ireland." Mr. Parnell never said anything of the kind. He repudiated the story as a calumny in the House of Commons on May 25th, 1886, and again before the Pigot Commission on April 30th, 1889, when he swore that it was "utterly opposed to anything he ever said or thought." Yet the fable still does duty in Tory speeches and pamphlets.

### MR. REDMOND'S "WELCOME TO THE GERMANS" SPEECH.

Another Tory fiction with which many votes were won by the Tories at the last General Election was that Mr. Redmond said in a speech in America that he would be delighted "to see the Germans marching victoriously across England from Yarmouth to Milford Haven." Leaflets embodying the infamous slander were circulated broadcast, but in the libel suit of Peto, M.P., *v.* Beesley, tried in the London Courts on October 27th, 1911, Mr. Peto was obliged to admit that the only foundation for the statement was that *an American newspaper* had used the words in an Editorial comment, and that the *Daily Mail* had erroneously attributed them to Mr. Redmond!

Mr. Peto, in one of his letters to the Press, as quoted at the trial, said :—

“ I have to-day made it my business to ascertain the facts as to the quotation. I find it is verbatim correct, but that it is wrongfully attributed to Mr. Redmond himself.”

This, as the *Westminster Gazette* pointed out, is much as if we were to say that Mr. Peto had at Westminster said, “ Damn those pro-Boers,” and, when Mr. Peto denied having done so, as if we were to say that the quotation was “ verbatim correct,” but that it was really what a coal-heaver had said on his way from Charing Cross to Vauxhall.

### THE “LAWLESSNESS” BOGEY.

Efforts are made to depict Ireland as a country in which lawlessness is rampant. Ireland, as a matter of fact, is more free from serious crime than any country in the civilised world. There is a custom under which a Judge is presented with a pair of white gloves when there is no criminal business to go before him; and it is safe to say that there is not a Judge in Ireland who has not received more white gloves than the united Judges of England. There is more serious crime in several single English counties in a month than in all Ireland in a year; and the Judicial Statistics of the two countries show that the small amount in Ireland is steadily decreasing, whilst the large amount in England is steadily mounting up.

How cruelly unjust, therefore, to represent Ireland as crime-ridden. There has been practically no cattle maiming in Ireland for a generation; in one year, 1908, there were outbreaks in England at Jarring Neville (Sussex), Grimsby (Norfolk), Great Wyrley (Staffs.), Swaffham and Sporle (Norfolk), Bidston Moss (Liverpool), Eye Green (Peterborough), and Darlaston (Staffs.). No Irishman recalls these horrible facts as a reproach to the English people, but they demonstrate the facility with which such charges can be levelled against a whole nation. Fuller details on the lawlessness “argument” are to be found in the pamphlet on “The Criminality of



England and Ireland," which may be obtained from the Irish Press Agency, 2 Great Smith Street, Westminster. It may be added that a police record is kept in Ireland of what are called "agrarian offences," which consist mainly of anonymous abusive or threatening letters—many of which are sent in "practical joke," and many are written and posted by the men to whom they are addressed! Several such cases have been exposed in recent years.

*At the Summer Assizes in July, 1911, the Judges in nearly every county congratulated the people on the almost complete absence of serious crime.*

In reply to an argument which has been, and will no doubt be put forward by those who evidently do not relish this evidence—that the generally quiet condition of Ireland is only temporary, and part of the Nationalist tactics adopted now that Home Rule has come to the front, we would inform our readers that this is the fifth Assizes of which we have kept a record, with practically the same result. At the Spring Assizes in 1909 at least 25 Grand Juries were congratulated on the satisfactory condition of their county and city. At the Summer Assizes in the same year, similar congratulations were extended to 27 Grand Juries, at the Summer Assizes in 1910 to two Grand Juries, while last Spring at 32 Assizes out of 39 the Grand Juries were congratulated on the peaceable condition of their districts. Thus it can be seen that the improvement is no sudden or temporary one. It is due to several causes, chief among which are the settlement of the land question and five years of Liberal administration, and of government (as near as is possible under present conditions) according to Irish ideas.

Agrarian outrages in the past are, as Mr. Redmond has said, no proof of the "lawlessness" of the Irish race. They are the consequence of oppressive laws which would inevitably have produced similar results in any country in the world. These laws have been largely reformed. Half the people of Ireland to-day own the land they till. Land Purchase is pro-



gressing. The congestion in the West is being relieved, and except in a few isolated cases, from which no deduction can be drawn, agrarian outrages have disappeared. The first essential of a free and well-ordered country is respect for the law and confidence in the administration of justice. There is a rooted and almost universal distrust in the administration of justice in Ireland. This distrust is one of the worst marks of bad government, and one of the greatest arguments in favour of Home Rule.

### "THE CATTLE-DRIVING" BOGEY.

Some people labour under the delusion that the process of cattle-driving involves cruelty to the animals. Nothing could be further from the truth; the cattle are merely turned adrift or driven a few miles away. It is an illegal but peaceful protest against the Grazing Ranch system in the Congested Districts—a system under which human beings are hunted from the land in order to make way for bullocks, because they "pay better" than men, women and children!

### THE "BOYCOTTING" BOGEY.

Blood-curdling stories are sometimes concocted about the horrors of boycotting, and they are generally garnished with spicy details about the living being starved and the dead being left unburied. In ninety-nine cases in a hundred these tales are either a quarter of a century in age or are absolute fabrications. There is, of course, some boycotting in Ireland, as there is in England. The United Irish League is a sort of Farmers' Trade Union, and it boycotts the blackleg farmer just as the Trades Union in England boycotts the blackleg labourer; but there is no cruelty. It was the late Lord Salisbury who declared at Newport in 1885 that no law could stop boycotting or force men to associate with people whom they were determined to avoid.

The favourite case in the autumn of 1911 was the boycotting of two Protestants, named Kingston and Shorten, at Kilmurry,

Co. Cork, to which the Tories sought to attach a sectarian motive. Whether boycotting is a justifiable practice, and, if so, whether the practice was justifiable in that particular case, may be argued; but the suggestion that sectarianism in any way enters into the controversy was dispelled by the leading Irish Unionist newspaper, the *Irish Times*, in its issue of October 17th, 1911.

### THE "ULSTER" BOGEY.

Of all the objections urged against Home Rule by Unionists, the most audacious and most inaccurate is that Self-Government should not be given to Ireland because Ulster does not want it, and Ulster is Unionist and Loyalist, wealthy and prosperous, comparatively crimeless, and has almost a monopoly of the wealth and culture and education of the country. Let us examine in detail these claims.

### WEALTHY ULSTER.

*Ulster is not exceptionally wealthy; it is poorer than Leinster, and very little richer than Munster.* In the Rateable Valuation per head of the population the figures are:—Leinster, £4 8s. 9d.; Ulster, £3 9s. 8d.; Munster £3 4s. 8d.; Connaught, £2 5s. 1d. Taken by counties, the Rateable Valuation per head is higher in no less than thirteen Counties in Leinster and Munster than in the highest County in Ulster (Co. Down). Taking the 39 Counties and County Boroughs of Ireland in order of Rateable Valuation per head, Belfast is 12th, Down 15th, Monaghan 18th, Fermanagh 19th, Antrim 20th, Armagh 21st, Tyrone 25th, Derry County 26th, Cavan 29th, Derry Borough, 30th, and Donegal 38th.

### UNIONIST ULSTER.

*Ulster, first, is not overwhelmingly Unionist—it is almost certain, in fact, that Unionists are in a minority.* The population consists of 690,134 Catholics, 366,171 Episcopalians, 421,566 Presbyterians, 48,490 Methodists, and 52,000 others; that is to say, Catholics far out-number the members of any

other religious denomination, and are almost equal to all the other denominations combined; and as practically all the Catholics and a substantial minority of the other denominations are Home Rulers, the Home Rulers are clearly in a large majority. Home Rulers are certainly in a large majority in five of the nine counties, and form a substantial minority in the other four counties. There is only one County in Ulster, Co. Derry, which has not returned at least one Nationalist Member to the House of Commons; and even in that county the Unionist majority in Derry City was only 113.

*Sixteen of the thirty-three Members from Ulster are Home Rulers.* It is difficult to extract from the Election Results the exact voting power of the two Parties, inasmuch as some of the Nationalist seats in Ulster have not been contested for many years; indeed, one constituency (West Donegal) is so overwhelmingly Nationalist that it has never had the luxury of a contest, and none of its 6,642 electors has ever had an opportunity of recording a vote in a Parliamentary Election; but the Census Returns of 1911 show that the Roman Catholics in West Donegal outnumber the Protestants in the proportion of 11 to 1; and if on that basis, we apportion the 6,642 votes thus—6,000 Home Rulers, 642 Unionists, we get the Ulster voting as follows:—Total of Votes cast at the last contested elections in the various Ulster constituencies in support of the official Ulster Unionists—102,765; in support of Nationalists, Liberals, Labour, and Independents—103,983. All the candidates opposed to the official Unionists were denounced as Home Rulers, Separatists, and so forth.

**This shows the Official Unionists to be a minority even in the Province of Ulster.**

The Tories can prove a majority only by the absurd assumption that every member returned without a contest represents *all* the electors in his constituency; and it is obviously much fairer and more accurate to take the last contest in every constituency, even though some of the contests were waged so far back as 1886.

# ULSTER WANTS IRISH HOME RULE.

## MAP OF ULSTER.



Of the 33 Ulster Constituencies, 14 have always been held by Home Rulers; 10 by Tories; and 9 sometimes by Home Rulers, sometimes by Independents, sometimes by Tories. The safe Tory seats in Ulster, therefore, number 10 out of 33, and are shaded in the above map. The doubtful seats are marked x. The official Ulster Tories are in a minority in the Ulster electorate.

## IRELAND WANTS HOME RULE.



Of the 103 Irish Members, Trinity College, Dublin, an

Episcopalian stronghold, elects two Members, always Tories. Of the remaining 101 constituencies, no fewer than 80 have invariably elected Home Rulers, and only 10 have invariably elected Tories. If Ireland had One Man One Vote or Registration Reform, the demand will be still more overwhelming. Three of the four Provinces are solid for Home Rule, and the Tories are in a minority of electors even in the fourth Province.

### PROSPEROUS ULSTER.

*Ulster is not prosperous.* It has merely been less unfortunate than the other three provinces, and from obvious reasons. The Woollen Industry in the South and West was suppressed by Acts of Parliament; the Linen Industry in the North received Bounties. Moreover, its proximity to the coal ports of the North of England and of Scotland gave other industries a chance; and Belfast became prosperous. The most prosperous industry in Ulster—in fact, in Ireland—is the great ship-building firm of Harland and Wolff, Ltd., the head of which, Lord Pirrie, is a Home Ruler. The prosperity of Belfast was also helped by the long leases which the landlord of the town, the Marquess of Donegall, alone in Ireland, readily granted, but unfortunately the growth of population in that city has coincided with a decline of population all over the Province.

There are nine counties in Ulster, and within the last fifty years, whilst the population of Belfast has increased, *the population of these nine counties has diminished by over one million of people, not including those who fled during the period of the terrible Famine of 1847.* In face of that fact, can it be pretended that the population of Ulster is the only prosperous population in Ireland? *That diminution of the population of Ulster is at present greater than the diminution in any of the other provinces,* and the strange thing is that the decrease in population is not the greatest where the people are “thriftless Nationalists”—the diminution is less in the county of Donegal than in those counties which contain a larger proportion of

prosperous Unionists. *The highest emigration, in fact, has been from the Unionist Counties of Antrim and Down.*

From May, 1851, to December, 1906, *no less than 28 per cent. of the total emigration from Ireland to foreign countries was from Ulster*, the percentage from the other provinces being: Connaught 16, Leinster 17, and Munster 35. In other words 66·7 per cent. of the average population of Ulster have emigrated within that period. The returns for 1910 show the following emigration in that year:—Ulster, 12,271; Munster, 8,330; Connaught, 7,598; Leinster, 4,258.

The decay of Irish industries is going on to this moment, and it is not confined to the south and west and centre of Ireland. There is proof conclusive in the report of the Census Commission for Ireland, 1901, that the industry which has suffered most of all in the last forty years is the linen industry in “prosperous Ulster.”

It will thus be seen that there has been *an alarming, a tragic, decrease of population in every county in Ulster except County Antrim*, and a similar decrease would be shown in that county except that the depopulation of the rural parts has been more than counterbalanced by the increased population in Belfast; whilst the emigration even from that county has been greater than from any other county in Ulster.

### LAW-ABIDING ULSTER.

*Ulster is not pre-eminently law-abiding.* The official figures for Ireland in 1909 (the latest available) shew of the Indictable Offences in that year 4,534 took place in Leinster, 3,182 in Ulster, 1,516 in Munster, and 641 in Connaught. The Indictable Offences in Co. Antrim and Belfast were higher in proportion than in any county in Ireland except Dublin.

The claims in 1910 for compensation for malicious injuries to property were as follows:—Ulster, 329; Munster, 256; Leinster, 159; Connaught, 107.



## EDUCATED ULSTER.

*Ulster is not the province of Education and Intelligence.* The Census figures for 1911 are not yet available, but in 1901 the percentage of persons over five years of age who were able to read and write was:—Leinster, 83; Munster, 81; Ulster, 79; Connaught, 72—that is to say, Ulster was third in the list of the four Provinces.

According to a Parliamentary Return, issued in August, 1910, and giving the number of Illiterate Votes recorded in Ireland at the January Elections in that year, there were 12,995 Illiterate Voters in Ulster, whilst *the total for all the other three Provinces* was 9,510.

## LOYAL ULSTER.

The Ulster idea of loyalty is to threaten to rebel against the King every time that Parliament proposes a reform for Ireland. The threat is worn almost threadbare, for it did duty at the time of Catholic Emancipation, of Disestablishment, of the Municipal Reform Act, of the Ballot Act, and of the Land Act of 1881. Examples of this "loyalty" will be found in the speeches quoted in the leaflet entitled, "Will Ulster Fight?" published by the Home Rule Council. Irrespective of the fact that to threaten to rebel against constituted authority is the very negation of loyalty, we have had one Reverend orator who threatened that if Queen Victoria would give the Royal Assent to the Disestablishment Act, "her Crown would be kicked into the Boyne"; another, who boasted that his loyalty was strictly "conditional"; another, who, at the passing of the Irish University Act, charged King Edward with being "in league with the Jesuits"; another, who, in the Belfast Orange Hall, declared that they would "make his Throne rock" if he allowed his niece to marry the King of Spain; another, who declared a few weeks ago that if the Home Rule Bill was passed, the "loyalists" would start a movement for an Irish Republic; and so on.



## THE "CIVIL WAR" BOGEY.

Ulster will bluster, but Ulster will not fight—except for the jobs. The same old threats of Civil War are the political stock-in-trade of the Ulster Tories. The newspapers of 1868 and 1869 were full of the most blood-curdling speeches and resolutions against Disestablishment.

Rev. John Flanagan was one of the leading spirits, and the *Northern Whig* of March 21st, 1868, reported him as declaring at Newbliss, Co. Monaghan:—

"If they ever dare to lay unholy hands upon the Church, 200,000 Orangemen will tell them it shall never be. *People will say, 'Oh, your loyalty is conditional.' I say it is conditional.* Will you, Orangemen of Ireland, endorse the doctrine of unconditional loyalty? (repeated cries of 'No, never'). He then threatened that if the Queen gave her Royal Assent to the Bill, *her Crown would be kicked into the Boyne*, and perorated with the couplet:—

"Put your trust in God, my boys;  
And keep your powder dry."

Rev. W. H. Ferrar, F.T.C.D., said at Rathmines, on March 6th, 1868:—

"If the Establishment be destroyed, there cannot, there shall not, there must not, be peace in Ireland. If they think the Protestants of Ireland will succumb without a struggle, they know not the men with whom they have to deal. That I say solemnly before God. If they want us to die as martyrs, we will die as soldiers."

The Duke of Manchester presided at a meeting in Portadown, where Rev. Thomas Ellis said in May, 1868:—

"We will fight as men alone can fight who have the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other. We will fight, nay, if needs be, we will die; die as our fathers died before us, as our sons will die who succeed us. Yes, we will die if needs be; and this will be our dying cry, echoed and re-echoed from earth to heaven and from heaven to earth—

echoed and re-echoed from one end of Ulster to the other—  
 ‘No Popery, no surrender.’”

But it was not confined to the clerics; even the lawyers wanted to die. Mr. Plunkett, K.C., M.P., speaking in Dublin on March 31st, 1869, appealed to the people of England not to drive the Irish Tories to “material and physical resistance,” and called the gods to witness that he and his friends were “ready to seal their protest with their blood in martyrdom and battle.”

But he did nothing of the kind. He took the first legal job that came along, and finished up in the House of Lords.

Mr. Falkiner, K.C., said on April 15th, 1869:—“We must tell Mr. Gladstone that if they could not valiantly succeed, they could nobly die.” Mr. Falkiner died nobly on the Bench.

### LOYALTY UP TO DATE.

The self-styled “loyal minority” of to-day are equally original in their method of showing their loyalty. Some instances are quoted in this volume in the section, “The Real Disloyalists” (page 51), and “Loyal Ulster” (page 66); but a few further specimens will not be out of place.

Sir Edward Carson (who, by the way, is not an Ulster Member, and is not even an Ulster man—he represents the Episcopalian stronghold of Trinity College), has times out of number sworn loyalty to the Throne and Constitution; he has done so every time he took office and every time he was elected to Parliament. But his idea of loyalty is that the King and the House of Commons should be loyal to Irish Toryism, and that no Act of Parliament should become law unless it receive the Carson Assent; otherwise, he owes no loyalty to the King or to Parliament, and is free to organise a rival Government to the King’s Government and to indulge in Civil War. He went to Belfast in September, 1911; declared his belief that his followers “would march from Belfast to Cork, and take the consequences, even if no one of them returned”; and identified himself with the establishment of a farcical “Provisional

Government of Ulster" which is "to come into operation on the day of the passage of any Home Rule Bill."

That means (if words mean anything) a threat to seek to establish an Ulster Republic, and it may be recalled that it was for making a precisely similar proposal that the Irish patriot, Robert Emmet, was hanged in 1803.

Here are a few more choice specimens:—

"The day that the British Government sets its soldiers to drive you and me out of the community of the United Kingdom, *that day will be the end of the British Empire.*"—(Sir Edward Carson, at Craigavon, September, 1911.)

"We start with our cardinal resolution, to which we pledged ourselves as far back as 1886 and 1893, and again have pledged ourselves to-day. 'Under no circumstances will we accept Home Rule or acknowledge any Executive Government which is not responsible to the Imperial Government.' That is the declaration of our faith, and we make it to-day in the presence of Almighty God; and if I thought for one moment that that was mere bluff, that that was mere bragging, I should disdain to stand upon this platform addressing the men I have the honour to address. . . . We must be prepared in the possible event of a Home Rule Bill passing with such measures as will carry on for ourselves the government of those districts of which we have control."—(Sir Edward Carson, at Craigavon, September, 1911.)

Mr. C. C. Craig, M.P., leaves us in no doubt as to what "Provisional Government" means. Speaking at Derriagh, on October 17th, 1911, he said, as reported in the *Belfast News-Letter*:—

"They must have a sufficient number of men able to cope with whatever force the Home Rule Parliament might bring against them, or against any particular one of them, for the collection of taxes, and the enforcing of obedience to its behests. *That was what Provisional Government meant.*  
 . . . *If Home Rule was granted, it would not matter a*

*row of pins whether they were separated from Great Britain, or whether they were not."*

Mr. James Chambers, K.C., M.P., said at Belfast, on October 20th, 1911:—

"If England should ever betray them they would tell her that love despised turns to wrath. They would resent bitterly such an attitude, reserving to themselves the right to consider how they should act."

Rev. Mr. Patterson, Rector of Ardmore, in the course of a sermon in Lurgan Parish Church, on July 9th, 1911, thus delivered himself:—

"If this measure was forced upon them, proudly but sadly they would take the moulding of their country's future *into their own hands*. Britain might not have intended it, but the final doom of Ireland would then be—*total separation*. While the sceptre fell from her grasp, she would hear the words thundered in her ears: 'Thy kingdom is divided and given to —.'"

Another warlike clergyman, Rev. R. Tris McLawrin, spoke as follows at Holywood, Co. Down, on September 26th, 1911:—

"They would try and fight their corner as well as they could, and *die up against the wall, if necessary*."

The redoubtable Captain Craig, M.P., was equally "loyal" when at a "loyalist" meeting in Lisburn, on December 24th, 1910, he said:—

"They would tell the Radicals that Ulster would remain loyal to her trust, *but they would not be loyal if it came to tampering with their ancient rights*."

"He was glad to learn that they were moving to get arms of defence for their protection. Mr. Birrell had allowed every blackguard and agitator in the South to arm himself. It was now lawful, and it was now time for the honest men in the country to do the same."—(Mr. Wm. Moore, M.P., at Portadown, 24th November, 1910.)

"He represented organised Ulster Unionism. If they put him to it, he represented 70,000 fighting men."—(Mr. Wm. Moore, M.P., at Dublin, November, 1910.)

"There is a spirit spreading abroad which I can testify to from my personal knowledge that Germany and the German Emperor would be preferred to the rule of John Redmond, Patrick Ford, and the Molly Maguires."—(Captain Craig, M.P., in an interview published in the *Morning Post*, January, 1911.)

"In a very short time they would have taught their young men to resist Home Rule and also to handle arms. He thought there was no hope for them except the hope of using arms."—(Rev. William Wright, at Newtownards, November, 1910.)

"If as they were applauding the various items the crack of rifles was heard outside and the windows of that hall were broken with bullets, they would be greatly shocked. In all probability that would happen in the near future."—(Rev. W. L. T. Whatham, at Newtownards, November, 1910.)

"That conference was held, amongst other things, to declare their unalterable opposition to any scheme of Home Rule on behalf not only of themselves, but of those they represented. They understood that this specific declaration of the Ulster leaders was that they would not pay taxes to a Dublin Parliament or recognise its decrees. In England he had been hearing that Ulster was not serious, that she would not fight, would only resist up to a certain point, and then take things lying down. ('No, no.') He was glad to hear that 'No, no,' because he felt the insinuation was the grossest libel ever made on the intentions of honest men. It had been asked was Ulster going to fight, who was it going to fight, and when it was going to fight. It was not his business to disclose the tactics of the Unionist clubs on a public platform; that would be made known in good time."—(Lord Templeton at a Conference of Irish Unionist Clubs in Belfast, April, 1911.)

On the occasion of the marriage of the present Queen of Spain, a meeting was held in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, at

which over 100 Orange lodges were represented. The "sermon" was preached by the Rev. R. D. Patterson, who made a violent attack on King Edward VII. He said:—

"The throne of England was grounded, not on brute force, because Edward VII. could command no millions of obedient bayonets to do his behests. It was throned on far nobler, broader, and more certain foundations. It was broad based on the nation's will. But the warning should go forth to him who sat thereon, that, by his conduct to the Romish party ever since he had ascended the Throne, he had succeeded in exciting suspicion, in alienating the affection, and in straining the loyalty of thousands of his most valuable subjects. Without that loyalty and affection, his throne must rock, and to regain it he must cease, and cease at once, coquetting with the Church of Rome."

Similarly when the Accession Declaration Bill was introduced, the Ulster Unionists gave many evidences of the value of their "loyalty." One specimen will suffice. Captain F. H. Watt, J.P., declared at a meeting of the Londonderry Orangemen, in August, 1910, as reported in the *Belfast News-Letter*:—

"It had been said that they wanted another King William the Third. Well, *let them take care that the present King is not to be another King James, but he would ask them to give King George a chance before they came to any decision.*"

Details of the boycotting by Ulster Unionists of the King's Viceroy in Ireland are to be found in *Home Rule Notes* for December, 1911 (published by the Home Rule Council, Great Smith Street, Westminster).

## WAR UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

If the men of Ulster fight at all it will not be with the rest of Ireland, but with each other. The men of Antrim, Down, and Armagh, before conquering Leinster, Connaught, and Munster, will have to take in hand the subjugation of the six other Ulster counties. Ditches will have to be lined, not

merely north of the Boyne, but west of the Bann—not merely from Belfast to Dublin, but from Belfast to Donegal, and from Armagh to Derry. In short, the idea of the Unionist portion of Ulster conquering the Nationalist portion is as absurd as the contention that Lancashire could conquer the northern counties of England. Although there are Orangemen in every one of the nine Ulster counties, it is only in Antrim, Down, and Armagh that they could assemble in sufficient strength to overawe the local Home Rulers. However, although it is the wildest nonsense to imagine anything of the kind, let it be understood that the Orangemen in the north-east of Ulster have taken up arms under the command of Captain Craig with a view to the reduction and occupation of the remainder of the province as the result of the repeal of the Union. To begin with, on entering Monaghan the Orange army, or rather mob, would find itself in a country inhabited by 17,000 Protestants and 53,000 Catholics. On pushing forward in Cavan the Orangemen would be amongst 15,000 Protestants and 74,000 Catholics. In Fermanagh their task of subjugation would be comparatively light, as the Catholics in that county are only fifty-six per cent.; but in Donegal the Orange army or mob, or rather what remained of it, would be simply swallowed up, for in that wildly remote and extensive and inhospitable region, possessing admirable facilities for a defensive warfare, the Protestants are only 34,000 in number, the Catholics being 133,000.

### THE MEN AND THE GUNS.

The Ulster Unionists claim to have “promises” up to £100,000 in the event of a Civil War, but promises do not spell performances; and even if it were cash instead of promises, every penny of it would be wanted for the Canteen and Commissariat—not to mention rifles, field guns, ammunition, hospitals, nurses, doctors, transport, wages, clothing, and Dreadnoughts. The £100,000 (promised) would be a mere



drop in the ocean. Why, the Boer war cost nearly £300,000,000.

They have, it is true, advertised—like the sound Tariff Reformers that they are—in a *German* newspaper for tenders for the supply of 20,000 rifles. That bluff was tried in 1886, except that on that occasion they gave a preference to Birmingham; and the wag who advertised next day for the supply of 20,000 rotten eggs to suppress the insurrection had taken the measure of the Ulster Tories.

When this “Civil War” humbug was being trotted out in 1886, the late Colonel Waring, then Orange M.P. for West Down, wrote to the *Belfast News-Letter* on May 20th of that year :—

“Our motto is ‘Defence, not Defiance,’ and when I see that the plan of campaign indicated for the Ulster forces is one which it would tax severely the whole strength of the British Empire to carry out, I can feel no surprise that its announcement calls up *a smile of derision on the lips of our enemies, and a blush of confusion to the cheek of sober and sensible friends.*”

And Judge Rentoul, who was in 1886 the Orange Member for East Down, has since written (in June, 1911) :—

“I have spoken on many hundreds of Unionist platforms in all parts of England and Scotland, and have spoken for and with a large proportion of the Unionist Members of each of the four Parliaments in which I sat, and for, at least, half of the members of the Government of my Party; and there are two arguments which I never used in my life, nor was, I believe, ever on the platform with an English Member who used them, nor did any man for whom I spoke ever wish me to use them. These arguments were—(1) That there would be danger of religious persecution in Ireland if Home Rule were granted; and (2) that ‘Ulster would fight, and Ulster would be right,’ if Home Rule were granted. I thought we had a strong enough case, and enough solid arguments, without using arguments which, so far as I could



learn, English audiences did not believe in, and which I thought weakened the good arguments which we had."

### A STRIKE AGAINST TAXES.

Some of the orators now say that if they do not betake themselves to "the last ditch" they will certainly refuse to pay taxes to a Parliament sitting in Dublin. The only direct tax they can refuse to pay is the Income Tax, and Income Tax-payers are precisely the class who will not risk sixpence in resisting any Act of Parliament. There is nothing, however, to prevent the Ulster Orangemen from refusing to pay indirect taxes; all they will have to do is to cease drinking whisky and tea, and cease smoking tobacco in any form. But will they?

Right Hon. J. H. Campbell, M.P., ex-Solicitor-General for Ireland, has also threatened that—

"The great industries of Belfast will shut down, the capitalists will remove their money to a safer place, and the workpeople will seek employment elsewhere. The result of this emigration will be seriously to embarrass the finances of the new Irish Government, which will be compelled to invite contributions from Great Britain."

No one who did not hold the people of Great Britain in supreme contempt would play such fantastic tricks on their credulity. On whose authority have these statements been made? Did Lord Pirrie authorise him to predict the removal of the Queen's Island works to some other port a week after the passing of a Bill establishing popular Government in Ireland? Did any firm of employers in Belfast, or in Ulster all round, tell him that they would "remove their money to a safer place"? Where is the "safer place" to be found? In England or Scotland, governed by Radicals—in Germany under the Kaiser—in America under a Republican form of Government, largely controlled by Irishmen—in Canada ruled by thorough sympathisers with Ireland's National demand—in Siberia under the amiable sway of the Czar?

## ULSTER TORIES AND FREE SPEECH.

In January, 1912, the Ulster Tories gave one more demonstration of their Ascendancy, aggressiveness and intolerance by waging war against—Free Speech. They insist on being governed by the British Cabinet, but threatened to die in the last ditch rather than allow a member of that Cabinet, Mr. Churchill, to speak in the city of Belfast. There are about 60,000 Liberals and Nationalists in Belfast, but they were not to be counted or considered. They adopted exactly the same attitude when the Franchise Bill of 1884 was introduced by Gladstone; they would not allow Parnell to speak in any part of Ulster, and denounced his visit as a “challenge” and an “invasion.” Riots were organised and blood was shed; yet Parnell captured the majority of the Ulster seats in the very next year!

Professor A. V. Dicey, writing in the *Times* of January 27th, 1912, thus expressed himself:—

“To a writer who has laboured for 25 years on behalf of Unionism it seems a duty to tell the plain truth to the Unionists of Belfast. They have little chance of hearing it either from their enemies or from their flatterers. The truths which it is needful to set forth may be expressed in comparatively few words. Unionists are bound to respect, even to the extent of scrupulosity, freedom of speech and freedom of meeting. Many English Unionists will feel that a blunder was committed in raising any difficulty about holding an assembly of Home Rulers even in Ulster Hall. But it was a natural error, and local sentiment must sometimes be allowed for. But any use of force on the part of Unionists to deprive their fellow-citizens of the liberty of discussion ensured by law to every one of His Majesty’s subjects throughout the United Kingdom is a crime. A Home Ruler has as good a right to advocate Home Rule at Belfast as a Unionist has to advocate Unionism in Dublin. The use of violence to suppress debate is not only in itself an odious offence but it is also a course of action which, if

it results in physical damage, or death, to the person assaulted, may easily and rightly lead the criminal to the gallows. All this is elementary, but it is important. The open threat to break the law of the United Kingdom is surely a strange way of proving Ulster's unconquerable resolution to remain a part of the United Kingdom. Common sense suggests that the Unionists of Ulster should make it a point of honour to obtain for Home Rulers at Belfast the freest of free hearings for the fallacies of Home Rule. I fear not the arguments of Home Rulers. I am trained to confute them. I dread the violence of Unionists, who, in crushing freedom of debate, strike at the strongest of the reasons for the maintenance of the Union. If riot or bloodshed, caused, it will be said, by the desire to silence the voice of Home Rulers, can, with any plausibility be charged against the men of Ulster, they will find that they have gone far to ensure the passing of a Home Rule Bill at Westminster. Mr. Winston Churchill goes to Ulster, as it seems understood, in performance of the apparently congenial task of explaining away his father's famous dictum:—'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right.' At the risk of offending the Irish friends whose Unionism commands my keenest sympathy, I proclaim the far humbler maxim:—'Ulster has to-day no plea for fighting. If Ulster riots for the sake of suppressing freedom of discussion, Ulster will be wrong, and riots in Ulster may be the ruin of Unionism.'"

## TORIES, AND HOME RULE.

The Tory Party now professes to believe that Home Rule means the Disintegration of the Empire, but they have lucid intervals when expediency demands such intervals. They sought and obtained the aid of the Irish Party to defeat the Liberals in 1885; they coquetted with Home Rule at that time under Lord Salisbury as Premier and Lord Carnarvon as Lord Lieutenant; they again flirted with it in 1902, with Mr. Balfour as Premier, Lord Dudley as Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Wyndham as Chief Secretary; and they were once more nibbling at it during

**the last month of the Veto Conference.** They were glad to get Irish help before, and they would be glad to get it again—the American dollars notwithstanding. Sir Antony MacDonnell—now Lord MacDonnell—was appointed Under Secretary for Ireland as an avowed Home Ruler by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Wyndham, and with the express approval of Lord Lansdowne; and one of his first duties was to draft a scheme of Devolution—which is a Latin word meaning Home Rule.

It was in 1885 that Lord Salisbury indicated at Newport that he would rather give Home Rule than Local Government, and his Administration gave Local Government in 1898. And it was in 1885 that the late Lord Carnarvon, then Lord Lieutenant, held the historic secret meeting with Mr. Parnell in an empty house in London, and discussed with him the terms of a Tory Home Rule Bill.

The following was the pronouncement of Lord Salisbury at Newport on October 7th, 1885:—

“Local authorities,” he then said, “are more exposed to the temptation of enabling the majority to be unjust to the minority when they obtain jurisdiction over a small area than is the case when the authority derives its sanction and extends its jurisdiction over a wider area. In a large central authority the wisdom of several parts of the country will correct the folly or mistakes of one. In a local authority that correction is to a much greater extent wanting, and it would be impossible to leave that out of sight in any extension of any such local authority to Ireland.”

In the same speech Lord Salisbury, whose Viceroy, Lord Carnarvon, had with his knowledge been in communication with Mr. Parnell in reference to the establishment of an Irish Parliament for purely Irish affairs, made pointed reference to Mr. Parnell’s allusion, in a speech delivered a day or two before, to the position of Austro-Hungary in respect to Imperial Federation, “I gathered,” said Lord Salisbury, innocently, “that some notion of Imperial Federation was floating in his mind.”

## TORY NEWSPAPERS AND HOME RULE.

Even so recently as October, 1910, when the historical Veto Conference was holding its deliberations, the Tory newspapers were preaching Federalism, which means Home Rule All Round.

A correspondent of *The Times*, who signed himself "Pacificus," put forward in its columns the proposal that the Conference, if it should be unable to settle the constitutional question without arriving at an agreement with regard to Home Rule, should ask leave from Parliament to sit again with a wider reference, and perhaps a larger personnel. On this *The Times* made the following remark:—

*"The suggestion is worthy of the careful attention of the Unionist Party and of the nation."*

The *Globe* wrote (October 23, 1910):—

"It may be that in this larger question may be found a solution of the two chief problems that have long perplexed both the great political parties of this country—the unity of the Empire and Home Rule for Ireland. The paradox that the apparent contradiction of these two policies may settle both on lines which grant to the advocates of both their desire may become a truism before many months have passed. . . . Just as by Land Purchase, the Unionist Party destroyed the whole agrarian agitation, so by Federalism it can sweep aside and obliterate Parnellite Home Rule. Tariff Reform and Federation together will carry the country. *A policy of negotiation will not carry even the Unionist Party itself.*"

The *Daily Mail* said:—

"Should the Conference break up, there is hope that the example set by South Africa may once more be followed and a larger Convention be summoned to carry on and complete its work. There need be no sacrifice of principles on either side."

The *Standard* declared:—

"For our part, we are prepared to keep an open mind on the project till we know its character, provided always that

we do not incur the reproach of abandoning old and tried friends of the Unionist Party. There can be no dealing with separation or a replica of Mr. Gladstone's Bills, but Federalism need not be dismissed in the dark. *It is a fair subject for consideration and discussion."*

The London *Evening News* confessed that the idea of Home Rule All Round has a great fascination. "There is no doubt," it says, "that if such a policy could be framed by agreement it would have many advantages for England. Under a just and reasonable system we believe that *all the nations and our over-seas possessions would have much to gain*," and the paper added, "there are indications that it would be possible to arrive at a solution which would satisfy the Ulstermen."

The Parliamentary correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* wrote :—

"Can Unionists consent to discuss Devolution on such lines as those sketched, and remain true to the cardinal principles of Unionism? That is a question which many are asking themselves at this moment. And it is an open secret that the Government are prepared to offer a fresh set of terms on a Federal basis. The question is whether there is any possibility of Unionists being able to join in any such general settlement of the Irish question by consent."

The *Morning Post* was still more outspoken :—

"Years ago it was suggested in our columns that a Federal system was possible of acceptance subject to certain conditions. It was pointed out, for instance, that there would have to be no 'beginning with Ireland,' because exceptional treatment given in one part of the United Kingdom would mean the sanctioning of an anti-national principle. Furthermore, it was pointed out that Ulster would have to be allowed to become, if she so decided, a separate unit. These were the opinions expressed in the columns of the *Morning Post* some years ago, and they are opinions which may certainly be submitted to the consideration of the Unionist Party if the Irish

question is barring the way to a settlement of the constitutional issue."

"The immediate aspect of this question," said the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "is the government of Ireland. Unionists must and do admit that there is a larger outlook now than there was seventeen years ago. Thanks to the beneficent effects of Unionist land legislation, the whole aspect of the Irish question has been changed. Practically the land question has been settled by the Wyndham Act. There remains the demand for decentralised administration and an Irish Assembly with greater or lesser powers, as may be advocated, by one party or another. *Is it not possible that the Irish question may also be disposed of by the consensus of the matured opinion of the United Kingdom? All this points to the bringing in of the hoped for scheme of Imperial unity, and the treatment of Ireland on something like a Federal basis.* This would confer on her some of the distinctive duties which are sought to be imposed upon her by the advocates of Devolution."

Even the *Observer* "toed the line":—

"But there is a changed Ireland and a changed Empire in a changed world. If there is to be no change in the Unionist position a struggle upon the old lines may be attempted, but with not a shadow of probability that it will be attended by the same success. . . . In resisting even a strong and safe scheme of Irish, or general, devolution—in repudiating the federal solution, which is the very principle of union for all modern states dealing with problems like this—the *Dominions will not be with us, and even the party of Preference and Tariff Reform will find itself appealing to Great Britain in vain.*"

The *Observer* also wrote three weeks later (November 13, 1910):—

"*In the due hour, we are convinced, the method and the policy of Conference will be revived, when the eyes of all men are finally opened by the issue of another struggle; and*



as the favourable hour returns—though no man now knows when—we shall raise again *the voice of reason.*”

That passage, it is amusing to note, appeared side by side with four columns about “Home Rule and Home Ruin,” which presumbaly illustrated the suspense of reason pending “the return of the favourable hour.”

“Unionism is doomed,” was another *Observer* epigram, “if it waltzes to war under the device of ‘Death or Dublin Castle!’”

The *Daily Express* said:—

“The well-founded opinion is that a settlement means a scheme of Imperial Federation, of Universal Devolution, of Home-Rule-all-Round. Conservative extremists are aghast. They consider that the Tory party is being dished. For our part we are quite indifferent in a matter of such vital Imperial importance to the dishing of one party or another. We believe that general Devolution and Imperial Federation in some form or another will be the outcome of the great Conference. *We are prepared to welcome such an issue because we believe that these are the lines of true progress for the kingdom of the Empire.*”

The *Express*, in reply to a correspondent, further said:—

“Mr. W. Lawler Wilson, who has taken charge of a movement to combat the spread of the Devolution movement in the Unionist Party, is trying to make our flesh creep with dire prophecy. He takes recourse to the arguments of a quarter of a century ago, when Home Rule meant separation and anti-Imperialism. *We refuse to be frightened.*”

The *World* at the same time had a leading article on “The Spirit of Unity,” opening with an illusion to the first Union Parliament in South Africa. It went on to say:—

“The people with whom we quarrel are those Unionists who loudly shout their determination to oppose any settlement of the Irish question by compromise. We believe that they entirely misjudge the situation. What we do say is, firstly, that the review of the Constitution of this country



affords a fitting opportunity for considering and discussing the question of the constitutional relations of the whole Empire; and, secondly, that, having regard to the position of parties to-day the Irish question must be interlaced with the Second Chamber question; further, that *to endeavour to settle the Irish question, fraught as it is with great danger to the Empire, is to be not a turncoat, but a statesman; to be not an opportunist; but an observer of the troubled political world in which we live. After all, and Unionist extremists forget it, a question not settled with the consent of the party may some day be settled without it.*"

Commenting upon Federal Home Rule, the *Unionist Glasgow Herald* said:—"Politics are unquestionably being *lifted into a clearer atmosphere* where the stretch of vision is Empire-wide."

The *Sheffield Telegraph* also wrote:—

"If we are wise in time we shall recognise the fact that a reasonable scheme for the Federation of the United Kingdom is, if it can be formulated and adopted, *the only remedy* for the chronic ulcer of Irish discontent, and the only alternative to that real disruption of the United Kingdom."

The *Belfast News-Letter*, October 26th, 1910, speaks of

"The suspicion that must now attach to too many of the London Unionist papers of aiding and abetting the conspiracy to undermine the course of the maintenance of the Union. It is the worst instance of the instability of the metropolitan Press that has been observed for very many years. Unfortunately, one cannot get away from the idea that it is also in part *due to influential pressure based on expediency.*"

The *News-Letter* continues (November 1st, 1910):—

"London Conservative journals continue to forget their Unionism." They have, "one by one, *offered to betray the loyalist minority* by a scheme of localised government which, they stated, would preserve the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. . . . A shameful surrender of the most sacred principles."

Near the end of the Conference, after three weeks of this propaganda, the same paper said :—

“The worst of it is that, outside Ireland, Unionist politicians are so perplexed by the Press campaign, and the secrecy of the Conference, that none of them, except Mr. Walter Long, Lord Hugh Cecil, and a few others, *have the pluck at present to say a word in defence of the Union.*”

Even so late as October 18th, 1911, the *Evening Standard* leading article said :—

**“Home Rule pure and simple may be undesirable, but call it Federalism, Devolution, Self-government, and isn't there a great deal to be said for it in that form? And there is that awkward fact that a good deal was said for it only a year ago by various influential exponents of Unionist opinion, who, so far from being Die-hards then, were quite inclined for a square deal with Mr. Redmond.”**

Even the Marquess of Londonderry, the leader of the Ulster Tories when they are in Ulster, and the leader of the North of England Tories, was “suspect.” The special correspondent of the *Morning Post* wrote on September 25th, 1911 :—

“He is now regarded as outside the councils of Ulster and I have authority for stating that this is the decision of Ulster herself. Recent speeches are quoted with great dissatisfaction, notably a speech on the Veto Bill, in which Lord Londonderry suggested that if the House of Lords were spared Ulster might accept Home Rule to make the best of it, assuming it was approved by the electors of the United Kingdom.”

A few days later there was a Political Luncheon Party in Belfast, with Lord Londonderry back in the fold, whether as the elder brother or the prodigal son it is not for us to say. What did the *Morning Post's* correspondent then say?

“It was good to see Lord Londonderry at the luncheon and I am told that they intend to smooth his way back into cordial co-operation again, but even the chivalrous eloquence of Sir Edward Carson on his behalf could not charm these uncompromising Ulstermen into forgiving those strange speeches in the House of Lords last summer.”

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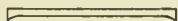


# HOME RULE.

## The Irish National Convention, 1912.

. . LIST OF DELEGATES . .  
AND  
REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS.

[*Reprinted from the "Freeman's Journal."*]



1912.

Published by THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY,  
2 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London.

PRINTED BY  
SEALY, BRYERS AND WALKER,  
ABBAY STREET, DUBLIN.



## FOREWORD.

The report of the proceedings at the Irish National Convention of 1912 has been re-issued in response to numerous requests from Irish Nationalists and their sympathisers in every part of the English-speaking world.

The Convention was the largest and most representative ever brought together on Irish soil. The proceedings were of the most harmonious character throughout. The resolutions proposed were adopted with absolute unanimity and with the utmost enthusiasm. To those who question the existence of any genuine desire for Home Rule on the part of the Irish people, this report furnishes a sufficient answer. As the authentic expression of the spirit of the Irish race, and of the policy of its leaders, the report will be welcomed by every friend of Ireland and by every supporter of the Home Rule cause.

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## THE IRISH NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1912.

The Home Rule Convention in the Mansion House yesterday was without parallel in the history of Ireland. No previous assembly was so fully representative of the country, its public boards, its interests, industrial, commercial, professional: its political life and religious views. The Corporations of the great cities were represented by delegations, headed by the Lord Mayors of Dublin and Cork and the Mayors of the other cities and corporate towns. There were clergymen of all religions, Christian and Jewish, in Ireland, and amongst the speakers was the veteran Protestant Home Ruler, the Rector of Kennare, who stood on Home Rule platforms since the days of Butt. The universities, the professions—medical, legal, scientific—the commerce of the country, its trade, manufacture, and the landlord, the tenant, the merchant, trader, capital, labour—were represented in this assembly, which combined every element in the life of the country, in its declaration for Home Rule. The delegates were chosen by the Corporations and Municipal Bodies, the County Councils, District Councils, urban and rural, the Poor Law Boards, and as such were the leaders of the administrative work of the country for many years, veterans in local government, bringing the gifts developed in the discharge of civic work and the local councils to bear on the wider sphere now opening to the country. These local bodies have come into existence since Parnell's day, and the important element of the local government of Ireland which formed so large a part of yesterday's great Convention was never so complete at any previous gathering of Irishmen. The National Organisation was represented by its leaders in the political organisation of the country, the young men and the veterans in the movement, and the National Societies completed the representation of the country. The delegates began to troop into the Round Room of the Mansion House at ten o'clock, and before half-past ten the vast building was filled. The delegates were in the best humour during the hour and a half's wait for the opening of the proceedings, and discussed the points of the Home Rule Bill with keen in-

terest. Many of them had official copies of the Bill, and there were hundreds of them who had copies of the *Freeman's Journal* of the 18th, containing the text of the Bill. The scene at eleven o'clock was a remarkable one. The delegates thronged the galleries as well as the body of the hall, and there was no room for visitors. Out through the wide doors the passages were seen to be full, and, in fact, the grounds outside were already packed with delegates who were unable to find accommodation within the building. The crush was great, but the order was, notwithstanding, perfect. It was decided that speakers should address the delegates in the grounds who were unable to get within the building, and to invite those amongst them who wished to speak on the Home Rule Bill to address the assembly also, and to submit to those outside the resolutions that were considered within. The result was that, while the assembly in the Round Room was considering the question, the delegates in the open air formed, so to speak, a second Convention, which expressed its acceptance of the Bill with, to use Mr. Redmond's phrase, equal alacrity and enthusiasm.

The central passage had been kept clear until twenty past eleven, and at that hour a great cheer burst from the assembly as Mr. Redmond, followed by the other members of the Irish Party, entered the hall and passed up through the midst of the assembly to the platform. The cries of cheers for Redmond, Dillon, Devlin, T. P. O'Connor which rose on all sides were suddenly changed as if by common consent to shouts of "Cheers for Gladstone," and the whole assembly went wild with delight. Many were puzzled at first, until a tall figure was pointed out in the procession of members of Parliament as "the grandson of Gladstone," and in the cheers and the enthusiasm which followed, amid which it was not difficult to distinguish a poignant note, the representatives of the country, at the great assembly, expressed the nation's gratitude to the great Liberal Leader who first brought Home Rule to the front of the great questions of the day. When the members of Parliament had

taken their seats behind Mr. Redmond, who, as Chairman of the Irish Party, took the chair, the Convention at once proceeded to business. Mr. Devlin and Father Cannon were appointed Secretaries, as at former Conventions, and Father Cannon evoked loud applause when he announced that the first letter was from the Bishop of Raphoe. The first cheers, which were a personal tribute to the great Prelate, were renewed when his statement was read that "the Bill is conceived in a large, friendly, and sympathetic spirit," and his Lordship's closing tribute to the Irish Party and expression of confidence in their ability and care to safeguard Ireland's rights was marked with a renewed outburst of enthusiasm.

The reading of the cablegram from Mr. Patrick Egan and Mr. P. A. O'Farrell contradicting the attempted misrepresentation of Irish-American opinion was cheered with emphasis.

A hush fell on the assembly when Mr. Redmond submitted the resolution of regret at the loss of the "Titanic," and of sympathy with the families of those that perished in the great catastrophe.

Mr. Redmond then proceeded with his speech on the Home Rule Bill, which he declared was the greatest and most satisfactory measure of Home Rule ever offered to this country. The cheering which ratified this declaration was renewed when he said that Home Rule under this Bill was "better for Ireland than Repeal of the Union," and the Convention followed his explanation with deep interest. The Irish Parliament would have the control of every purely Irish affair, with certain exceptions, and will have the power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland. Amid great applause, Mr. Redmond contrasted this state of affairs with the blood-stained annals of the past, and went on to describe the great powers that were to be conferred. There were matters excluded which they did not ask for, and did not want. His references to the clauses in regard to religion were heartily received. He thought the restrictions in regard to this matter unnecessary and somewhat humiliating, but, in the name of the Convention, he accepted the safeguards, even if there were only a dozen men in Ireland who thought them necessary. His examination of the details of the Bill was a masterpiece of exposition. In the House of Commons, he concluded,

"I accepted the Bill." Then he asked the delegates to endorse his words, and the whole assemblage rose to its feet and cheered and waved hats and handkerchiefs for three or four minutes. He immediately afterwards said, "I ask you to say that I spoke not only for the Irish Party, but that I spoke for the Irish people." Here again there was even a greater demonstration, which made the Round Room shake. There has scarcely even been anything like it before in Ireland.

The Lord Mayor of Cork then proposed the resolution accepting the Bill, and the motion was carried in the same spirit. The reception of the Lord Mayor of Cork was specially enthusiastic, and his lordship's assertion, "Cork is coming right," evoked prolonged applause.

Mr. Redmond then introduced "the grandson of Mr. Gladstone," and when Mr. W. C. G. Gladstone, M.P., stood forward to speak, the scene was indescribable, and one could almost imagine that the spirit of the great Liberal leader was hovering in the air. Young Mr. Gladstone was evidently surprised and touched at the tremendous enthusiasm of his welcome. He paid it well back with a speech which delighted the delegates, who, when he finished, rose and hailed him again with loud acclamations.

Canon Arthur Ryan (Tipperary) then proposed that the necessary amendments to the Bill should be left to Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party to move in Committee, paying a great tribute to Mr. Redmond's leadership. Some of the points which he made against the opponents of the Bill created considerable amusement.

The resolution was seconded, amidst great and prolonged applause, by the Rev. Mr. McCutchan, the Protestant Rector of Kenmare, a venerable old gentleman, with white hair and beard, who said that he never experienced so unanimous a decision as had been given there that day. The Lord Mayor of Dublin followed with an admirable speech, and Mr. T. M. Kettle evoked loud cheers when he rose to support the resolution. Canon Murphy, of Macroom, was followed by Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., who met with a rousing reception. This, he said, was a proudest day for the Irish Party. There were newspaper and other critics who said that the financial clauses of the Bill were



not satisfactory. Parnell accepted a Bill under which Ireland had to pay £2,000,000 a year to the Imperial Government. Under this Bill she had not to pay anything. On the contrary, she received nearly that sum for the present from the Imperial Treasury. But, said the orator, in a fine passage, which was rapturously applauded, "We are for Freedom first and finance afterwards; we are not huxters or brokers out for a commercial deal."

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., followed Dr. Keating, of Ballinhassig, County Cork, and his rising was the signal for another outburst of cheering. Mr. O'Connor's references to the "sham extreme men" who have been sending messages across the Atlantic were warmly approved. "Why is not faction here to-day?" he thundered, with his arms raised; "why does it not come before the Irish nation as represented here by five thousand men?" The splendid and passionate outburst had a great effect on the Convention. Not a voice was raised on behalf of the protesting patriots. "T. P." has scarcely ever been heard in such magnificent effect, but his voice seemed to be a little husky.

Father MacFadden, P.P. of Glenties, was greeted with "Cheers for Gweedore."

Mr. John Dillon, who got a great reception, followed, and dwelt on the hopes of the *Times* and other Unionist papers in England, and certain papers in Ireland, that the Convention would reject or emasculate the Bill. The Irish Party were challenged to meet the Convention. Well, they had met it, and when the resolution accepting the Bill was put there was not one dissentient voice. He appealed to the delegates to see that the Parliamentary Party was not stabbed in the back. Mr. Dillon went on to pay a warm tribute to Mr. Asquith, Mr. Birrell, and the other Ministers who had to deal with the Bill. They had met the Irish Party not only in a fair but generous spirit. He believed that the Government was genuinely anxious to close the quarrel with Ireland. Mr. Dillon declared, amidst applause, that it was discreditable for a paper to publish messages against the Bill from Irishmen in the United States without saying how and where they were got. He wound up by declaring that the Irish Party were fully

confident of carrying their cause to victory.

Then, at half-past two, came Mr. John O'Callaghan, the National Secretary of the United Irish League of America, who got a splendid welcome. He described Mr. Redmond as not only the leader of the Ireland at home, but also as leader of the Irish on the other side of the Atlantic. Mr. O'Callaghan's speech was a memorable success.

He was followed by Mr. William Redmond, who got a very hearty reception, the Round Room being still packed, and the delegates still anxious to listen to the speeches. Mr. Redmond stirred the Convention deeply in a powerful and most eloquent passage, in which he described the twenty-six years of anxious days and nights since the rejection of the Home Rule Bill of 1896.

Mr. Pierce O'Mahony followed in a very practical speech, and then Mr. Bradley, a North of England delegate, a veteran in the cause.

At about 3.25 Mr. Redmond left the chair, which was taken by the Lord Mayor.

Monsignor Glynn then proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Redmond, which was seconded by Mr. Harford, Leader of the Irish Brigade in Liverpool. Both speakers highly eulogised the Leader for his great services to the cause.

Mr. Redmond, in reply, simply said, addressing the delegates: "From the bottom of my heart I thank you."

Immediately the immense throng, by one impulse, burst into the chorus of "God Save Ireland," which was splendidly sung twice, amidst a scene of tremendous enthusiasm.

## THE IRISH PARTY.

The following members of the Irish Party were present:—Messrs. William Abraham, M.P.; J. P. Boland, M.P.; Alderman D. Boyle, M.P.; P. J. Brady, M.P.; John Cullinan, M.P.; P. Crumley, M.P.; Captain Donelan, M.P.; William Delany, M.P.; Joseph Devlin, M.P.; John Dillon, M.P.; William Doris, M.P.; William Duffy, M.P.; John Esmonde, M.D., M.P.; Sir Thomas Esmonde, M.P.; J. P. Farrell, M.P.; Peter Ffrench, M.P.; William Field, M.P.; John Fitzgibbon, M.P.; Stephen Gwynn, M.P.; John Hackett, M.P.; J. P. Hayden, M.P.; Alderman M. Joyce, M.P.; M. Keating, M.P.; E. J. Kelly, M.P.; James C. R. Lardner, M.P.; Hugh A.

Law, M.P.; Thomas Lundon, M.P.; Colonel Arthur Lynch, M.P.; J. G. Swift MacNeill, M.P.; Jeremiah MacVeagh, M.P.; Richard McGhee, M.P.; Michael Meagher, M.P.; F. E. Meehan, M.P.; P. A. Meehan, M.P.; Michael Molloy, M.P.; John Muldoon, M.P.; J. P. Nannetti, M.P.; Joseph Nolan, M.P.; Sir Walter Nugent, M.P.; Patrick O'Brien, M.P.; T. P. O'Connor, M.P.; Thomas O'Donnell, M.P.; Edward P. O'Kelly, M.P.; Charles O'Neill, M.D., M.P.; Philip O'Doherty, M.P.; James J. O'Kelly, M.P.; T. O'Sullivan, M.P.; P. J. O'Shaughnessy, M.P.; John Phillips, M.P.; P. J. Power, M.P.; Michael Reddy, M.P.; J. E. Redmond, M.P.; David Sheehy, M.P.; Thomas F. Smyth, M.P.; William Redmond, M.P.; Augustine Roche, M.P.; Samuel Young, M.P.

### ON THE PLATFORM.

Amongst those on the platform were :—The Right Rev. Mgr. McGlynn, P.P., V.G., Stranorlar; Very Rev. James Canon MacFadden, P.P., Glenties; Rev. J. C. Cannon, P.P., Carriek; Very Rev. Canon Murphy, P.P., V.G., Tipperary; Very Rev. Canon Fleming, V.G., Killybegs; Rev. J. J. Flynn, O.P., Tallaght; Rev. S. A. O'Kelly, O.P., do.; Rev. P. McKenna, O.P., do.; Rev. Geo. McCutchan, Rector of Kenmare; Rev. J. Kennedy, P.P., Clonlara; Rev. J. J. Finlay, Waterford; Rev. J. Connery, C.C., Emly; Very Rev. Canon Power, P.P., Emly; Rev. J. J. Donnelly, Wolverhampton; Rev. Father Hackett, P.P., Templemore; Rev. J. Ryan, Wolverhampton; Rev. W. B. O'Donnell, P.P.; Mr. John O'Callaghan, Professor Kettle, Mr. W. C. G. Gladstone, M.P.; the Lord Mayor of Cork (Alderman H. O'Shea), the Mayor of Clonmel (Alderman James Meehan), the Mayor of Waterford (Councillor M. Kirwan), Mr. Pierce O'Mahony, Alderman Thomas Whittle, Waterford; Rev. P. Comerford, C.C., Kilmacow; Mr. J. M. C. Briscoe, Dr. Keating, Ballinhassig; Mr. Bradley, Newcastle-on-Tyne; Alderman Richard Hearne, J.P., Waterford; David McDonald, J.P., do.; J. Higgins, T.C., do.; W. P. Maher, T.C., do.; Professor Fitzgerald, M.A., do.; Owen Dawson, T.C., do.; William Fitzgerald, T.C., do.; John Brennan, do.; S. M'Farland, J.P., Leeds; T. J. Hanna (private secretary to Mr. John Redmond), J. P. Gaynor, B.L.; John Valentine, Bristol; C. E. Redmond (Secretary Parnell Monument

Committee), Francis J. Hanna, Glasnevin; Richard Graham, do.; Patrick Dempsey, J.P., Belfast; H. W. Conway, Dublin; J. F. Dalton, do.; Councillor Beattie, Wolverhampton; Gerald Noonan, R. and J. Whelan, James J. Slattery, Eugene Slattery, J. T. O'Donnell; F. J. Flynn, Daniel Shirley, Waterford; M. Duffy, do.; J. Cassidy, Athlone; Dr. P. Sheridan, do.; James Naughton, do.; John Kelly, do.

Liverpool Branches of the United Irish League—John Bolger, Waterloo Branch; Jas. Faulkner, O'Connell Branch; John Boylan and Councillor Cunningham, Sandhills Branch; Councillor Cloney, J.P., Mandeville Branch; John Dolan, Wolfe Tone Branch; W. Grogan, T. Clare, D. Lynch, Abercromby Branch; J. Quinn, West Toxteth Branch; R. Dunn, J. M. McGrath, West Derby Branch; Dr. Wafer Byrne, Kirkdale Branch; Councillor Austin Harford, J.P., Chairman, Liverpool and District Committee U.I.L., and Member of the Executive U.I.L.

### CONVENTION OPENS.

#### LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF RAPHOE.

Mr. Redmond, rising in his place at twenty minutes past eleven, said:—Gentlemen, I will ask the Very Rev. Father Cannon and Mr. Devlin to act as Secretaries to the Convention (hear, hear), and I will ask Father Cannon to read some communications which he has received.

Very Rev. Father Cannon, P.P., said:—The first letter which I shall read for this Convention is one received from his Lordship the Bishop of Raphoe.

Father Cannon then read his Lordship's letter, as follows, the reading of it being punctuated by vigorous cheers:—

ARD ABHAMNAM, LETTERKENNY.

20th April, 1912.

DEAR SIRS.—One should go far back into Irish history for a National Assembly convened with so bright a prospect as, in the ways of Providence, opens upon us now.

The Bill is conceived in a large, friendly spirit, with sympathetic care engraven on every feature of it, and all its parts are thoroughly compacted into one well devised instrument of Irish Government. It suits the requirements of the present, and it provides for future



adjustments with as near an approach to automatic arrangements as is good for either country.

In the powers that will then come to us we have a strong inducement to make the Irish deficit on the Imperial balance sheet disappear, while on the other hand, disappear it cannot under the Bill, except through the growth of Irish prosperity and population.

Some of the transferred services need more money than is now expended upon them, but the margin in the transferred sum and gradual economies on other expenditure will enable the new Government to provide necessary increases and take in hand the development of the national resources.

Though, with them or without them, on the Cause must go, it would be a great satisfaction to every true Nationalist if our fellow-countrymen who hitherto have held aloof were at last to join in placing on the Statute Book a measure that will weld all Irishmen together in the noble occupation of co-operating on equal terms for the good of our common country.

It adds to our confidence, under God's blessing, that the hour has come to secure Ireland's rights, that no small country ever had the services of a Parliamentary Party more efficient or better led than ours.—I am, dear sirs, faithfully yours,

✱PATRICK O'DONNELL,  
*Bishop of Raphoe.*

Father Cannon,—A cablegram has been received from Mr. Patrick Egan, former Minister of the United States to Chili, and ex-Secretary of the Land League, and Mr. Patrick A. O'Farrell, a well-known Nationalist of New York City:—

Protest published in *Independent* in no way represents the opinion of the Irish Race in the United States and Canada.

It is instigated by notorious enemies of Home Rule, machine politicians, and servants of the Anglo-American money trusts, allied with British Tories with a few dupes never hitherto interested in Ireland.

It is a vile factionist attempt to stab Ireland in the back at the crisis of her long struggle for Independence, and should be condemned by every honest man.

PATRICK EGAN.  
PATRICK A. O'FARRELL.

Father Cannon's reading of the cablegram was also punctuated by frequent outbursts of applause. Continuing, Father Cannon said:—There is a regular sheaf of correspondence from different parts of Ireland, and from other countries as well, and I shall hand them down to the Press. Some of them have been already published, and the remainder of them will be published to-morrow.

#### OTHER MESSAGES OF SUPPORT.

The following is included in the correspondence referred to:—

Boston citizens, all classes, priests and Protestant clergymen of all denominations, President of Taft's Simons Technology, Federation of Catholic Societies and Central Labour Union approve the Bill.

With full confidence in chosen leaders we greet most historic Convention, believing it the prelude to a new era of National life, peace and endeavour under an Irish Parliament in which orange and green will again blend as in 1782.

MICHAEL J. JORDAN,  
*President.*

Central Branch U.I.L., Boston.

John E. Redmond, Convention,  
Dublin.

Heartly congratulations to Mr. Redmond, the Parliamentary Party, and the Irish people on successful Home Rule Bill and consequent self-government for Ireland.

From John E. Redmond Branch,  
United Irish League, Boston.

MARK H. CREHAN.  
EDWARD J. SLATTERY.

NEW YORK via ANGLO (redirected from House of Commons).

John Redmond, Gresham Hotel,  
Dublin.

Heartly congratulations introduction Home Rule Bill. Splendid initial victory, Irish Party and Ireland's cause.

JOHN P. MITCHEL,  
(Grandson of John Mitchel).

ATHOL, MASS., U.S.A.  
To John Redmond, Mansion House,  
Dublin.

Success. Expect unanimous ratification your splendid work by Convention.

O'MEAGHER CONDON.

## NEW YORK.

To John Redmond, Mansion House,  
Dublin.

Mayworth Union, United States, in annual meeting representing over one hundred Irish priests, unanimously approve Bill and wish it and its sponsors God-speed.

M'CREADY, *President*.

(Right Rev. Monsignor M'Cready,  
New York).

## SWANSEA.

To John Redmond, M.P., Mansion House, Dublin.

Swansea Irishmen heartily support Home Rule Bill. Sincerely trust Ireland will unanimously accept it.

O'CALLAGHAN.

## LEEDS.

To J. E. Redmond, M.P., Mansion House, Dublin.

Best wishes of Irish exiles of East Leeds, and we pray God to bless your cause. God save Ireland. East Ward Branch United Irish League.

FLANAGAN, *President*.

LONG, *Vice-President*.

KINNELEY and KENNEDY, *Secs*.

## BOLTON.

Irishmen of Bolton send greetings to delegates. Bill for Irish freedom represents best in English and Irish statesmanship. Hurrah for good work of Redmond and dauntless Irish Party.

C. HORAN.

## WELLINGTON.

To Redmond, Dublin.

New Zealand Home Rulers send congratulations on splendid outcome of your work. Ireland's great heart can forget past oppressions, accepting rightful place in the greatest Empire the world ever saw.

KENNEDY.

STEPNEY.

To Redmond, Mansion House,  
Dublin.

Limehouse Branch has sent its delegate to support you, and, in addition, desire to congratulate you on your

magnificent leadership, which has resulted in the production of a most acceptable Bill.

O'BRIEN, *Chairman*.

GLYNN, *Secretary*.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
22nd April.

To Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P.

Too ill to attend to-morrow. God speed you.

O'KELLY.

CARLOW.

To Redmond, Convention, Dublin.

Well-wishes for success of Convention. Grateful for Party's assistance re development Killeslin resources. Hope Development Commission for Ireland will be appointed.

GAFFNEY.

To Redmond, Chairman Irish Party and National Convention, Mansion House, Dublin.

We the Dromore West District Council sitting, hereby tender you as Ireland's leader our absolute confidence in and most cordial good wishes and steadfast support for the triumphant success of our great National Convention.

WM. ROUSE, *Chairman*.

## THE "TITANIC" DISASTER.

Mr. Redmond, on again rising, was vigorously cheered. He said—Before proceeding to the business of the Convention I think it would be proper for an assembly such as this, representing all classes and creeds of the Irish people, to put upon record their feelings of deep sorrow and of heartfelt sympathy at that terrible disaster which has touched Ireland as much as any other country (hear, hear), and which has shocked the whole civilised world. I therefore, with your permission, will move, without any further words, the following resolution—

That this Convention, representing all creeds and classes of the Irish people, hereby places upon record the expression of its profound sorrow at the loss of the ss. "Titanic," and of our sincere sympathy with the relatives of all who perished in that appalling tragedy, which has cast a dark shadow over two hemispheres and has evoked the sympathy of the civilised world.

(Hear, hear).

A Delegate—The Lord have mercy on them.

Mr. Redmond—I ask Mr. O'Callaghan, Chairman of the Urban Council of Queenstown, to second this resolution.

Mr. O'Callaghan (Queenstown) seconded the resolution.

Mr. Redmond—Gentlemen, I will now ask you to rise in your places and in silence to pass this resolution.

The vast body then rose to its feet, and the Chairman declared the resolution passed.

### MR. REDMOND'S SPEECH.

Mr. Redmond (continuing) said—And now, gentlemen, allow me to announce one or two directions for the conduct of the business of this Convention. Delegates who desire to speak are requested to send up their names to the chair, and no delegate will be allowed to speak from the body of the hall (hear, hear). Every delegate whose name is sent up will be called up here, and when called he will have to come here and address the Convention from this platform (hear, hear). No delegate will be allowed to speak twice on the same motion, and it may be necessary to make a time limit for speeches, but I will leave that over for the moment. Now, gentlemen, I don't suppose there is any man, of any political opinion, in Ireland who will grudge me to-day the gratification and the pride (cheers) of congratulating this Convention on the fact that the introduction of the Home Rule Bill and the character of the Home Rule Bill (cheers) are a complete vindication and justification of the policy of the Irish Party for the last three years, in the face of unparalleled difficulties (loud cheers) and of much discouragement and even attack here in Ireland (hear, hear). All through those three years we have been assailed—assailed by suspicion, by misrepresentation, and, I am sorry to say, in some quarters by abuse; but we have felt all through that we had the Irish nation at our back (loud and prolonged cheering). We endured, and we have refused to budge one hair's breadth from the promise we put before the country, and to-day we have our complete justification (loud applause). Gentlemen, the Home Rule Bill is the greatest and most satisfactory measure of Home Rule ever offered to this country (hear, hear). We were reminded the other day that it is not repeal of the Union. No; but it is

something far more valuable to Ireland than repeal of the Union. Grattan's Parliament was independent in theory; but it was dependent and impotent in practice (hear, hear). No law passed by that Parliament, no measure passed by that Parliament could become law until it had passed King and Council in England; and the Executive of Grattan's Parliament was responsible not to the Parliament of Ireland, but to the Parliament of England (hear, hear). We have heard recently in the House of Commons statements that the constituencies have not been consulted on Home Rule (A Voice—"They are here to-day."). Of course, the statement is ludicrously false. In three general elections in succession the constituencies of the United Kingdom have returned a Government pledged to the principle of Home Rule (cheers). But it is pertinent to ask how was the Union carried? (Hear, hear.) Was it submitted to the constituencies? (Cheers.) In 1793, as you all know, the Protestant Parliament of the day extended the franchise to the Catholics of Ireland (cheers). But they were never allowed to exercise that franchise. When the Union was first proposed it was defeated in the Irish Parliament (cheers), and if the Executive Government of Ireland had been then responsible to the Irish Parliament dissolution would have necessarily followed. The constituencies would have been consulted, and as everybody admits, the Union would have been finally defeated (applause). But the Executive of the day was not responsible to the Irish House of Commons, but responsible to the English House of Commons. No dissolution took place. The constituencies were never consulted, and in that way the Union was carried (hear, hear). Well, gentlemen of the Convention, under this Bill when it becomes law, for the first time Ireland will have an Executive Government dependent upon the confidence of the Irish House of Commons (cheers). The Irish Parliament and the Irish Executive dependent upon and responsible to that freely-elected Irish Parliament, will have the control under this Bill—subject to a few exceptions with which I will deal in a moment—of every purely Irish affair (cheers). Instead of having certain subjects delegated to it to deal with, it will—with certain exceptions to which, as I have said, I will allude in a moment—have power over all Irish affairs, and is specifically given the right and the



power to make law for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland (cheers). Now, mark the first result of that. Dublin Castle, with all its evil and blood-stained traditions, disappears (loud cheers). That horrible system—anti-Irish, unrepresentative, centralised bureaucracy, which has misgoverned, tortured, and ruined Ireland, crumbles instantly into dust, and a new Irish Executive will control every Irish Board and every Irish Department. Let me read for you a list published in the official White Paper of the Government the other day of the departments which will immediately come under the control of the Irish Parliament and the Irish Executive. They are put in seven classes. The first class—Public Works and Buildings—includes rates on Government property, public works and buildings, railways, and other services connected therewith (hear, hear). The second class—Civil Departments—includes Department of Agriculture, Congested Districts Board, Local Government Board—(hear, hear)—Public Works Office, Valuation Office, Stationery and printing, and other services connected therewith. Class three—Law and Justice (cheers), Law Charges Supreme Court, County Courts, the Dublin Metropolitan Police (cheers), Prisons, Reformatory, and Industrial Schools, and other services connected therewith. Class four—Education, Science and Art, Public Education (cheers) Universities and Colleges, and other services connected therewith. Class six—the ineffective and charitable services, superannuation and other services connected therewith; and, finally, the Irish Post Office (cheers). With that we get immediately the appointment of all Judges, whether for the Supreme Courts, County Courts, or resident magistrates through the country (laughter and cheers). And, as you know, we get immediate control of the Dublin Metropolitan Police. Now, if I stopped there and told you we are offered a Bill which gives you power over so vast a field of Irish government, would not I be justified in saying we would be a nation of fools not to take it? (Cheers). But, gentlemen, the Bill goes much further. Let me deal with what are called Reserved Services—services over which England for a time will keep control. I will point out at first to you about these services that most of them—in fact, all of them that we care about,

will come with automatic precision under the control of Ireland in a comparatively few number of years (cheers). There are two classes of exemptions. First, there are the things I say here to-day we don't want and don't ask for (hear, hear). For example, questions connected with the Crown and the succession of the Crown, with the army and navy, with foreign relations, with coinage, and matters of that nature. They are the first class, which I say we never asked for and don't want: and there is also this first class, the reservation with reference to religious ascendancy. There are provisions in the Bill which would make it impossible for the Irish Parliament to enact laws with the object of interfering with the civil and religious rights of property of any man because of his religious persuasion (cheers). We know perfectly well, and the Protestants in this hall know as well as the Catholics (hear, hear) that these safeguards are unnecessary (hear, hear), but I have said in dealing with the question for years past, that, though I believe them unnecessary, and though in a sense, indeed, they are humiliating to our national pride (hear, hear), still as long as there were a dozen men in Ireland of our race and kin to entertain honest fears upon this subject, I would be willing to put any conceivable safeguard into the Bill to lull their suspicions to rest (cheers). I, therefore, say, I believe most truthfully, in your name, that we accept these safeguards: that we say to our Protestant fellow-countrymen that they are unnecessary, but if any single man thinks they are necessary we are willing that they should be in (cheers). Now, the second class of subjects reserved from our control is reserved only for a certain time. We get control of the Royal Irish Constabulary at the end of six years (cheers), and, mark you, when we get control of that force at the end of six years the cost of the service will continue to be paid from Imperial sources (cheers), and we will benefit on any economies that we may make. We get control of the Old Age Pensions system within one year (hear, hear, and a Voice—"We don't want them"), and again I ask you to mark that the cost of the system will continue to be paid after we have taken it over out of Imperial sources, and that any economies we make in the administration will go to the benefit of Ireland (cheers). The same thing is true of the

Insurance Act, and after ten years we get control of the Irish Savings Banks. I am not disclosing any secret when I tell you that we thought the reservation of the Savings Banks for a certain number of years would be useful in order to prevent a plot being set on foot to damage Irish credit and to damage the Irish Government (hear, hear). And finally, and this is the last of the reservations, finally, when the Irish deficit is paid off—as it will be in a comparatively short number of years, owing to the general increase of prosperity in Ireland—then we shall obtain the collection of Irish taxes into our hands (applause). The one outstanding service is land purchase, and remember, ladies and gentlemen, that that service by its very nature is of itself of a transitory character. I say quite frankly to you that, in my belief, any reasonable or thoughtful man cannot complain that while this system of land purchase is being carried out by Imperial credit, that the Imperial authority should insist on fully safeguarding the security for the loans (hear, hear). If you consider for a moment anything else would bring land purchase to an absolute deadlock; it would make the floating of Land Stock absolutely impossible, and as men who desire to see land purchase not only continued and completed, but expedited and rapidly completed, we don't want that the Imperial authority, which guarantees these loans of a couple of hundred millions, should not maintain a governing hand over everything relating to the security for the loans. But, as I point out to you, even that reservation is a reservation necessarily only for a short time, because land purchase, so far as agreements are concerned, will be over in a small number of years (hear, hear), and once all the agreements are made it ought to be quite possible to come to a satisfactory arrangement between the two Governments as to the administration of the work of the Department (hear, hear). It will then be seen, ladies and gentlemen, that under this Bill we get immediate control of nine-tenths of the services, and that eventually, as a matter of course, in a few years we get control of every Irish department of Government (cheers). Now, objection has been taken in some quarters to a nominated Senate. Gentlemen, speaking quite freely for myself upon this matter, personally, I believe in a nominated Senate (hear, hear, and

applause). From my own reading of history of the world, and especially the history of the Colonies, I believe a nominated Senate is a more democratic body than a Senate elected upon a narrow franchise (hear, hear), three conditions always fulfilled: 1st, the nomination must be, not as in the Dominion of Canada for life, but for a short number of years (hear, hear); secondly, a large proportion of the senators ought to go out of office every two or three years (hear, hear); and, thirdly, there should be satisfactory provision as to a deadlock between the two Chambers. Now, these three conditions are fulfilled in the Bill. The Senators are to be nominated for eight years, one-fourth of them will go out every two years, and there is an admirable provision for settling any difficulties between the two Houses. The Senate will have no power either to amend or reject any money Bill. It will have the power of rejecting an ordinary Bill twice—I think a proper provision to prevent rash or reckless legislation—but at the end of the second rejection the two Houses will meet together, and the Bill will pass if it has a majority of one (cheers). And let me give you another reason—a purely personal reason—why I am in favour of a nominated Senate. I want the Irish Second Chamber from the very start to be crowded with men who have not been partisans of the National Party in the past at all (cheers). I want to see it crowded by men of business and affairs—men of commerce, men representing the professions, the arts and the sciences, and the literature of Ireland (cheers)—men having large stakes in the country; and although I am quite sure that after a while, when the old lines of demarcation between parties have been obliterated in Ireland, men of this type would be elected in large numbers still; still, I doubt if they would be elected at the start, and I want to see them there at the start; and I tell you if I had in my own hands the nomination of the first Senate of the Irish Parliament I would put into it a large majority, a considerable majority, of men of the type to which I have referred (cheers). Now, gentlemen, let me say a word of the financial clauses of this Bill. I say they need no apology from anyone (cheers). I say they constitute a good scheme—a far better financial scheme than the one in the Bill of 1886 or of 1893

(cheers). Now, in a word, what does this Bill propose? Every penny of Irish taxation, no matter from what source—direct taxation or indirect taxation, Customs or Income tax, any you like—every penny of Irish taxation is to be expended on the government of Ireland. And, in addition to that, England is to provide for an indefinite number of years—as I hope a short number of years—but for an indefinite number of years, a sum of at least a million and a half a year out of Imperial sources, with, in addition to that, a sum, by way of surplus of Irish revenue over expenditure, commencing at £500,000, and, finally, at the end of eight years, reduced to £200,000 a year, which will be a permanent sum (cheers). Now, England cannot complain of having to pay this two millions a year. The present state of things is the result—the magnificent result of the government of Ireland under the Union. Home Rule, as a matter of fact, will be in the nature of a financial relief to England in the end (cheers). If Home Rule is refused, again the deficit of a million and a half or two millions will, in five years, be four or five millions (hear, hear). Therefore, England has no right to complain of this arrangement, as it is a good one for her. Well, there is only one aspect in which it is unsatisfactory to us. We want to pay our own way in this country (applause). And it is humiliating to our national pride, even though we know that the situation is the result of English ignorant misgovernment—it is humiliating to our national pride to receive any subsidy, even at the commencement, from England (hear, hear). We want to stand on our own legs at the commencement (hear, hear). Hence it is that I rejoice, and you all rejoice, that this Bill provides machinery whereby when, through the increasing prosperity of Ireland the deficit disappears—that is when, through the natural growth of prosperity of the revenue of the country, then the Bill provides that an agreement be come to between the two Parliaments whereby Ireland will enter into an arrangement to pay whatever is decided to be her fair proportion of Imperial expenses, and whereby we in this country get control of the collection of our taxes (applause). Now, under this scheme, we get complete control of the rates, of the duties of Excise on beer and on spirits. That is to say, we can

abolish, if we like, all the Excise duties in Ireland, or we can diminish them; or we can increase them to any amount we wish; and similarly we have the same rights as to Customs duties, excise on beer and spirits. We have also power to reduce or abolish the other Customs duties, such as on tea or sugar, or increase them to the limit of ten per cent. (applause). Now, ladies and gentlemen, what we have not got, and the only thing we have not got on this question, is a general power of protection against England and the whole world. For my part, I do not know that Ireland wants anything of the kind (hear, hear). I am not aware that Ireland wants anything of the kind (No!); and my own personal individual view is that such power would be valueless to Ireland. Anyhow, I put it to the country and to you that it is ridiculous for grown men to imagine they could get for this country a universal power of protection from a Free Trade Government (hear, hear). On the reduction of the Irish members, only one word. I assume most of you would be glad to see no members there at all—at least a great many would—so that Ireland would be concentrated entirely on the Irish Parliament and on Irish affairs. But there are others, of whom I myself am one, who are glad that Ireland should have her share in the government of the Empire, in the building up of which she had a large share. But we took the view that the Irish members should not remain in the English Parliament in such large numbers as to create a constant pretext for the discussion of Irish affairs, and the only objection I heard to the reduction is that Ireland's powers will be diminished with reference to her financial position. But the Bill provides that when the deficit disappears and the new financial arrangement is to be come to the Irish members are to go back to the English House of Commons in full numbers in order to decide the agreement that is to be come to. Now I say, as at the commencement, this is a great Bill (cheers). I suppose no one will say it is a perfect Bill. But I venture to say that if we had been given complete power to draft the Bill ourselves we could not have produced a Bill which would not have been adversely criticised by some public body or other, or by some individual or other. Every Bill is susceptible of criticism and amendment. But I wish to say a



serious word on this question. The question of amendment will arise on the next resolution—it does not arise now. But let me now say this one word—the question whether amendment should be moved, the question as to how far amendments should be proposed, even at the risk of wrecking the Bill, these are all questions of policy and tactics (hear, hear), and I claim that the men on whose shoulders is cast the responsibility of passing this measure into law, of safeguarding it from being wrecked, these men, I say, I claim must have the power (loud cheers) of deciding for themselves on the ground and according to the exigencies of the situation on every question of policy and tactics (hear, hear). We want to pass this Bill (loud cheering), and we mean to pass it (renewed cheering). I accept it in the exact words which I read out in the House of Commons, the very words which Parnell (loud applause) himself used when he accepted a far worse Bill in 1886. I ask you here to-day to endorse my words (loud and prolonged cheering). The one remaining hope of the Tory Party (hisses) is concentrated on this Convention. A few days ago the *London Times* declared that this Convention would reject the Bill (laughter). That paper has now changed its tone, and it says that, of course, it must expect that the Convention will accept the Bill, but that it will do so in a spirit of lukewarmness, in a grudging spirit, and in a spirit of carping criticism, and that paper had paraded for the relief of its friends and supporters in England those few, very few isolated expressions of differences upon this matter that proceeded from one or two individuals and public bodies (hear, hear). Well, now I say to you, ladies and gentlemen, it is your duty, in my opinion, to accept this Bill, not with a grudging or lukewarmness, but with alacrity and enthusiasm (loud cheers, the great audience rising to their feet and waving hats and sticks).

When I spoke in the House of Commons (continued Mr. Redmond) I was told that I didn't speak for the Convention or for Ireland. (A Voice—"You did." and cheers). I answer I spoke for every single individual in the Irish Party, and I ask you to-day to say that I spoke for Ireland (loud cheers, the audience again rising to their feet and waving hats).

When the cheering subsided, Mr.

Redmond said :—I beg to move the following resolution :—

"That we welcome the Government of Ireland Bill as an honest and generous attempt to settle the long and disastrous quarrel between the British and Irish Nations; and this National Convention of the Irish people decides to accept the Bill in the spirit in which it is offered; and we hereby declare our solemn conviction that the passage of this Bill into law will bind the people of Ireland to the people of Great Britain by a union infinitely closer than that which now exists, and by so doing add immeasurably to the strength of the Empire."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, concluded Mr. Redmond, I will call upon the newly-elected Lord Mayor of Cork to second the resolution (loud applause). A Voice—"Up, Cork," and cries of "Hurrah!" and "The Nationalist Lord Mayor."

#### THE LORD MAYOR OF CORK.

The Lord Mayor of Cork received an ovation on rising to second the resolution. He said :—It is the greatest pleasure of my life to stand here and second Mr. Redmond's proposition. I think, gentlemen, it is the greatest, and should be the greatest, pleasure of any man's life to second a resolution accepting the Home Rule Bill (hear, hear). So far as Cork is concerned, we all know that Cork is coming right (loud applause), and I, as an humble citizen, am very glad to be here to place on record my approval of the Bill. I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution (applause).

Mr. Redmond.—Does anyone desire to move an amendment?

There was a thundering "No" in response.

Mr. Redmond.—All in favour of the resolution say "Aye."

One enthusiastic and unanimous shout of "Aye" was the response.

Mr. Redmond.—On the contrary—"No."

There was not a single dissident.

Mr. Redmond.—Before we proceed to the next resolution, I will ask you to give a hearty welcome to the grandson of Mr. Gladstone. (Loud applause, the delegates rising and cheering for a considerable time).



## MR. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Gladstone, when the cheering had subsided, said :—Mr. Redmond and delegates of the Irish nation (cheers), all that it is possible for me to do on this great occasion is to tell you, with the profoundest gratitude, how deeply my feelings have been moved by the great tribute which you have paid by asking me here to-day (cries of "You are welcome")—a great tribute to the memory of one who devoted the closing years of a long life to a great struggle against tremendous odds for the domestic freedom of Ireland (loud cheers). And now to-day—some fifteen years since he passed away—we seem to stand near the end of that long and historic struggle—now, at length, the progressive forces throughout the whole Kingdom are united in favour of Home Rule for Ireland (cheers). This time, it may be said, the Liberal Party is sold for Home Rule (hear, hear); and the Labour Party to a man have accepted the Bill which Mr. Asquith introduced into the House of Commons the other day. Now, there has been extended to me the inestimable privilege of witnessing the acceptance of this great measure of emancipation by representatives of the Irish nation (cheers). Are we not constrained to ask—What is there, what can there be, capable of resisting a combination of such mighty and united forces? Our reason shows us that the experiment of administering the affairs of Ireland from London has broken down for good—for good in a double sense (loud cheers). Not only is the old system discredited and about to be discarded, but instead of it there is being accepted the policy of utilising all the energies, the abilities, and the patriotism of the Irish people themselves for regenerating their own country (cheers). The time will come when the well-being of your country will depend no longer upon the stunted efforts of an exotic government, but upon yourselves, your own efforts, your own achievements (cheers). Is it possible to think, to conceive, of a nobler task that could be set before any people in the world than the task of making their own country happy, prosperous and great (prolonged cheers). I see no better way to do it than by trusting the endeavour to attain it to the people of the country itself (applause). I, for one, believe that our great day, when the Irish nation takes over the Government

of its own country—I, for one, believe that those who hitherto have said "You may," will stand back amazed, and, put to shame by the infinite solicitude and tenderness and affection and the forbearance with which the Irish people will nurse back to health and strength and to greatness, the country that they love so well (loud applause).

The Chairman.—The next resolution, and the only remaining resolution, will be moved by the Very Rev. Canon Arthur Ryan, Tipperary (cheers).

## CANON ARTHUR RYAN.

Very Rev. Canon Arthur Ryan, P.P., V.G., Tipperary, who was received with enthusiastic applause, then rose and said—Mr. Redmond and fellow-countrymen, the resolution which has been committed to my hands is this :—

"That, recognising that the satisfactory character of the Home Rule Bill is due in great measure to the skill, the sagacity, and the statesmanship of Mr. John Redmond and his colleagues, we hereby resolve that the question of proposing amendments, if any, to the Bill in Committee, and the nature of such amendments, be left entirely to the judgment and discretion of Mr. John Redmond and the Irish Party." (Applause).

Fellow-countrymen, I feel that the high honour of proposing this resolution is not one meant personally for me, for I have done nothing to deserve it.

Voices.—"You have."

Very Rev. Canon Ryan.—But rather to the town and county from which I come (applause). I take it as a tribute to Tipperary (cheers). This resolution is a resolution of thick and thin confidence in John Redmond and the Irish Party (applause); and I think that there is a certain fitness that such a thick and thin resolution of confidence should be moved by a delegate from Tipperary. All through the long campaign now drawing to its close, in days of doubt and darkness, as well as in those days of hope and dawning liberty, Tipperary always stood fast (cheers) to John Redmond and the Irish Party (renewed cheers). And now when the great Convention, and, through this Convention, all Ireland is to be asked to pledge their loyalty to John Redmond and his Party (cheers), to continue in the future the confidence of the

past, and to give him and his trusted followers a free hand in the moulding of the constitution of our country (applause). I hold it that such a vote of confidence comes nowhere with more justice than from Tipperary. But, fellow-countrymen, to tell you the truth, I don't think myself that there is anything heroic about this resolution (cheers). It appeals, it seems to me, not to your sentiment so much as to your commonsense (hear, hear). Now, it was common sense to trust in the past Mr. John Redmond and his Party (cheers). It was the common sense not of one part, but of the whole of Ireland, that put the trust in him (hear, hear). It would have been the wildest folly to have done anything else, and had we done anything else we would never have seen this day (hear, hear). Therefore, I ask you to pledge yourselves to-day, in the name of Irish common sense, to trust the man and the Party in the future that you have trusted in the past (cheers). Well, now to illustrate it. It was common sense in you, my fellow-delegates, when you got into to your trains to come up to this Convention, to trust the man on the engine (laughter). It would not have been common sense if some of you got out of your carriages and insisted on getting on the engine and having a try at driving that engine yourself. I think myself that, had you done so, the attendance would not be what it is here to-day (laughter). I expect strongly that there would have been a list of casualties. I myself, and I daresay many of you, would have got out of the train that was driven like that, and would have rather remained where we were than trust ourselves and our lives to amateur engine drivers (hear, hear). Now, on our Home Rule train we have a driver whom we can trust (cheers), and in the name of common sense I ask the delegates at this Convention to allow him and the men behind him to complete the journey so auspiciously begun. In doing so, we are not without safeguards. Safeguards, it seems to me, are the order of the day. Our Bill is simply bristling with them. Some say it is not safe to handle it, there are so many safeguards (laughter); but one of our safeguards is the obvious one. I have often, when coming across from London to Ireland, strolled down the platform at Euston or Paddington to have a look at the

driver and the stoker of that great engine that was to carry me through the night on my homeward journey, and I have often said, "Is is not extraordinary the confidence we place in these two grimy men?" (laughter)—I am not referring now to either Mr. Redmond or Mr. Dillon (laughter)—and I went on to say to myself, "After all, if there is an accident on the line these men themselves will be the first victims." Now, that is the safeguard. Do you think that it is probable that the drivers of our Home Rule train will admit anything or omit anything that would bring our journey and their own careers to an iniquitous and disastrous close? But we need no such safeguards (hear, hear). Dearer than their careers, dearer, as they have again and again proved, than their liberties or their lives has been the love of the old country (applause). For her sake they have borne the shame of imprisonment, if it is a shame—and let us remember that these men, now, by the necessities of the case, high in the Imperial Councils—these men went to prison for the love of Ireland (applause). Let us not forget it. Let us not forget, too, that they used their regained freedom in crossing oceans and continents—knight-errants of the Irish race—and why should we not trust them now, in the supreme councils of our history, with the fortunes of the land for which they sacrificed so much, and which in the past and in the present they love so dearly? (Applause). I say it is common sense to trust the patriotism and the wisdom of men like John Redmond and John Dillon (applause), and that in that patriotism and in that wisdom we have the amplest safeguards for the safety and security of our country (renewed applause). And those kindly Irish hearts which I love to think of have never shown a trace of bitterness for any political opponent, whether he came from the North or from the South (hear, hear), but who have a *cead míle fáilte* for any man who stands for the weal of Ireland. They have also in those hearts the interest of every department of our country's weal, and we shall find them devoted to every interest as sincerely and as thoroughly as they have been in the past. We should, therefore, with the fullest confidence, entrust them with such weighty matters, for instance, as the completion of land purchase (hear, hear), or the

claims of the town tenants. I stand as fully committed to those causes as any man in this Convention, but I believe, and I ask you to share in that belief, that these and other like causes relating to the welfare and prosperity of Ireland are safe in the hands of Mr. Redmond and his Party (applause). The settlement that they will make of the National question will bring with it a satisfactory and a final settlement of this question, too (applause). And surely the Imperial Parliament will see that the completion of land purchase will be the greatest safeguard for the smooth working of the new situation that they have given to Ireland. They are responsible for the completion of the purchase, and it will be, when completed, one of the strongest reasons of the self interest and gratitude of the Irish people to join and join heartily in the unity of the Empire. These are some of the reasons why I ask you to support this thick and thin resolution of confidence in the Irish Party (hear, hear). And I ask you, if there are any men here who, in their love for some cause in the country, have amendments to that effect in their pockets—I advise them strongly to be loyal enough, to be common-sense enough to keep them there (laughter and cheers). Well, in addressing an assembly of Irishmen like this, I know I am addressing a multitude of very keen sportsmen, and you know it is very bad sport to leave a hunted fox to go after fresh game. The other day a famous Irish pack hunted their fox through the Glen of Aherlow, and although the wild deer sprang out before them, they never minded them, but stuck to their fox. I tell you that if you do the same you are doing what they did, for they ran their fox through the woods and killed him in the open. I ask you then to listen to the voice of the master here and stick to the fox (cheers).

The Chairman.—Gentlemen, the resolution will be seconded by the Rev. Mr. McCutchan, Protestant Rector of Kenmare.

#### THE PROTESTANT RECTOR OF KENMARE.

The Rev. Mr. McCutchan, who was received with a great outburst of enthusiasm, the delegates standing and cheering again and again, said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I did not re-

quire the very handsome and graceful compliment you have paid me by your cheers. ("You are worthy of it"). I understood that when I came into this assembly I came into a company of friends (cheers). You have heard the Home Rule Bill expounded in a way that you can never forget (hear, hear). It was so clearly set forth, and with so much discrimination in the past, that Mr. Redmond's explanation would fix it upon their memory for ever (hear, hear). When we came into this house we came with nothing being determined except that Mr. Asquith had proposed this Bill in Parliament, and that its first reading had been carried by an overwhelming majority (cheers). But that was only one part of what had to be done. This Convention was called together to say whether they would stand by Mr. Asquith's proposals, or whether they would tinker them and spoil them (hear, hear). You have heard the resolution put to you whether you would accept this Bill or not, and I confess I never saw a more unanimous decision on the part of any body (cheers). So much has been done. How much more remains to be done? Well, something more remains. There have been resolutions—you cannot fail to have read them—and there may be persons who have amendments in their pockets or in their minds, but who are not here to propose them (cheers). But, gentlemen, our work is not altogether done. When we leave this unanimous assembly we have to meet those persons who make their proposals, or are supposed to be ready to make their proposals, and we have to talk to them (hear, hear). I beg of you that there will be no sort of reservation in the approval you so expressed of the resolution. That is what we want in this country—that we stand together (cheers). And if you cannot get all you want in the Bill at once you have Mr. Redmond and the Party to offer their opinions as to what is required, and to do the best in your interests and in this great cause. One thing I am entitled to speak of, and that is my own opinion and experience. I was sitting at a dinner table, and, as is not unusual, was discussing the Home Rule question with a gentleman sitting opposite to me, and who differed from me. I said to him, "I think this Bill will pass" (applause), and I said to him, "Suppose a Home Rule Parliament had been established in Dublin,



and you had been elected from the North of Ireland, a staunch old Tory, to be one of its members, suppose there had been any effort from the other side of the Channel to spoil, to minimise, to interfere with what had been granted by the Imperial Parliament, would you, or would you not, be the first to say, 'Hands off—let us do our work?'" (Loud cheers). That was what I said my friend. But I venture to say that, when the effect of this Convention comes to be known to the public, I think it will have some effect on the minds of those who have been our declared foes (cheers). I do not object to a man being an enemy if he speaks out plainly. This Bill had been accepted by the Irish Party; and I believe that you will find in the end that the North of Ireland is staunch in its support. You came into this room with one part of this great business done. The Bill has been put before you, and you have agreed to accept it. Accept what? What we have been long talking about, and always feared we never would see. We have been granted an Irish Parliament (cheers). You have been granted an Irish House of Commons, an Irish Ministry. And what have you not been granted that you have been asking for for the past twenty years? In the Bill we have more than we asked for, in the Bill—certainly more than many of us expected to get. If there are men who are opposed to what has been done, then I ask you to meet them boldly and make no mincing of what you have done and intend to do. I do not envy the man who thinks that because he is opposed by his neighbour that he must give in to him half way. Do not give in to them at all. Do not yield an inch with regard to what you have declared in this assembly. Do not yield an inch in regard to the Bill, or in your confidence in Mr. Redmond and his Party (cheers). I now ask this great assembly to stand up here and say you trust Mr. Redmond (loud cheers). Then, let no man spoil your confidence or diminish your hope (cheers).

#### THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.

The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Councillor Lorcan Sherlock), who was enthusiastically received, supported the resolution. He said:—When the Leader of the Irish nation asked me, as Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin, to speak to a resolution

of confidence in himself and his colleagues in the last stages of the Irish struggle, I believed that I would be wanting in confidence in himself and his colleagues (cheers) if I refused to respond (hear, hear). It was fitting that the voice of the Irish capital should be heard when the Irish nation at home has met together for the purpose of declaring the national will of the people on the most supreme and the most important issue that ever yet had been submitted to the Irish people at a Convention of the kind (loud cheers). I am old enough to remember more than twenty years ago, when the great and immortal Irish leader, Parnell (great cheering), declared that any Home Rule Bill that gave to the Irish people the right to deal with the land question, the police, and the Bench was a Home Rule Bill that he would have unqualified satisfaction not only in recommending his fellow-countrymen the world over to accept, but that in doing so he had discharged his personal and public responsibility, and would be satisfied to disappear from the political arena (hear, hear). To-day, what Parnell had asked to have put into a Home Rule Bill was in the present Home Rule Bill (cheers), and if the people of Ireland wanted an abundance of justification of their loyalty to the Irish leader it was to be found in this Bill (loud applause). The meaning of the resolution was perfectly clear. On occasions of this kind you get a number of irresponsible statesmen cropping up here and there, each one of them with his own suggestion as to this or that detail, and all of them making it more difficult for Mr. Redmond than if they remained quiet (hear, hear). Are you satisfied, fellow-countrymen, that Mr. Redmond and his colleagues should be allowed to see this fight through to a finish? Do you think that they ought to go to school again? (Cries of "No, no.") Do you think he is not able to obtain specific declarations on the Bill? Is the Irish nation to-day not proud of Mr. Redmond for the probity and sagacity he has shown, and perfectly satisfied to leave the future of the Bill to men who, like Mr. Redmond, have fought so long and so well for the national demand of Ireland? (Cries of "Yes.") You have recollection sufficiently long to remember three years ago, when everything that Mr. Redmond said was condemned by his critics. Every word he said and

every speech he made with reference to the Finance Bill of 1908, popularly known as the Budget, for that he was denounced. To-day he stands as high as Gilderoy above them all. He has persistently for the last five years allowed no issue to obtrude itself between the Irish public and the right to govern itself. He has allowed no minor issue to stand between the Irish Party and the real object for which the Irish Party was formed (cheers). To-day, having got the Bill—a Bill that I declare here and now, with a full sense of responsibility for what I state because of the position I happen to occupy—a Bill greater in its power, a Bill wider in its scope, a Bill more national than the most sanguine of us ever dreamt of getting for the last twenty years (cheers). And in all this dark and difficult past, in all this time of trouble and criticism, when the future did look black, he had to fear not alone the recognised and declared opponents of the people of Ireland (hear, hear), he had to fear stabs in the back from men from whom much better should have been expected (hear, hear). I will say no more unkind word on that head. He comes before you to-day, proud, justifiably proud, triumphant, victorious (applause). See to it now, fellow-countrymen, that during the next three months, in place of being made difficult for Mr. Redmond and his colleagues; see to it that it is made easy for them and made clear (cheers). It is not the Irish public John Redmond has to bring round to Home Rule (hear, hear). It is not the Irish public that Mr. Redmond and his colleagues will have to speak to during the next few months. The will of the Irish nation has been declared to-day (hear, hear). No; but he has to speak to the inhabitants of England and Scotland and Wales. Gladly does he recognise that there is a great change of view in the democratic communities of those three countries. Nevertheless, every sensible statesman recognises that the least thing done wrong, calculated to drive public opinion against the Bill, might be fatal to the best interests of Ireland (hear, hear). I have too high a regard for all my fellow-countrymen have suffered, too high a feeling for the sanctity of the Irish soil, sanctified by the blood of martyrs in the struggle for nationhood; too deep a feeling when at long last the people of Ireland have got an opportunity of carving out their own

futures and making their country great and prosperous, you should take any risk, or allow any crank induce you to take any risk that would interfere with the future government of Ireland by Irishmen (cheers). Therefore, it is that I feel I am only doing my duty as the first citizen of the National capital of Ireland when I say that we have a firm, unalterable and unaltered confidence in the probity, the sagacity and the patriotism of John Redmond and his colleagues (applause). We are, therefore, satisfied to leave the threshing out of all minor details to them, to the men on the spot, to make the best possible bargain for them and for us. I ask you now, with a great unanimous shout, to let me know do you trust John Redmond?

For answer the audience rose to their feet and cheered for several minutes.

Fellow countrymen, I can conclude by interfering with Mr. Redmond's prerogative as Chairman of the Convention, and without taking any leave from him I can myself declare that the resolution is carried unanimously (loud cheers).

Mr. Redmond.—I now call upon Mr. T. M. Kettle (applause).

#### SPEECH OF PROFESSOR KETTLE.

Professor T. M. Kettle, who was received with applause, said:—Mr. Chairman and fellow-delegates, I rise to support, and without stint, reserve or qualification, this vote of confidence in the Irish Party, and I do it with all the more pleasure because I am one of those people supposed to have come to the Convention with a bee in my bonnet. I support it for this reason, that Mr. Redmond has kept his word to the country (hear, hear). He asked us three years ago to trust him, and, going on old experience, we did trust him. To-day his promises and our faith stand vindicated before the world. We have had experts in the dismal science of prophecy, and what did they tell us? The veto of the Lords would never go; the Home Rule Bill would never come in, and, if it did come in, it would be unacceptable. Well, the veto is gone and the Home Rule Bill is here, and the very first men to accept it had been those who said it would never come. If Old Moore could not make a better shot at prophecy than that he would never again be able to levy his annual sixpence from the public. The effect of

that Bill has been to produce in Ireland a sense of unity and solidarity such as we have not had hitherto in my time. Cork—Rebel Cork—is back again in the realms of common sense (cheers). In England it has enormously strengthened portion of the Liberal Party, and these forces are marching on together to victory, so that I think we may now say that the Bill is almost an Act. You will not ask me—probably you will not have patience to permit me—to go over the ground which has been covered so well in the opening speech. Perhaps you will permit me to point the contrast between this Bill accepted to-day and the Council Bill rejected in this room five years ago. The Council Bill was a bloodless phantasm. It gave us no real power, no real responsibility. We rejected it, and by rejecting it we made this Bill possible and inevitable. There is a French proverb which says, “It is better to have a glass of vinegar and after it two glasses of wine than have a glass of coloured water.” The Council Bill was a glass of coloured water, and we have now got the alternative. The vinegar is the limitative, the wine is the great measure of autonomy conferred upon us by this present measure. The Bill contains, as I have said, its limitations. Some of these are inherent and necessary in any statutory Parliament. Some are imposed by a difficult financial situation, while others are devised to satisfy not only the political claims but to assuage the political superstitions of the anti-Home Rule minority in this country. But, sir, within its limitations this Bill gives you control of education and the organisation of agriculture, of local government, of police in a few years, and of judiciary from the first. It gives you powers to adjust your fiscal system to the needs and economic conditions, although the range is somewhat limited. It gives you power to deal from the first with the great national problems of transit, afforestation, arterial drainage, and, most important of all, it contains within itself the principle of growth. From the very first day upon which this Parliament is established, it will attract about itself the sanction and the prestige of success. It will grow by its own inherent vitality; and, looking to the future, I see this as from the first a great Bill; I see it accepted heartily and worked intelligently for the benefit of all (cheers). I see minorities re-

spected, I see every subordinate class coming to its own after the national freedom has been attained. At the end of it I see an Ireland completely controlling her own political life, taking her place, as she shall be able to take it, in the human tradition of Europe, and be welcomed amongst the nations of the earth (applause). That being my belief and my attitude, I propose, instead of even making any suggestion to this Convention, as to points, as to any particular matter—I propose to take another course. Anybody with the least Parliamentary experience knows that any amendment, however innocent in itself, however desirable in itself, might create at any moment a dangerous Parliamentary situation. A cloud—no larger than a man's hand—might overshadow the whole horizon, and, realising that, I propose to offer what suggestions I have to make in the form of a memorandum—privately submitting to the Irish Party, in whom the nation to-day has voted its full confidence (applause).

#### CANON MURPHY, MACROOM.

The Chairman then announced Very Rev. Canon Murphy, P.P., D.D., Macroom, as the next speaker.

Very Rev. Canon Murphy received a magnificent reception, and said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have not the good fortune of having been born in Tipperary as Canon Ryan (laughter), but I happened to be born somewhere in Cork, and I do not in the slightest degree apologise for the accident of birth there (laughter). Perhaps if I hadn't the recommendation of being born elsewhere, this one thing stands to me, and it is that I came from a district, and represent a district and a people, who have made a very hard fight for the Irish Party for the last three or four years (hear, hear)—in the face of the most terrible disunion, and under circumstances of exceptional difficulty, and we have won (loud cheers), and disunion amongst us now is as dead as Julius Caesar (cheers). The presence of the Lord Mayor of Cork proves that (hear, hear), and so does the presence from Cork of a number of delegates whom I see around the room—as true men to the cause as ever fought for Ireland (cheers). To recommend to you the Bill that has been so magnificently



explained by Mr. Redmond, the Chairman of the Irish Party, and the leader of the Irish people, too (applause); to commend to you that Bill after such an explanation is like bringing coals to Newcastle (laughter). The Bill, I must confess honestly, is a great deal better than I ever anticipated. I knew the blustering that was going on in the North and the treachery that was going on in the South, and I suspected very strongly that the object of it all was to make the Bill a bad one. They have failed (hear, hear). The Bill is not a bad one; it is a good one (cheers). We are perfectly right in endorsing the resolution that has been proposed, and in leaving all the details of the Bill in the hands of the men whose splendid fidelity in the past, whose loyalty to their pledges, whose loyalty to the cause of their country, who have grown grey in the service of their country—to leave the details of the Bill to these men in the absolutely certain confidence that success will be ours (cheers). That the best that can be done will be done for the country their past conduct proves (hear, hear). On Monday, on coming up here, I happened to read in the *Cork Examiner* a report of a Unionist meeting that was held in Cork on Saturday. There was a great number of lords and ladies there; there was a large number—a full posse from County Cork and County Kerry—but the people were not there at all. There were a few emergency men who have charge of evicted farms in the South there. They represented, or, rather, misrepresented the people, but the great body of the people was conspicuous by its absence. If I wanted anything before I had heard Mr. Redmond's magnificent explanation of the Bill to recommend the Bill to me as a splendid Bill, the adverse criticism of the speakers at that meeting would have satisfied me it was a magnificent Bill. There was one man who told us plainly the burthen and the effect of all the speakers, and it was this: that they didn't want Home Rule: that they would not have Home Rule in any shape or form. They would not listen to it. That was very pleasant reading for the apostles of conciliation in the South (hear, hear). The arguments mainly used against the Bill at that meeting of Unionists would be sufficient to satisfy any sane man that the Bill was a good one. One of them was that they wanted a Unionist Government, and they

wanted the extension of the sale of land. Well, it is very easy to understand why they wanted the extension of the sale of land, for, as a matter of fact, were it not for the sale of land one of them would be in receipt of the old age pension this moment. Another of them commenced by regretting that that was his first speech ever made in Ireland, and I am inclined to think that his Unionist friends would have no reason to regret if he didn't make that, either (laughter). He demanded justice for the minority in the South, and said that if the Home Rule Bill was carried into law they in the South would have no representation at all. They wanted to continue to be represented at Westminster, and they didn't want the Irish Parliament. Well, now, I would like to ask what representation these gentlemen from Munster have in the Westminster Parliament at present. Now, again, one of the points he had against the Bill was that he didn't want anything at all that would weaken the tie between England and Ireland. Well, now, as a matter of fact, he ought to know very well that the object of Home Rule and the result of Home Rule is and will be to strengthen the tie between England and Ireland, to make the Union a real Union and not the sham Union that it has been up to the present time. The tie between our country and England up to the present has been the tie of the hand-cuff. We naturally disliked it—it is a tie we don't want, and which we are now going to substitute by a better one. Then, again, he told us the wonderful things they had done for the Empire. Those Lords have done a great deal for the Empire (laughter). One thing is absolutely certain, the Empire has done a great deal more for them and their families. The Empire has for the last 300 years misgoverned Ireland. Now, in spite of the landlords—and it is only now the Liberal Party are awakening to the fact, and to their credit be it said—they seem determined to atone for it by giving the people of this country the management of their own affairs. I would like to know where these gentlemen with all their talk of loyalty and cries of "God Save the King" were when the Munster Fusiliers were facing death on Spion Kop and other places. No doubt they were in bed or playing golf or some other of these difficult games (laughter). These are the argu-



ments used against the Bill. No one here will ever forget the magnificent exposition of the Bill put before us to-day. It would be folly for us to criticise the details of the Bill, for we are not adepts in these matters. It would be folly for us to indulge in captious criticism, and besides it would be grave ingratitude to the gentlemen who have brought our cause to its present proud position. We can with the fullest and completest confidence leave these matters in their hands (applause). You have pledged yourselves again and again that in their hands you are determined to leave the Bill, and that you will give them every support in your power, material and moral, and continue to do that in the future as in the past, and if you do that, no matter how long the struggle will continue, "on the cause will go" (applause).

#### MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN, M.P.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., who was received with loud and prolonged applause. He said—Mr. President, Rev. Fathers, and gentlemen, I think this is a proud day for the Irish Parliamentary Party (hear, hear). I have attended many Conventions during the last fifteen or twenty years. We often, whether as delegates or members of Parliament, had misgivings as to the conduct and ultimate judgment of these delegated gatherings. We had even moments of despair and hours of gloom. Sometimes our cause stood high and sometimes our fortunes were low, but never on any occasion was the confidence of our people withheld from their disciplined, independent Irish Party (applause). We ask the people to trust their leader and to stand by the Party who stood by the leader of the Irish people in face of many seductions and temptations. At every crucial moment in the fortunes of this movement the Irish people not only responded with alacrity, but with enthusiasm, and therefore I say to-day that if this is a proud moment for the Irish Party, it is also a proud moment for the men who trusted the Irish Party (applause). There has grown up in Ireland during the last ten years a new form of politician, namely, political prophet (laughter). And yet if you take up these prophecies day by day you will see that every one of them has been falsified, and the Irish Party has emerged

triumphantly from every ordeal (cheers). We were told that without a "round table conference," which always meant compromise, you could not carry even a Labourers Act. The prophets were false (cheers). We carried an Agricultural Labourers Act, which brought joy and comfort and sweetness to the lives and homes of a quarter of a million of the agricultural population (cheers). We were told that unless you came to terms with the landlord and ascendancy classes you would never secure a great measure of University Education for Ireland, and yet the nation which has struggled so hard has created a University Education which has given confidence to every section of our people, and you would imagine that when all these prophecies have been falsified the prophets would resign and at least allow the Irish Party to vindicate itself in Home Rule (cheers). But we were told that the Veto Bill would never pass; that if it did it would fail to carry out its object, and that you might as well try to carry Home Rule as to pluck up the Galtee Mountains by the root (a laugh). We are here once again to falsify the prophets, and to present the latest trophy of an organised and disciplined Party (cheers). The explanation of the great measure of Home Rule which you have heard from Mr. Redmond has been received with greater enthusiasm than I ever witnessed at any Convention (cheers). The constitution of that measure will give a free Parliament to a free Nation to all creeds (cheers). Delegates would approach the consideration of this proposal as they believed, not with a spirit of hostility or with carping criticism, but with sympathy and conciliation. Well, our expectations have been fulfilled (cheers). You have given your answer to-day to all our enemies throughout the world, who thought that our cause was beaten (cheers). The prophets told us that Mr. John Redmond did not speak for Ireland; that when he came to the Convention the Bill would be rejected as you rejected the Council Bill. But they failed to remember that you rejected the Council Bill, not because you were in revolt against Mr. Redmond, but because Mr. Redmond proposed the rejection of the Bill (cheers). If you had smashed the Irish Party when you were invited to do so by responsible Irishmen; if you had sent this Parliamentary movement back into the melting-pot; if you had robbed

Ireland of one of the greatest instruments of party warfare in its possession, and given over your movement to what was called a "Middle Party" in Ireland, you would have the Council Bill law, and Irish Home Rule would be set back for another period of twenty-five years. We told you then to reject that Bill, and that Ireland would either compel or invite the Liberal Ministry to drop half measures, and to deal with the proposal for the government of Ireland in that broad and generous method which has inspired them in the preparation and conduct of this Bill. This Bill, as I have said, is the crowning work of the Irish Party. You have shown to-day your confidence in their decision. Mr. Kettle, I think, spoke to-day for all honest critics, and for those who desire to secure improvement, if improvement be possible. The proposer of this resolution said: "Trust the man at the wheel"; and if Ireland trusts Mr. Redmond—and Ireland has trusted him to-day by the public manifestation of its confidence—he will see, and we who stand behind him will see, that every reasonable proposal for amendment, subject to the safety of the measure, will receive consideration at the hands of the Irish Party, and be ultimately submitted to the Imperial Parliament. We are also told by newspapers and critics that everything is not satisfactory in regard to finance. Well, the Bill which Parnell accepted and this Bill have been submitted, and how marvellous is the advance which has been made in the last twenty years—a big contribution to the Imperial Exchequer, and more than two millions from Ireland to England under Parnell's Bill; no contribution to the Imperial Exchequer under this present Bill, but, on the contrary, nearly £2,000,000 of an Imperial grant to enable the unfettered Irish constitution to direct the fortunes of Ireland with a chance of success. If this Bill were as unsatisfactory financially as I believe it to be satisfactory financially I would still accept it. For I believe in freedom first and finance afterwards. We are not huxters or brokers out for a commercial deal. We are, I hope, Irish patriots seeking the liberty for which our fathers fought and died (cheers). We know that prosperity follows freedom. We know that if we are to vindicate our Celtic genius and instinct for government—that instinct and that capacity which have made the Irish race

the pride of the world in every sphere of free opportunity; we know that if freedom is worth fighting for and worth working and dying for, it is worth paying for (cheers). But there need be none of these reservations, for the Bill is satisfactory in its constitution, sound in its finance, great in the untrammelled freedom which it gives in administration, and secures any safeguards our opponents may think necessary to enable them to come within the ambit of a free constitution. And let me say here to-day one word in conclusion. We have been told in Parliament—and in Ireland, too—that the safeguards in this Bill for the protection of the Protestants in Ireland are not satisfactory. I agree with our Chairman, and, in my judgment, no safeguards are needed (hear, hear). I say that the demand for safeguards is based upon an absolutely false hypothesis (hear, hear). We have, on platforms in England and in the House of Commons, challenged those who have denounced Irish Catholics as bigots; we have asked them time and again to come down from the sphere of academic denunciation to the solid bed-rock of concrete facts and give us one solitary instance that could be clearly and fairly tested of where Irish Catholics had manifested a spirit of intolerance to their Protestant fellow-countrymen. During the three years of this controversy we could not get them to accept our challenge, but in an unfortunate moment for them they came to concrete facts in the recent case of the Bishop of Cloyne (applause). They made the only clear and definite allegation that has been made against Irish Catholics or Irish Catholic clergymen; and the Bishop of Cloyne chose not an Irish Convention, not an Irish judge, not even an Irish jury, but he selected the venue of a Protestant Scotch judge, a Nonconformist Scotch jury, and by their unanimous verdict (loud applause) they had vindicated the Catholic Bishop of Cloyne and the honour and the tolerant spirit of Ireland (cheers). The Government has offered them what they regard as essential safeguards. I challenge them to suggest to the Irish Party, as they say they are not satisfied with the present safeguards, what safeguards will satisfy them (hear, hear). I notice that in the speech delivered by Mr. Healy in Parliament that he had offered to allow the Presbyterian General Assembly and the Protestant Synod of

Ireland to nominate one half of the Irish Senate. Mr. Healy was a Catholic so eminent that his words ought to fall on receptive ears. He offered to allow the Protestant Synod and the Presbyterian Assembly to nominate one half of the Senate, and that the Senate so composed ought to have the right to veto all appointments in Ireland with a salary of over £500 a year attached to them. (A Voice—He might want a job himself.) What does that proposal mean? That if this Protestant Synod and Presbyterian General Assembly secured one half of the Senate they could lure one or two Catholics into their camp. Would Mr. Moore and Captain Craig accept that? Would the Unionist Party accept the proposal of their friend and ally in Parliament? (laughter). It is surely generous enough to satisfy the most impecunious of place-hunters. It is magnanimous enough to receive a fair reception, surely, from the Protestant minority. But we decline to spend our time on the banks of the Boyne, conjuring up the evil and bitter religious rancours of three hundred years ago (hear, hear). In the House of Commons the other day they quoted one of our members as having no faith in safeguards. I have no faith in them either, unless you can point, as Ireland certainly can, to a record of toleration and good-will to the minority. That is, to my mind, a greater safeguard for the Protestants in Ireland than anything that can be put in an Act of Parliament, and that is the character and record of the Catholics of this country for the last hundred years. There is another safeguard. There is the readjustment of parties after the establishment of an Irish Parliament. That natural division must not now be allowed to stand in the way when we are fighting for the liberation of Ireland (hear, hear, and applause). I venture to say when the readjustment takes place Mr. William Moore may not be in Parliament, but he won't be kept out of it by Irish bigotry, but by Irish advancing democracy (hear, hear). Though a few of those men, a few of those using the movement for their own ends, may disappear from public life, may decline association with the purer, grander, nobler Ireland that will arise from the ashes of this movement, there will be another force in Ulster—the enlightened, the educated, the crushed, and anguished workers, whom the William Moores, the

Lonsdales, the Craigs never represent in Parliament. There will be representation of the men and women in factories and shipyards, who have done far more for Belfast's prosperity and greatness than ever Sir Edward Carson or Lord Londonderry (boohs). My friends, I have no fear for Ulster. Ulster will bring its fine brain, its keen business grasp, its high commercial instincts and will blend it with the generous and noble qualities of Munster and Connacht (cheers). I say when Home Rule comes, or till it comes,

"We'll strike the hour, the solemn hour,  
From all her myriad steeples,  
And Ireland on her path of peace  
Goes forth amongst the peoples"  
(loud applause).

#### DR. KEATING, BALLINHASSIG.

Dr. Keating, Ballinhassig, Co. Cork, said: As one of the representatives of a large and active branch of the United Irish League at Ballygarvan and Ballinhassig, Cork, I wish to speak in support of the resolution. I am authorised by that branch to express approval of this Bill, and to convey our confidence in the Irish Party led by Mr. Redmond. I am quite aware that Cork may not be a great name amongst an audience composed of people from all parts of Ireland. But I assure you Cork culture, Cork enlightenment, Cork patriotism, have never varied in support of our principles (cheers). It is because we recognise that the Irish Parliamentary Party has patriotism and ability that we support it. This Bill has been received with wonderful unanimity; all Ireland, the democracies of England and Wales, people in the Colonies and in America, all are united in approval of this great Bill (cheers). There is only one section in Ireland, and that section is composed of your traditional historic enemies, who are opposed to the Bill (hear, hear). I have great pleasure in speaking in support of this resolution and to pay a tribute to the great work of the Irish Party (cheers).

#### MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who was received with prolonged cheering, said—Mr. Redmond and gentlemen of the Convention, you are evidently under the impression that you are the real Convention, but you are quite mistaken. I



have come from the real Convention, which is outside in the garden. Switzerland is the only country I have ever read of or heard of where great measures of legislation are subjected to the verdict of the people in the open air. But we have bettered the example of Switzerland to-day, because we have had a Convention indoor, and we have had a better Convention—because Mr. Dillon and I spoke there (laughter)—out of doors. I assure you we were better in any respect. We had no batons there (laughter). I see them all around here to-day (loud laughter). And we had no passwords. I understand that in order to recommend yourself to a gathering like this you must know some tips of the Molly Maguires. Mr. Devlin told me that once going into a tobacconist's shop he was greeted by a man at the counter with the words, "Summer is coming" (laughter). I don't know whether that will qualify me or not, but I know summer is coming to Ireland to-day (loud cheers). I have seen the proposition and the reception of three Home Rule Bills in my thirty-two years of Parliamentary life, and the proposition and the reception of this Bill differ from the two preceding it. In the first place, when these two Bills were proposed we had a divided Liberal Party, while to-day the Home Rule Bill is the greatest bond of union amongst Liberals all over Great Britain. I have seen these Bills met by a partially divided Irish world. To-day the Irish world in every part is behind the Home Rule Bill (cheers). Well, somebody may tell you that is an exaggeration, because yesterday morning there was a series of cablegrams, whether coming voluntarily or invited by an old Press method I don't pretend to say. There was a number of cablegrams denouncing the Bill. Well, I am surprised that they did not come sooner. Gentlemen, I am going to tell you a little bit of history. Every public movement in the world has an ebb and a flow; and our movement has had its ebb and flow; and sometimes the heart of the people has been so wrung and almost broken by signs of disunion and faction among men that one felt what we call in Connaught a "meadh" over the country, and there was no use in hoping for redemption in our time. I want to recall to Mr. Redmond what I might describe as a little historic interview between him and me. I went down to his room in the House

of Commons, which is not a very cheerful room, because it is underground. You know we of the Irish Party have always been working on subterranean methods and in subterranean chambers (laughter). In fact I wonder I am alive at all to tell the tale of wicked and backstairs doings and subterranean operations (laughter and cheers). Well, Mr. Redmond called me down and told me of the state of the Irish Party at that moment to which I am referring, and it was not a very pleasant message—it was not a very pleasant story. It was one of the moments of its ebb. I am not an idle man. I have a good deal of business of my own to attend to. I have been many times in America on a begging mission—sometimes a matter of reproach and calumny, but I have some claim to your affection and confidence (hear, hear). I have been many times to America, like my friends here, in the cause of Ireland. To tell you the truth, if I could have avoided the mission I would have done so. Well, when I went upstairs I saw some of the factionist leaders, and I imagined there was a lightness in their step across the tessellated floor of the House of Commons that augured badly for the unity, the existence, and the discipline of the Irish Party. Why—I am speaking to some Athlone men here—I never saw such light and airy steps since I saw the girls of Cossan bringing in the milk to the Barracks of Athlone (laughter). As I say, gentlemen, they were springy steps across the tessellated floor, and as I saw those gentlemen I said, "You think you have beaten us to the ropes, but as long as I have health and strength I will not spare myself. I will go to America" (loud cheers). I went to America. Don't take me as being egotistic ("No, no"). I went to America, and when a General Election was coming on £10,000 was required for it, and Irish-America sent the £10,000 (cheers). We beat faction, we saved the Irish Party, and now here we are bringing in the Home Rule Bill (loud cheers). When I went to America I had to fight faction there as well as in Westminster. I had to fight faction and every effort in the way of newspaper articles, handbills, and calumnies, every atrocious attack, not merely upon my poor self, but on the most disinterested men that ever served Ireland ("Shame"). All those things poured forth like a deluge upon the meetings that I was addressing. Hand-

bills were distributed at my meetings denouncing not only the meetings but the Party and the cause, but I beat them all (loud cheers). And the men, the very men who tried to destroy my mission and to destroy our Party and give the General Election over to the factionists and Tories are the men who are now trying to destroy this Bill and who sent the cablegrams you saw yesterday. (Cries of "Shame, shame.") Ah, gentlemen, I have great respect for the men who are willing to take all risks for Ireland. I have great respect for the man who really believes that Ireland is only to be saved by extreme methods if he honestly believes them, but I have very little respect for the sham extremist who tried under the name of extremist to plant a dagger in the heart of Ireland at the very moment when she is coming into her own (applause). All the Irish world is behind the Irish Party in the progress of this Bill (cheers). All Australia and America are with them in this movement. Every Irishman in Great Britain also has given one great word of acknowledgment that this is the greatest and the best Bill that has ever been presented to the people of Ireland (cheers). We are not going to allow faction to beat us now as before (cheers, and cries of "Never.") Let me give you a little word about faction. You know the tortoise puts out its head and then draws it back. There is a good deal of that about faction. There is a good deal of that brought in to-day by faction, especially in the factionist Press. The head of faction comes out slowly, but when it is thought the moment has come to strike a blow at the Irish Party it draws in its head and comes out in its Press, and in my mind and judgment the man who strikes at the Irish Party to-day strikes at Irish Liberty (cheers and cries of "Shame.") Because the Irish Party is the one and only weapon by which freedom can be won; but the tortoise comes out and shows its poisoned head at the moment when it thinks the opportunity has come for saying something to discourage, or depress, or divide the Irish people (hear, hear). Why is not Faction here to-day? Why doesn't it come before the nation, for this Convention of 5,000 men coming from every corner of Ireland is the nation itself, and any man who dares not face this Convention is at war not with the Irish Party, but with the Irish people

and with the Irish race (applause). Well, I speak on the part of this Bill on behalf of the Irish people in Great Britain, and assuredly they have some right to a voice in your decision. I have seen our race in many parts of the world, and to my mind, and I have said this before—to my mind, in that great tragedy which has unfolded itself in many acts and in many countries, the most sorrowful of all these acts is the story of the Irish in Great Britain. You here at home have suffered; but to-day 300,000 of you own the land with no landlord above you. They still remain working, most of them, in the poorest work and the most drudging work, and the most ill-paid work, amongst the toilers of Great Britain; and the men and women of our race are very often working in the head-laden atmosphere of the factories, which kills many of them before they have left even the years of early manhood—they have some right to speak to you; they have nothing to gain from this cause—nine-tenths of them working men and women, working for their daily bread—they have subscribed at all times generously to the funds of the cause and the success of the movement (applause). They ask you not to reject the chance of getting an assembly here which will build up a new Ireland from the Ireland in which they had to take their leave in sighs and tears. They want you to lay the foundations, as this Bill will enable you to do when it passes into law, of an Assembly which will not be satisfied until every child in Ireland, whatever his task, starts the battle of life at home or abroad with every advantage that science and learning can give him. It is a proud thing to me to see the different Ireland of to-day from the Ireland into which I was born, as many here will remember—the time when in one day 13,000 acres of fair land in Galway were cleared of men, women and children by a Scotchman called Allan Pollock, but to-day that land is to be given back to the people. There are houses to be built on it, and young families are settling there, and the children will once more take the place of the sheep and the cattle (applause). All this great change in Ireland has been done in my own time, and I dare say that, though I have been for thirty years a member, it has been mainly done by the wisdom, the courage, and

the unity of your representatives in the House of Commons (applause). Here to-day you have met and defied every weapon of slander and calumny levelled against you, and you come to-day with the greatest Bill that will lay the foundations of Irish liberty for ever and ever (loud cheers).

#### CANON McFADDEN.

The Very Rev. Canon McFadden, P.P., Glenties, Co. Donegal, who was loudly cheered, said:—I congratulate Ireland on the splendid and representative character of this great assembly in this historic hall to-day. I attended many Conventions, and at no Convention did I see the necessity for such an overflow meeting as that of to-day (hear, hear). The Bill has been read a first time in the House of Commons, and, with God's blessing, it will pass the third reading, and become the law of this land (cheers). So much has been said to-day about the Home Rule Bill that there is hardly a delegate present who could not write a treatise. It has been thoroughly threshed out, and so further remarks are really not necessary. But it is well that you should have amongst you a man from Ulster to state his agreement with you, and his confidence and that of his people in John Redmond (cheers). The Carrion Crows may caw away till their rookeries fall on them (laughter); but they will not upset the onward course of the Irish cause to-day (cheers). I have always had the fullest and amplest confidence in John Redmond (cheers), otherwise I would not be here to-day, recognising his wisdom and the integrity of his party (cheers). For the past forty years even the world has had evidence of the course I pursued through my life (cheers). I have come through every phase of agitation since I entered public life. The Irish Party never brought the Irish Cause so close to victory as to-day (cheers), and I most gladly join in supporting with all my earnestness the resolution of confidence in Mr. J. E. Redmond and the Irish Party (cheers).

#### SPEECH OF MR. JOHN DILLON.

Mr. John Dillon, who was greeted with loud cheers, said:—My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen of the Convention—No one, I think, will attempt to

deny to-morrow that this is the greatest Convention, the most wholly representative of the people, that ever assembled in Ireland's capital (cheers). I do not think that even the Unionist Press of London will be audacious enough to question that. When the Home Rule Bill was introduced I noticed with intense interest that the *London Times* and all the Unionist Press founded their chief hope of the defeat of that Bill, not on their own exertions, but on Ireland.

A Voice.—The same old game (cheers).

Mr. Dillon.—The same old game which, I am sorry to say, succeeded in the past, but which, with God's help, will not succeed to-day (cheers). The *Times* and all the Unionist Press of Ireland look to Dublin and to the Convention, and certain papers—

A Voice.—The *Independent*.

Mr. Dillon.—I invite the representatives of these papers, who are here to-day, to tell the truth for once (cheers). We are told by these organs that Mr. Redmond and I and others were shaking in our shoes (laughter), and I venture to say that I did not feel any shaking about my knees (laughter). Well, now we have faced the Convention, and the Convention has given its verdict, and that hope will be dead to-morrow in Great Britain, for I think we can safely go away after this day's proceedings with the confidence in our hearts that, whoever kills or opposes the Home Rule Bill, Ireland will not allow it to be killed (cheers). There were various reasons given by the Unionist Press why the Convention would hold Mr. Redmond and his colleagues to strict account. One was a most remarkable reason, which had been taken up and re-echoed by the *Irish Times*, which is the representative and correspondent here in this country of the *London Times*. And what did they say? "The Bill is not half good enough. The delegates who will assemble in the Mansion House are not going to degrade their country and humiliate themselves by accepting a Bill such as this." How anxious the *Irish Times* and the *London Times* are for the liberties of Ireland! But there was another reason which made me laugh. It was discovered and solemnly published to the world by the *London Times* on the second day after the introduction of the Bill, and it was this



It had now been noted in Ireland that there was no safeguard in the Bill for the Catholic schools of Ireland, and if Mr. Asquith did not put in safeguards for the Catholic Church and schools, the vast power of the Catholic Church would be secretly thrown against the Bill, and would kill it inevitably. I read all those statements with growing hope and pleasure, because I said that men who had to look to such despairing and hopeless sources for help must have little confidence in their own power to defeat the Bill. This Convention, speaking the voice of Ireland, has to-day already passed a resolution heartily accepting the Bill without one dissentient voice; and there is a larger Convention outside, and there we put the same resolution, and there was not one dissentient voice. Now, the Irish Party will take this decision as a mandate from the country to fight for the Bill (cheers), and what I want in all seriousness to say to you to-day is this: that if we accept and obey the mandate we are entitled to appeal to you to see that our arms are not struck down, and that we are not stabbed in the back by treacherous criticism while we are fighting (cheers). Criticism sometimes is a wholesome thing, but there are times when criticism is as great treason as would be criticism of the officers in the face of the enemy in the field of battle. We have had a good deal of criticism on the finances of the Bill, and I want to say a special word of warning, because I have this opportunity of addressing the leading men in their own districts from every quarter of Ireland. You see in certain quarters plausible criticism on the finance of this Bill, and I am not in the least surprised that perfectly honest Nationalists might be tempted to embark on those lines and follow that leadership. But I warn them to be extra cautious, because it is to criticism of that class that the enemies of the people were meanly looking to defeat the measure. What I say to these critics is this: Are they or are they not satisfied with the conduct of the Irish Party during all those years past? We do not set up any claim to special genius or to be experts in finance. But we do claim that we have, some of us for thirty years, others for a shorter time, stood on the floor of the House of Commons and fought the battle of Ireland—fought

the battle of Ireland in financial matters as well as in other matters, against the greatest experts in the world (hear, hear). In that fight with the Treasury of England and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the testimony of the Treasury officials themselves was significant. I would be perfectly prepared to leave the whole reputation of the Irish Party as financial experts to the opinion of the experts of the British nation (cheers). What are the facts? The British Treasury to-day is for Home Rule. Why is it for Home Rule? In order to get rid of the Irish members. Could there be a greater compliment to the skill of the Irish members in finance? What I do claim is this, that we are not fools. We have been trusted by our people in this great crisis, and you have made up your minds to put your case in our hands (cheers). Very well. We have fought the best battle we could for you, and I desire to take this opportunity of saying that so far as the Prime Minister is concerned and Mr. Birrell (applause) is concerned, and the other Ministers with whom we have come into contact, they have met us fairly, even generously, and have shown a disposition to go as far as the British public will allow them to go (hear, hear). Now come along our critics, and they say that this Bill—I am speaking of some not unfriendly critics who mean well, and well-meaning men may create a great deal of difficulty—is unsound as to finance. I have examined the criticism. I say the criticism is absolutely unsound (hear, hear), and that some of the schemes put before the country as alternatives would land the country in hopeless bankruptcy inside three years. After all you have got to understand that this matter is not so simple, and if you are wise you won't plunge into finance. It is not such an easy matter as some people seem to think. We have driven the best bargain we could. I claim that we have driven a good bargain. Observe the cruel injustice, the stupidity of indulging in criticism of the kind. We are fighting, we have to fight, with the Treasury, to some extent with Ministers, to get the best terms we can for Ireland (hear, hear). That is our business. But when men come behind our backs, inexperienced, unauthorised, irresponsible men, criticise our action, we are put in this cruel position. If

we turned round to defend ourselves we would weaken our position in fighting the Treasury. As practical men and women, see that when you entrust to the Irish Party your interests, you should trust them fully, or you should entrust other men in their places (hear, hear); because if you force us by irrational and irresponsible criticism to defend the finance of the Bill, then you deprive us of the driving power to get better terms (hear, hear). I believe that in this matter the Ministers of England, the present Ministers, are genuinely anxious to close this quarrel with Ireland (cheers). I believe, speaking from my experience, they do not grudge a generous financial treatment of Ireland in order to close the quarrel. But we must, as responsible men, remember that they have to carry this measure before the constituencies of England. Why, when our men went down to Nottingham the other day what did they find? Every dead wall was placarded with the announcement that Home Rule was going to rob England of five millions per year for the benefit of Ireland, and that every man, woman and child in England had to pay 3s. 6d. per year to go into the Irish Exchequer (laughter). In these matters, if you mean business, if you want to carry the Bill, if you want to have Home Rule in our lifetime, then when you find British Ministers reasonable and inclined to treat you fairly, you must treat them fairly (hear, hear). I am forced painfully to the conclusion that there are men and newspapers in Ireland to-day who call themselves Nationalists—(A Voice.—The *Independent*)—who are working more actively and more insidiously and more effectively to destroy Home Rule than any Tory newspaper in England. There are many ways of destroying a Bill. One way is to oppose it openly. That is honourable. But when a man who comes pretending to be your friend, waits for an opportunity to pour in poison or stab you in the back while you are hard engaged with the enemy, that, I say, is treachery and the country should not tolerate it (hear, hear). What I ask for then is fair play for the Irish Party. You have given us a mandate here to-day, and you had voted or will vote, I believe, complete confidence in the Party. Back up that mandate and that resolution with your support in the country, and give us a fair chance to

carry this struggle to victory. For I warn you that it is no easy task. The forces that are arrayed against us are immensely strong. This is a democratic cause, and wealth, both on this side of the Channel and the other side, is against us. Vast sections of the Press are against us, and, as you saw in a certain newspaper yesterday, even in America some misguided men—as I think, for I say nothing against them—are opposed to us. They are strong Nationalists, and I believe sincere Nationalists, men in America who do not desire to see the quarrel between England and Ireland ever healed, and are determined to make that quarrel eternal. They hate this Bill, and they telegraphed over to Dublin saying they were opposed to the Bill. I say it is a treacherous thing for any newspaper to publish those telegrams without letting the world know where they came from (hear, hear). In London yesterday these telegrams were reproduced, with the heading, “Mr. John Redmond’s American Patrons Repudiate Him.” Why, these men have been fighting Mr. Redmond and the Party for fifteen years, because they do not want Home Rule, but want to fight England for ever. Ah, we had fought England for many long years, and some of us had shown we are not afraid of fighting England (hear, hear). But we want to make friends with England on the basis of liberty for Ireland. I say all we ask for now is fair play from our own people (cheers). I believe after this day’s proceedings we shall get it (hear, hear). I am not afraid of the open enemies of Home Rule, either in Ireland or in England. I put the question the other day to the Tories from Ireland as to what it was they wanted. They want to maintain the Union; they want to be ruled by Englishmen, so they say. But they have an Englishman ruling them now and they are not very fond of him (laughter). I was greatly amused by the description given of the Castle recently from the Tory side. It used to be a commonplace on Nationalist platforms to denounce Dublin Castle, but we have given it up now. It is Mr. Campbell who has taken to denouncing Dublin Castle (laughter). We are informed it is turned into “a stud farm for the production of Protestant Home Rulers” (laughter). It shows that the doom of the Castle is at hand when it is reduced to such a use as that (laughter). We



are not afraid of open enemies as I have said. We are confident that with the help of our people at home and across the seas and our friends in England we will carry this cause to triumph, and all we ask from you, the delegates to this Convention, who have unanimously given us your mandate to-day, is that while we are engaged with the enemy you shall take care no traitor assails us from behind (loud cheers).

### MR. JOHN O'CALLAGHAN OF BOSTON.

Mr. John O'Callaghan, secretary of the United Irish League of America, who was greeted with prolonged cheering, said—I don't think, judging by the welcome you have accorded me, that there is any misunderstandings in this assembly as to what Irish America thinks of the policy of the Irish Party under Mr. Redmond. It was my pleasure and privilege to stand in this same room five years ago and hear your Chairman of to-day invite a Convention nearly as large as this inside in the room, and not anything like as large as the meeting outside, to reject the measure then offered as a settlement of this question, and Ireland obeyed his command (applause). I do not believe there is anyone in this Convention who regretted have followed that advice. On the contrary, I believe that everyone of them felt it was a statesman who spoke then. Just as truly as he felt it was a statesman who had spoken that day for an Ireland far more united at home, and for just as united an Ireland abroad (loud cheers). Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Connor had referred to the cablegrams from America in opposition to this measure. Let me suggest to you that you need pay no attention to those little flies on the wheels of progress (hear, hear). As Mr. Dillon had said, those same enemies had been vainly trying to stop it. Those men had never done anything in recent years to help the Irish movement, but they could not block its progress now (loud applause). America has lined itself behind Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party, and they might rest assured in Ireland that Irish America would look after those enemies of theirs in that country, and that they at home need not bother about them at all. As I said to the great meeting outside to-day, that would be an easy task for Irish America. Those men, I tell you, know the temper of the Irish-American people. They

know the fellows who have been attacking the Irish movement for the last forty years, who had grown blue-mouldy for want of a beating, and who with all their talk of fighting had never gone where they would get it (hear, hear). They had grown accustomed to one thing, and one thing only, and that was not to fight, and they certainly would not fight for Ireland now. I am proud to be privileged to-day to stand here and see that blood tells, and to have with them the grandson of Gladstone (loud cheering); and to see him standing with them for the same cause for which his illustrious grandfather died fighting (renewed cheers). I think I speak with as much authority as any of them when I say that the hand of friendship which young Gladstone's grandfather had held out to the Irish race, and which was grasped by Irish America as well as by Paruell, Dillon, Redmond, O'Connor—that that same hand of friendship would now be clasped in the same friendly spirit by Irish-America (great cheering); and further, I will say that if I know anything of the feelings of my fellow-countrymen across the Atlantic, I can assure Mr. Redmond that he may depend on them to supply the finances to bring to a triumphant end this last battle for their country's freedom (loud and prolonged cheers). Mr. Dillon spoke a few moments ago about having no shivering in the knees, no shaking. That is true. I saw him stand up after his leader in the House of Commons the other night and discuss the Home Rule Bill, and I heard him declare, as he has declared here to-day, that the Irish race, when this Convention would assemble, would accept it (applause). Gentlemen, this is a time when every head that rises in the interest of faction and dissension should go down (applause). I speak to you as a born Corkman, and I tell you when it comes to Cork you will find that Cork is right. Cork is now coming out on top (applause), and you have evidence of it here to-day in the presence of the Lord Mayor of Cork (applause). You have proof of it, too, in other respects, and I say, in this final battle for Ireland, we of Cork blood won't be displaced. We have not been born Unionists; our training has never led us in the direction of such contact; we will stand for Ireland, we will fight for Ireland, we will prove to the world that Corkmen are not all ingrates, and that the great majority of them are true Irishmen (applause).

## MR. W. REDMOND, M.P.

Mr. William Redmond, M.P., who was received enthusiastically, then addressed the Convention. He said—Mr. Chairman and fellow-countrymen, my only excuse for standing before you upon this great day, even for one moment, is to be found in the fact that I am one of the band of men, now, alas! growing small indeed, which stood, on the 8th April, 1886, upon the floor of the House of Commons while Wm. Ewart Gladstone and Charles Stewart Parnell faced each other in that great assembly and commenced the great work of reconciling Ireland and Great Britain in honour and freedom. Whatever else we must think, we must to-day in our hearts say that, after all, God is good to Ireland (hear, hear). Twenty-six years have passed since those two statesmen, representing Ireland and Britain, commenced the first practical work of Home Rule for Ireland. Gladstone is dead. Parnell has passed away. We were all but lost without these two giants in the fight. We who were destined to live during those 26 years—ah! my fellow-countrymen, do you ever realise what we have been obliged to go through? (Hear, hear.) For 26 long years, night and day, in a Parliament for the most time unfriendly; for 26 long years in Ireland, night and day, trying to put heart and hope and courage into our own people (applause); for 26 long years, many of us travelling the limits of the earth asking our friends and kindred to help us, we, the representatives of a poor people, to face all the wealth and power which our opponents have got against us. In spite of open opposition, in spite of cruel and false action by those who should have been our friends, in spite of 26 years of toil and strife, and oppression and suffering, we must say, whatever our creed may be—we must say God is good to Ireland, because, after it all, we stand here to-day to know that the cause of Irish freedom is more forward, more supported by liberty-loving people throughout the world than ever before. We stand here to-day, and let no one of us mistake the truth of it—we stand here to-day knowing humanly that that cause for which our fathers for generations waited, and died, and suffered, if lost now, will be lost—I, at any rate, believe—only by some blunder or fault of our own (hear, hear). There is one aspect of this matter to which I would refer. What is the spirit

of England to-day in this matter? They know what our spirit is. I have had an opportunity of knowing it within the past few weeks. I have spoken at meetings in England and Scotland, meetings attended by tens of thousands of British people. From Scotland to Land's End what is their attitude? I say it is a correct and honourable one. What do I mean by that? I mean that they look on it as participants in some great international struggle or war. How long did they deny our right to demand Home Rule at all? How long in England did they deny that we had a claim to separate treatment as a nation? Men for making that claim were driven to the grave. In Manchester poor, unlettered men voiced that noble sentiment, and they died. The other day in the House of Commons, when the Prime Minister was rudely interrupted in his speech and was asked: "What nation did he refer to," he voiced the sentiment of England to-day when he said: "The Irish nation all over the world" (cheers). Dublin Castle benefited England no more than Ireland, and if England acknowledges the wrongs of the past, gives you back freedom, will you take it as an international settlement of an old quarrel, and loyally work it for the future? (cheers). I was at a great meeting in England the other day, and I was sought to be overwhelmed with confusion when I referred to peace with England, and when a speech was produced which I made years ago, in the days of the Coercion Act, and when the air was ringing with the sound of the crowbar brigade, and the people were imprisoned without trial. And what did I say? I said that the rule of England was a curse on Ireland, and that as long as I breathed the Irish air we would struggle with every power to tear down that rule and give Ireland the right to rule herself. I was asked how I reconciled that statement with peace for England, and I gave my answer that I gloried in that speech (cheers). I said that if under similar circumstances we were coerced to-day, Home Rule denied us, liberty kept back, and reform denounced—I said under such circumstances I would make the same speech and the same fight (cheers). To-day we are able to enter into this great international compact (cheers). Now, fellow-countrymen, one word more. Our opponents tell us in the House of Commons and in the *Irish Times* that we are dishonouring the name



of Irish Nationality by accepting this treaty of peace. Fellow-countrymen, are we? ("No, no.") Fellow-countrymen, have any of you ever asked yourselves what would have been the attitude of our forefathers if this offer of international peace was made? God be with the day, I always say. God be with the men of '98 (hear, hear). God be with the men of '48 (hear, hear). God be with the poor men who marched with the poor equipment ready to face death at Tallaght in '67 (hear, hear). They are gone; they did their work ("Bravo"). What alternative had they in '98? Why, I know something about the country at '98; what alternative had our people but to go and die like men fighting when they saw their homes robbed, their churches burnt, their women outraged and defiled, their country given up to fire and sword? They fought, of course, but if, instead of such barbarous treatment then, some great and wise influential statesman came forward and recognised the rights of the men of '98, recognised their nationality and their Faith, and offered to give them, under a free Constitution, the liberty which this Bill gives, to end a long quarrel on honourable terms, I believe the men of '98 would have gladly accepted such an overture (hear, hear). I believe, under these terms in '98, peace might have come. I believe if Smith O'Brien was offered such a Bill in '48 there would have been no attempt at rebellion then (hear, hear). I believe if the men of '67 had their nationality recognised, instead of being tortured for it, had they been offered this Bill, peace would have come (hear, hear). It is offered to us to-day (cheers). We believe that the men who are gone and who did so much—I believe, that did they live they would accept this honourable settlement and end the past for ever (hear, hear). At any rate, I speak for myself as a man who never hesitated in every part of the world to speak plainly about England and her doings (applause)—I say here I honourably accept this Bill (applause). I say here that we intend to accept not only nominally, but we intend to accept in the spirit to work it loyally, and if possible to make it a permanent settlement of this question (applause). No man can speak of permanency with certainty (hear, hear). All I can do is to promise and guarantee that we will honourably keep our part of the bargain,

and under this Bill Ireland will grow in prosperity and peace, and will be on terms of as great friendship with the people of England as any people in the whole world (applause). One word, and one word alone, in conclusion. The only argument that is worth, in my opinion, the snapping of a man's fingers against Home Rule is the argument advanced by the seventeen men who represent our Protestant countrymen in the north-east of Ireland. I believe if Ulster were at this Convention to-day this Bill would be the law of the land, with the King's signature, within three months (applause). The arguments that were powerful against Home Rule have faded away. The Dutch in Africa were made peaceful friends. There is only one argument now against Home Rule, and, as I said, that is the argument of a few Protestant fellow-countrymen in Ulster. What are we to say to them? Well, fellow-countrymen, I speak for myself, and I don't care whose sentiments I voice when I say it—when I say that to hasten the day when the Ulster Protestant will clasp hands with us, I would personally make any sacrifice I possibly could. I know it is only a question of time; I know that in an Irish Parliament, fairly and kindly treated as they would be, the blood that is in them would tell them that that blood which flows in their veins is the blood that rose in rebellion against injustice in '98 in Belfast. Thomas Russell, William Orr, and the long litany of noble men from the North, Protestant in religion, who worked in Ireland down to the days of the incomparable John Mitchel; those men were the ancestors of those who are aloof to-day. Somebody said just now that blood would tell. I believe that the blood of a nation tells. At any rate, I believe in an Irish Parliament those Protestant countrymen of ours will soon become united with us, knitted to us, join us, become bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, in a generous rivalry to see who could do the dear old land the most service—the North or the South. A nominated Senate, a high franchise—as democrats we don't like these things. But, is there one of us who would not joyfully accept all and every one of those things if we knew it would have the result of hastening the day when these men in Ulster would come into unison with us? At any rate, may I not, as one voice from this

Convention, say that while we bless God in the approaching triumph of our cause, while we rejoice at what generations of Irishmen have struggled for and suffered so much for—while we give voice to these sentiments, at the same time did not their loud and earnest and heart-felt voice go forth from that Convention to our brothers in the North, appealing to them to remember that the one land bore us all, and to remember that in their hearts they cannot believe that there is any need for dread at the hands of their Catholic fellow-countrymen. They know that when God made the heart of an Irish Catholic man He made something which was repugnant to intolerance, and as different as the light of day is from the darkness of the night (cheers). We say to the North of Ireland, we must insist upon Ireland governing herself. We cannot for Ireland's sake tolerate that seventeen Ulstermen should impose their will on the rest of Ireland. The majority in Ireland must rule; the minority from Ulster will be welcome with all the veins of our heart in the College Green Government, and I hope that one result of the Convention may be to make the Protestants, North and South, reflect that it is an ignoble thing for any man belonging to this land to deny it what all civilised people work for and desire—the power to control their own destiny. I would appeal to them for Ireland's sake to elect in my place to serve Ireland a Protestant fellow-countryman (loud applause) either from the North of Ireland or from the South. That is the spirit of the Irish Party to-day (hear, hear). That is the spirit in which we have worked for Home Rule for all these long years (hear, hear). That is the spirit in which, God willing, we will work to shape the course of the barque of Irish freedom once it is launched on the glad waters of this world (loud and prolonged applause).

#### MR. PIERCE O'MAHONY.

Mr. Pierce O'Mahony said—Mr. Redmond, this Bill is a magnificent tribute to your leadership and the statesmanship of yourself and your colleagues (hear, hear). But great tribute as this Bill is, this Convention is greater. In that there is a greater tribute still to Mr. Redmond and his Party, and that is the spirit which the Convention has shown to-day (hear, hear). It is thirty-six years since I first stood on a Home

Rule platform in the City of Dublin, and I thank God most earnestly that I have lived to see this day (hear, hear). There is only one touch of sadness in my heart to-day, and that is a deep one, and it is this, that the great privilege of being here to-day was not accorded to a far greater man than I am (a Voice—"You're worthy of it"). This Bill, I believe, is a great Bill, but no mortal man can draw a perfect Bill (hear, hear). The spirit in which it is drawn, that is the most important thing of all, and the spirit in which you have accepted that offer of peace to-day, the spirit of confidence you have shown to Mr. Redmond (applause)—these are the most important things that have taken place to-day. The objections to this Bill—some of them are the most absurd, when we consider the source from which they come, that have ever been made. I read the other day that we were not to take the Bill because it would not make Ireland a nation. Ireland wants no Act of Parliament (applause). She was a nation before the Norman Conquerors set foot on Saxon England (hear, hear). She has been a nation through all the centuries (hear, hear). She is a nation now (cheers), and one of the values of this Bill is that it will enable Ireland to draw together the scattered people of her race not only throughout the Empire, but draw together in friendship those who are living in that great Empire on the other side of the Atlantic (hear, hear). I rejoice I was able to be here to-day, because in a few days I am going to Scotland to attend a number of meetings, to speak for the people to whom I belong. And what a glorious message I can carry them. I can tell them that the spirit in which this Bill is offered was thoroughly reciprocated by the representatives of the Irish people assembled here to-day. Yes, the dawn of the day of the last battle is at hand. We trust our leader and we trust his colleagues. Then I say let every Irishman sink all personal matters and personal feelings, and even personal opinions about comparatively trivial matters, and let us bend every nerve and strain every sinew to carry this cause to victory. Let us do everything in our power to place this Bill upon the Statute Book, and then when it is the law of Ireland it will be the best and the greatest tribute to the memory of that great leader who has passed away—the



first Irishman who rendered possible this Bill, this treaty of peace, this oblivion of bad times and bad spirit. Let united Ireland give that tribute to the memory of the dead leader (loud cheers).

MR. BRADLEY, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

Mr. P. Bradley (Newcastle-on-Tyne), who was received with applause, said—I should make an apology for appearing in this position after the torrent of eloquence which has been poured out on this historic gathering. Representing as I do, in common with other delegates, the Irish community in Newcastle and the North of England (cheers), I wish to express for myself and on behalf of the great industrial community that we represent, appreciation of the kindness shown to us. I wish also to voice our sentiments upon this historic occasion, that, after hearing the finished eloquence displayed here to-day, we believe Ireland will have as much reason to be proud of her Parliament in the future as she had reason to be proud of her Parliament in the past. Continuing, the speaker said only the other Saturday he was present at a meeting in the city he came from, which was addressed by the Lord Advocate of Scotland. That demonstration was attended principally by young English Liberals. He was not a little pleased to see the warmth of the feeling that animated that gathering; but what most surprised him was to find that any objection that was made to the granting of Home Rule to Ireland was promptly met by the acumen of the Lord Advocate. When they had such forces behind them in Great Britain there was no reason why the Irish people should lose heart (applause). From the invitations they had received to be present at the great Convention, they looked forward to the time when they would receive a still more agreeable invitation to Dublin—an invitation to come back to Erin to see the beginning of a new Ireland, with her classic capital crowded with the elite of every nation, and her Parliament reflecting the intellect and virtue of the Irish race (loud applause).

Mr. Redmond said—All the delegates whose names I have here have now spoken, and I think I may now put the resolution.

Amid a scene of memorable enthusiasm

the resolution was put to the meeting, and, the delegates rising *en masse*, the Chairman declared it passed unanimously.

MONSIGNOR M'GLYNN.

On the motion of the Very Rev. Monsignor M'Glynn, P.P., V.G., (Stranorlar), the second chair was taken by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and a vote of thanks proposed to Mr. Redmond. He said—It gives me the very greatest pleasure to be here to-day to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Redmond for the way in which he has conducted the proceedings at that great Convention. It is now a considerable time since I have known Mr. Redmond—over a quarter of a century ago, in the early days of the Land League fights. At that time actions against the tenants were of daily occurrence, and many of my poor people were cast out of their holdings. The resident magistrates performed the duties of judges, and, of course, were the obedient servants of Dublin Castle. In the prosecutions which were brought against the unfortunate tenants in my district under the Balfour Coercion Act I was fortunate enough to get Mr. Redmond to defend them. It was owing to the tactful way in which he defended them and to his eloquence and arguments that he gained the victory for the poor people (applause). Since then I have followed Mr. Redmond's career with interest, and to-day I am especially happy to have the honour to propose this vote of thanks to him (cheers).

Mr. Austin Harford, City Councillor, Liverpool, said—My Lord Mayor and fellow-delegates—I have the privilege of seconding a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. John Redmond for presiding at this the greatest National Convention ever held in Dublin. Words are quite unnecessary, and words fail us, in the endeavour to express our admiration for the Irish Leader. He is a great general, a statesman, and an ideal Irish gentleman. I ask you to say, "God bless John Redmond and God Save Ireland" (loud cheers).

The Lord Mayor said the Irish people had a habit of finding out how good an Irishman was after he died—to-day they had an opportunity of realising what a good and great Irishman was when alive (cheers).

Mr. John Redmond, who, on rising to reply, was once more received with

vociferous cheering, said—My Lord Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen—I hope you will excuse me if I confine myself to saying simply, but with all my heart, that I thank you (applause).

The delegates then rose in a body and sang a verse of "God Save Ireland," and with this the proceedings of this memorable Convention closed.

### THE OVERFLOW CONVENTION.

While Mr. Redmond was still delivering his great speech at the Convention assembled in the Round Room it was decided to hold an overflow Convention of the delegates who were unable to obtain admission to the principal meeting-place. The balcony opening off the Supper Room of the Mansion House was, by a happy selection, chosen for the platform, while the greater number of the audience assembled in the spacious garden which it overlooks, large numbers also endeavouring to hear the speeches from positions taken up by them in the Supper Room and at windows of other of the Mansion House apartments which also overlook the garden. Even the slope of the garden was occupied. The scene was picturesque, and the proceedings were inspiring in their enthusiasm. A brilliant sun smiled on the assemblage, which was characterised not only by magnificent enthusiasm, but by great good humour as well. A remarkable ovation greeted the appearance of Mr. W. G. O. Gladstone, M.P., the grandson of the Grand Old Man. He arrived on the balcony while Mr. Devlin was speaking, and was greeted with prolonged and enthusiastic cheering and waving of hats. The resolution deciding to accept the Bill was passed with unanimity and enthusiasm.

The Lord Mayor formally introduced Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P.

### SPEECH OF MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who had a rousing reception, said—My Lord Mayor and gentlemen of the Convention, many of you whom I now address, like myself, have had experience of many great Irish gatherings and great Irish Conventions, but there is not one of you that does not know that this is the greatest Convention that was ever held in Ireland (loud cheers). I understand that no fewer than eight thousand names were registered as delegates who desired to be

present. The Hall next door is packed to suffocation, and here I am addressing a gathering which alone would be sufficient to compose a great and representative Convention (loud cheers). Well, gentlemen, there are many ways of submitting a great issue to the verdict of a country. Sometimes an issue is submitted to the constituencies at a General Election; sometimes it is submitted to a legislative body which is the result of these elections; but we submit the issue to-day to a larger, a wider, and a more representative body than any Legislature could be—we submit it to the people here gathered together in Convention (loud cheers). From every city in Ireland, from every town in Ireland, from every village in Ireland, from every hamlet of even half a dozen houses, the representatives are here, and by their verdict the Irish Party will stand or fall (loud cheers). For to-day, gentlemen, we decide more than one issue—we, in my judgment, decide first, and before all, the fate of our Nation and of our Party. If to-day your verdict were a foolish verdict, or a rash verdict, then, so far as men of my years in this assembly are concerned, we might give farewell to any chance of Self-Government in our lifetime. You are deciding also the policy and the fate of a Party. We come before you to-day to submit to your judgment the policy and the Party, and by that also we shall stand or fall (hear, hear). And I say to-day, having gone through years of much difficulty, of calumny, of powerful attack from open foes and secret enemies, from a combination of Unionism on the one side and factionism on the other (a Voice—"Down with factionism"), having to face the prophet and the so-called extremists (laughter), we come here to-day and we offer to you the richest harvest of success that a Party ever offered to Ireland (loud cheers). Well, gentlemen of the Convention, our main mission to-day is to ask your verdict on the Home Rule Bill that is before the British Parliament. It is, as you know, the third Home Rule Bill that has been introduced within the lifetime of Mr. Dillon and myself (hear, hear). The first two Bills were introduced by the greatest statesman England has produced for a century, whose grandson will be presently here amongst you (loud cheers), and will get from you the dead mile fault that one of his name fully deserves at the hands of a

body of Irish Nationalists (renewed cheers). The first two Bills were introduced by Mr. Gladstone. When the first Bill was introduced we had the leadership of the greatest Irish Leader of modern times, the late Mr. Parnell (cheers). Mr. Parnell made a speech—I was sitting by his side when he made it—in which he fully accepted the first Bill of Mr. Gladstone as a satisfactory solution of the Irish demand (hear, hear). When the second Bill was brought in, again by Mr. Gladstone, in 1893, the Bill was accepted by the Irish Nationalist members. And now, gentlemen, I have to put this point to you: According to the testimony of every impartial and sane man, of the three Bills that have been produced the third Bill is the best and the largest and the most generous; and though I do not profess to be such a wild and untrammelled and wild-horse Nationalist as some of our critics, I am here to say that a Bill that was good enough for Parnell is good enough for me (cheers); and, still more, I am here to say that a Bill which is better than the Bill that Parnell accepted in 1886 is good enough for the Nationalists of Ireland to-day (renewed cheers). This Bill and our policy have been attacked by two different sets of critics. It is a pity these critics do not have a secret gathering together and agree on their criticism (laughter). But, unfortunately, the criticisms destroy each other. We have had a most extraordinary combination. We have had the Orangeman and the English Tory Catholic, we have had the so-called extremist—I say so-called, for I have a great respect for a real extremist, and none at all for a sham one—we have had the so-called extremist on the other side of the Atlantic, and we have the English and Irish Liberal-Unionist and Tory on the other; we have the Protestant Primate and Archbishop of Armagh denouncing the Bill because it gives Ireland up to the yoke of Rome (laughter), and we have the Duke of Norfolk weeping tears because it destroys the chances and prospects of Catholics in Ireland (laughter). I was coming down O'Connell street to-day, and I caught sight of my friend, Mr. William Moore, the member for North Armagh. Now, Mr. Moore is neither so frightened nor so wicked as he likes to appear to be, and he will have a much happier time in a self-governed Ireland than perhaps he allows himself to anticipate. I was

inclined to go up to Mr. William Moore and say, "You know what a miserable, half-hearted, tinkering kind of Home Rule Bill this is (laughter). You know that plenty of stout Liberal-Unionist and Tory and Orange Nationalists declare that this Bill is such a miserable Bill that the stalwart and robust nationality of Ireland will dismiss it with contumely and disgust" (laughter). Why, I read a letter by Lord Lansdowne, the leader of the Tory Party in the House of Lords (laughter and hisses), which was read at a meeting of Irish Tories down in Cork. (A Voice—"Cork is all right"). "The Bill," he says, "seems to me to threaten all classes of the Irish community, and not Unionists alone" (laughter). Is it not a great thing to have a friend like that in the enemy's camp? (reads): "It is a fantastic hotch-potch of unsound finance, half-hearted concessions, illusory safeguards, and unredeemable pledges, and if it were to become law it would bring with it nothing but confusion, trouble, and disappointment" (laughter). Well now, why do not we have Lord Lansdowne and William Moore here at the Convention to-day—even one of them—to propose the rejection of the Bill, and a Sinn Féiner to second the rejection of the Bill (laughter)—both, unlike you and me, miserable, half-hearted, timid, compromising Nationalists that we are—one to move and the other to second the rejection of the Bill as not rising to the height of the National demand (laughter). And why don't they bring along with them some more? Why don't they bring the crank and the sham crank, the rogue who pretends to be a fool—why don't they bring the disappointed office seeker, that he may shed tears of blood because the banner of Ireland has been lowered by the Irish Party, when all the time he is thinking of the job that he has not got? (laughter). Ah! gentlemen, these men make a mistake. They do not realise that now they have to deal with an educated democracy in Ireland, and not with the poor, illiterate democracy of many years ago. They still make the mistake of thinking that you are a gullible people, easily taken in by every impostor and every sham that opposes the real and practical and the possible reform by pretending that he wants the impossible vision that every sensible man knows is not within the reach, even if it was desirable, of the Irish people



(cheers). I have a good deal of sympathy with the crank to-day (laughter). I never liked him much (renewed laughter), because I know, from my reading of history, that the misfortunes of Ireland have as frequently been brought about by the folly as by the treason of her sons. But, at the same, I have a certain amount of sympathy for the crank. I will tell you why. There are great temptations held out to him to-day. Why, if anyone in this gathering were to make a speech of three columns of good sense it is possible that he would not have a record in any paper, except, perhaps, a local weekly. But if any man calling himself a Nationalist raises his voice against this Bill, why all the appliances of modern society and of science, and all the resources of modern journalism are placed at his disposal. The photographer is ready to photograph him (laughter).

A Voice—Whether he is good-looking or not.

Mr. O'Connor—The kodak is lying around the corner to snapshot him, and the films of the cinematograph will produce him for the admiring gaze of large audiences as a great specimen of robust nationality. The recording angels of the Press will give every word he says; the American cable will produce his utterances from Ireland to the United States, and from the United States to Ireland; why, even our illustrious countryman, Marconi, will put his wireless system at his disposal. The whole world is one vast whispering gallery to report every voice of faction in the hope of destroying the Irish National Party. Well, that is a temptation. I don't feel it—not being a crank. But it is a temptation, and the result of it is, you will see at this moment a self-inflation, a Press inflation, and a Unionist and faction inflation of the smallest and the most senseless men in the community. Every cornerstone of faction begins to think that he has the dullest notes of the nightingale, and every tomtit in the country thinks himself an eagle that with soaring wings flaps before the golden gates of Heaven. I am not surprised that these gentlemen have made themselves heard of. Yesterday they started in full cry in the organs of factionism and the organs of Unionism all the world over. Let me allude to some of these statements. The finance of the Home Rule Bill is criticised. Well, I do not say that every line and

figure of the clauses with regard to finance or with regard to every detail of the Bill is like Holy Scripture; but I do say that the finance of this Bill is better finance than that which any Home Rule Bill ever contained before (hear, hear). Let me just give you three figures. Under the first Bill of Mr. Gladstone Ireland had to pay three and a quarter millions to the British Exchequer; under the second Home Rule Bill of Mr. Gladstone Ireland had to pay two millions to the British Exchequer; and under the present Home Rule Bill of Mr. Asquith Ireland has not to pay anything, but the British Exchequer has to pay Ireland two millions (cheers).

A remark was made by one of the audience in the garden which did not reach the reporter.

Mr. O'Connor—If my friend knew the world as well as I do he would know that the hardest thing in the world to get back was your own money (cheers and laughter). And here, again, gentlemen of the Convention, I have to call your attention to a singular want of consistency between our critics here and in England. In Ireland some of these critics tell you that Ireland is being robbed, but in England they tell Englishmen that England is being robbed (laughter). Well, both statements cannot be true. I was at a bye-election last week in Nottingham, and there were placards there all over the place, and according to these placards—these lying placards—every man, woman, and child in England was to be fined three and sixpence a head for the Home Rule Bill (laughter). Well, I don't know whether it is three and sixpence a head Ireland is to be fined or six-and-eightpence; but you see there is the kind of combination—you see Unionism on the one side and factionism on the other, both united. And united for what? Ah! gentlemen, that is the evil fruit of faction (hear, hear). There are Irish factionists to-day who would not hesitate to stab through the heart Ireland and all her hopes, if the dagger could reach the heart of the Irish Leader and the Irish Party (hisses). Well, gentlemen those heroes who are not satisfied with the Bill are endeavouring to get you to misunderstand it and underrate it.

A Voice—"We don't mind."

Mr. O'Connor—Well, we put the issue before you to-day, and, as I began by saying, we put that issue to the largest,

the most representative, and the most democratic Convention that ever came together in Ireland, or in any other country in the world (hear, hear). And we will stand by your verdict (hear, hear). I believe that your demand will be to tell us to go back to Westminster, to give this Bill a cordial and a hearty acceptance on your behalf and on the part of Ireland: to bid us work under this Bill, and to fashion, through its instrumentality, the new Ireland which is already growing up all around us—not the Ireland of pauper slaves in which I was born, but the Ireland with three hundred thousand freemen, to-day owning every acre, rood and perch of the soil, and with no lord above them except the mighty Lord of all (loud cheers). Gentlemen, one word finally. I come here to you to-day as the representative of two millions of your race whose home and whose dwelling-place are amongst the masses of England, Scotland and Wales. I bring from these Irish exiles this message:—That the British masses are on your side in this struggle (loud cheers); that the enemies you have in England, Scotland and Wales are the enemies you have in Ireland—class, religious and racial ascendancies (hear, hear); that the workmen, amongst whom our people live, are, in the main, and almost entirely, on your side (hear, hear); that every Labour representative in the House of Commons is an enthusiastic supporter of your Bill (hear, hear). May I say, also, to you what I have said to many of our countrymen in other parts of the world, that a fair retrospect of the relations between England and Ireland, and the history of the two countries will reveal to any impartial student that in the days when Ireland suffered most, the masses of the English people had as little control over the rulers, the Ministers, the Parliament and the laws of England as the Irish masses had over the rulers, the Ministers and the laws of Ireland (hear, hear). As to our people in America, I tell you that the best of them are on our side. Nine-tenths, aye ninety-nine one-hundredths of them are on our side in giving a welcome to this Bill. I know the names of most of those gentlemen who by invitation, or otherwise, have sent over cablegrams denouncing this Bill. I know them, nearly every one of them by name, those that have any name at all (laughter). I have visited,

as you know, in the interests of Ireland, the United States of America five times. I have been in every State of the American Union, and many a time I have helped to carry on the struggle at home by their generous donations to the cause (loud cheers). I tell you that on nearly every mission that I undertook in America, or that Mr. Redmond, or Mr. Dillon, or Mr. Devlin undertook in America, that on every single one of these occasions these gentlemen, who signed these cablegrams, did their best by newspaper, by intrigue, and by calumny to destroy our mission and to close the hearts and pockets of our people. They failed then, and they will fail now (loud and prolonged cheering). Now, one word finally. Let us let the dead past bury its dead. Let us forget the sorrows and wrongs of the past, and let us grasp the hand of generous friendship that has been offered to us by the masses of Great Britain and make a new treaty—not violated, like the Treaty of Limerick, but lasting and imperishable, because graven upon the hearts of two peoples (loud and enthusiastic cheers).

#### SPEECH OF MR. JOHN DILLON, M.P.

Mr. John Dillon, M.P., who was received with prolonged cheering, next addressed the overflow Convention. He said—Gentlemen of the Convention, I feel that I must commence what I have to say to-day by offering you an apology for the position which you now occupy ("No, no"). You ought to be inside at the great Convention that is now going on, but all that I can say is this, that we secured the best room in the City of Dublin, and one of the handsomest rooms in Europe; and if the Convention cannot fit into that room it is not our fault, but is a sign of how deeply the heart and the mind of Ireland is stirred upon on this occasion (loud cheers). Eight thousand delegates registered their names in the office of the U.I.L., and I say that in the whole history of Ireland there never has assembled a body of men so well entitled to speak for Ireland as the body portion of which I am addressing here to-day (cheers). And this appeal I would make in all sincerity to all those in Ireland who call themselves Nationalists, and who believe in the national right of Ireland and in the future of our nation—that when this mighty assembly has given

its verdict that the voice of discord and difference of opinion may be stilled (hear, hear), and that the voice and the decision of this Convention may be taken by every honest Nationalist as the voice of Ireland (cheers). Now, the first thing I want to say is this : that your presence here to-day in such overwhelming numbers is a proof and a manifestation of the falsification of all the prophecies of evil by which we have been tormented during the last three years. A certain section of the Irish press is never wearied telling the people of Ireland that we, the National Party, and especially Mr. John Redmond, the Leader of that Party (cheers), had been humbugged and deluded by Mr. Asquith and the English Government; that we were fools, unfit to be trusted with the fate of a people; unfit to take charge of a people's cause, and that the hour would come when a bitter disillusionment would settle upon the mass of the Irish people.

At this stage Mr. W. G. C. Gladstone arrived, and Mr. Dillon, pausing in his speech, introduced him. He was received with remarkable enthusiasm, the people cheering with great vigour and waving their hats. The demonstration lasted for a considerable time, and a priest who was on the balcony came forward to Mr. Gladstone and shook hands with him warmly, remarking at the same time : "I shook hands with your grandfather." When the renewed enthusiasm elicited by this incident had subsided, Mr. Dillon, resuming his speech, said—We thought, delegates to the Convention, that it would be a grateful thing to you and a happy augury for the coming struggle if the grandson of that man who commenced the great work of reconciling these two nations and bridging over the bloody gulf which divided them for centuries were invited here to-day to hear the voice of Ireland (loud cheers)—and to realise that in this hour there is no bitterness and no hatred for the people of England (renewed cheers). Mr. Gladstone coming here to represent the people of England—all of them who are willing to do justice to Ireland—can see for himself that if this great measure is brought to completion England and Ireland will bury the bitter memories of the past (loud cheers) and be friends for all the time that is to come (hear, hear). But I was saying that we had been told over and over again that Ireland would "find

us out," and that we would never live to see a genuine Home Rule Bill introduced. Well, that prophecy is disappointed, and we are here to-day before this mighty Convention bearing in our hands a Home Rule Bill which we approve of (hear, hear), which we recommend to this Convention for adoption, and on which we are prepared to challenge the verdict of our countrymen. And by it we are prepared to stand or to fall (hear, hear). We were to be swindled by Asquith. Well, I don't see much sign of swindling about this Bill. No man in Ireland has had the courage to say that this is not the best Home Rule Bill that was ever introduced, and if we have been swindled in connection with the Bill, we have been swindled in very good company. For my part, I wish that Ireland may be swindled again and again in the same manner. But the very same gentlemen who have indulged in these professions of evil—and, mind you, the prophet of evil has a trick very often of trying to make his own prophecies come true—these same gentlemen are now engaged in endeavouring to kill this Bill by underhand and dishonest methods. Nobody in Ireland who calls himself a Nationalist has had the courage to oppose the Bill or to say that Ireland ought to reject the Bill—we have not found a single individual in Ireland. But there are men who are seeking to assist the Tory Party and the Unionists of Ireland to get rid of the Bill by another method, for there are different ways of killing a Bill. You may kill it by criticism; and I would say to you here to-day that no man who understands anything of politics can for a moment doubt that in order to carry this Bill into law we have a tremendous struggle before us. What is the first necessary step? If this Bill is worth having—and that is the issue that is be put to this Convention to-day, the main issue—is the Bill worth fighting for or not? (Cries of "Yes, yes.") If the Bill is worth having then it is worth fighting for, and it will be fought for (cheers). And, make no mistake about it, it will take a tough and determined struggle to win it. There are different methods of killing a Bill. I was reading in a newspaper the other day a statement to the following effect—the Bill, according to this paper, was not one that they could grow enthusiastic over, but the country, it supposed, must accept it, failing a better one. Now I



answer that paper, and say that the country has no obligation to accept this Bill. If the country does not make up its mind that this Bill is worth fighting for it will never get the Bill, and if the Bill is not worth fighting for nobody is going to force it upon the country. I believe that the Bill is worth fighting for, and I believe that Ireland is resolved to fight for it (cheers). As the Chairman said just now inside at the Convention, some men say that the Bill is not a Repeal of the Union. No; it is not a Repeal of the Union, but it goes much further on the path of Irish liberty than Repeal of the Union would carry us. And I will tell you why. What was it that killed Grattan's Parliament? What was it that made Grattan's Parliament impotent in the face of Lord Castlereagh and his myrmidons when they proposed to buy the Parliament up and carry the Union?—It was the fact that under Grattan's Parliament you never had an Executive Government responsible to that Parliament. Although we had what is called a free Parliament we had an enslaved Executive, and the result was that when the hour of its trial came Grattan's Parliament was unable to defend itself, and it fell helplessly before its enemies. But this Bill gives us an Irish Executive Government for the first time since England set her foot in this country, seven centuries ago (hear, hear), and with an Irish Executive Government I say it will be the fault of the Irish people if they do not have all the essentials of liberty (hear, hear). And, therefore, it is that I am prepared to maintain that this Bill is better and goes further on the road to giving Ireland liberty than a Repeal of the Union would do. Ireland to-day has to make up her mind. If Ireland is doubtful about this Bill, if Ireland thinks that this is a Bill which has got to be accepted for want of a better one, then I say let us kill the Bill ("No, no"). But as Ireland believes, as I believe, and as the Irish Party believes that this is the best Home Rule Bill ever offered us, and gives us immediately or in the near future all the essentials of Irish freedom and the power to manage our own affairs on Irish soil (hear, hear), then, in God's name brace yourselves for the struggle (loud cheers), and do not allow any of the critics to dissipate your energies or turn aside your attention by too minute a criticism of the details of the Bill. We are told that

the finance of the Bill is not sound. Now I want to give you one word of warning about finance, and it is this—that those who talk most loudly about finance understand least about it (hear, hear). I do not set up to be, and I never have set up to be, an expert on finance; but I have not been for nothing for the last thirty years in the House of Commons discussing finance and listening to the greatest masters of finance like the grandfather of our friend on this platform here (cheers) and struggling for the rights of Ireland in finance with the experts of the British Treasury, the greatest financial experts in the world—I have not been doing that for the last thirty years for nothing, and I do say this, and I say it proudly, that there never has been a nation better served as regards finance, in a struggle against such tremendous odds, than has been the Irish nation by the Irish Parliamentary Party (cheers). What do the English people say? What do the experts of the British Treasury say? The Treasury officials are all Home Rulers to-day. And do you know why? Some of them have told us themselves—because, they say, as long as the Irish Party is in Parliament the Treasury can never protect the British money bags. And it is true—I say it here deliberately and I challenge contradiction—that the Irish Party, on this question of finance, has fought the battle of Ireland as well as any party has ever fought the battle of any people (cheers). And when it comes to deal with the finances of this Bill and the bargain that is to be made with the British Treasury, are we to be thrust aside and every whipper-snapper and amateur in finance in Ireland, who has never done any practical work, who has never had to face in the House of Commons the experts of English finance as we have had to face them—are they to be at liberty to kill this Bill by their pettifoggish criticism of it, and is the Leader of the Irish Party and the Irish Party to be told that they must be taught their business and go to school again? Now, although I don't propose to be an expert in finance, I have learned some finance in my time, and I say deliberately that this Bill is an honest attempt on the part of Ministers, and a generous attempt to treat Ireland fairly in respect of finance (cheers). But observe the cruel injustice and injury that is done to us because of these amateur critics

of finance. They undertake to show that Ireland is being robbed by this Bill. Just look at the position that they put us in. We have either to remain silent or we have got to defend the finances of the Bill, and the more we defend the finances of the Bill the weaker we make ourselves in our fight with the Treasury. Therefore, I say that these men are doing incalculable mischief by their criticism of the finances of the Bill. But I don't believe that the country is minding them (cheers). We have fought the best battle we could for Ireland, and we have got good financial provisions in the Bill. I want to remind the critics and to warn all of you. Some people would imagine to listen to these men that all we had to do was to take a sheet of paper, and say "We want ten millions and a constitution and we will draft it," and that that will settle the question. But it does not settle the question, inasmuch as the matter has to be argued out before the constituencies of Great Britain. In dealing with this great measure you must make some allowance, once you are convinced of their good faith, for the difficulties of British Ministers with their own people. I have no hesitation in putting that consideration before you, the representatives of the people of Ireland. You must make some allowance for them, and I say deliberately, that so far as the leading Ministers of this Government are concerned they have met us fairly they have met us honestly, and I believe they have dealt generously with us in this matter (cheers). I will, with your permission, read out the resolution which is at this moment being submitted by the Chairman of the Convention from the chair in the Round Room to the portion of the Convention inside. I think I had better submit it to this second Convention in the same terms. Here is the resolution on which your verdict is to be taken :—

That we welcome the Government of Ireland Bill as an honest and generous attempt to settle the long and disastrous quarrel between the British and Irish nations; and this National Convention of the Irish people decides to accept the Bill in the spirit in which it is offered (hear, hear), and we hereby declare our solemn conviction that the passage of this Bill into law will bind the people of Ireland to the people of Great Britain by a union infinitely closer

than that which now exists (hear, hear), and by so doing add immeasurably to the strength of the Empire (cheers).

That is the resolution which later on, when you have listened to one or two more speakers, you will be asked to vote upon (hear, hear). In yesterday's *Independent* newspaper (hisses) there appeared a list of telegrams—I know the men who sent them—telegrams from the other side of the Atlantic and published as being the opinions of Irish-America. These telegrams have been taken up by the English Press and presented as telegrams from "the patrons of John Redmond in America" who are now repudiating him and this Bill. Who are these men? I want to say nothing, and I will say nothing, derogatory or offensive to them. They are leaders of what remains of the Clann-na-Gael. Thirty years when I went to America with Mr. Parnell for the Land League, the Clann-na-Gael was a great and powerful organisation, and four-fifths of our race in America shared their views. But in recent years the vast majority of that body, converted by Mr. Parnell and by Mr. Davitt (cheers) and by the action of Mr. Gladstone (cheers), have supported the Constitutional movement which you are here to-day to support (hear, hear). But there remains, and has always remained, a small section, now a rapidly dwindling section, of our people in America who are irreconcilable, and who have systematically opposed and denounced the whole of this movement. They have still a small influence, but it is rapidly disappearing. I don't say anything against these men, but I say it is a treacherous and dishonest thing to represent their telegrams as telegrams coming from supporters of John Redmond in America (cheers). Some of you have, perhaps, seen the *Gaelic American*. These men have for the last fifteen years denounced the Parliamentary Party and the Constitutional movement and Home Rule in unmeasured language. They are the enemies of this movement. They cannot tear out from their hearts—I do not blame them—they cannot tear out from their hearts the bitterness which all of us felt a few years ago. Their ideal is eternal war between the Irish race and the English people. That is not our ideal; it is not your ideal (cries of "No, no"). We want to end this war in the only way in which it can

ever be ended—by England giving justice to Ireland (hear, hear). But if it is ended in that way, then the occupation of these men in New York is gone, and their movement is at an end. Therefore, it is no wonder that they should telegraph over condemning this Bill. Why do they condemn it? They condemn it because of its goodness, because they are afraid that if this Bill passes into law it will soon reconcile the people of Ireland and tear out of their hearts the bitter memories of the past (cheers). Our idea, therefore, is not the idea of war between Great Britain and Ireland. Our ideal, on which we have built up this movement and devoted ourselves to it for years, is to lay the foundation on which, in the future, we can build a structure of friendship between the two nations. But we have always held, as we do to-day—and in your name I make the offer to Mr. Gladstone—the offer of the friendship of Ireland, forgetfulness of all her wrongs, if the British people make up their minds to treat Ireland as a nation. And I hail with satisfaction the statement by Mr. Asquith the other day in the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith had declared that the voice of the nation, speaking as Ireland had spoken at the last eight General Elections, could not be overlooked. “What nation?” asked one of the jeering Tories. “The Irish nation,” said Mr. Asquith (loud cheers). I welcome that recognition on the part of England’s Prime Minister of the national right of Ireland (hear, hear). The Bill recognises that national right, and I recommend it with all my heart to the acceptance of the people of Ireland (cheers); and I say that if it passes into law I believe it will be the blessed beginning and the sure foundation of a new chapter in the history of our race; that England and Ireland can shake hands over the bloody gulf of centuries, and go forth into the future as equal allies and comrades instead of being bitter enemies, as they have been (loud and prolonged cheering). I will now ask Mr. Gladstone to address you.

#### SPEECH OF MR. GLADSTONE, M.P.

Mr. W. G. C. Gladstone, M.P., who was received with tremendous cheering and waving of hats, then addressed the Convention, and said—Mr. Dillon and delegates from the Irish nation (cheers), this is, as you can easily believe, a very

memorable day for me. I take it as a very great honour that I have been invited to be present on this great historic occasion (cheers and a voice—“You are welcome”), and I take it not only as a great honour but as a great tribute to the memory of one who devoted the closing years of his life to the struggle for the cause of the domestic freedom of Ireland (loud cheers). You remember the definition that he gave of Liberalism. He said Liberalism means: Trust in the people, tempered by prudence (hear, hear), and he applied the definition to the Irish question. And the policy of the Liberal Party became illumined by the realisation of the great truth that human nature responds to the good opinion and the confidence that is reposed in it (hear, hear), and the realisation that if the English people would give the Irish people a generous measure of their confidence and good-will, then the Irish people would give their loyalty and affection to the people of Great Britain (cheers and a voice—“So they would”). Gentlemen, the tide is flowing in our direction, and not all the strength in all the men of Ulster can dam that tide (loud cheers). Time was when the Liberal Party was not unanimous in favour of Home Rule, but that is past, that is gone for ever (hear hear). This time there will be no secessions from the Liberal Party, as there were (cheers), no desertions from the Liberal Party of men of high standing who carried influence with their fellow men. No; on the contrary, this time it may be said that Liberalism is solid for Home Rule for Ireland (loud cheers). The Liberal Party have agreed to support the Bill which Mr. Asquith introduced the other day into the House of Commons for the better government of Ireland; and now I have just witnessed inside the hall the historic scene of that portion of the Convention, representing the people of Ireland, accepting the great measure of emancipation (cheers). Now, this time there will be no secessions, no desertions, from the solidity and unanimity in favour of Home Rule for Ireland (cheers). It has become realised at last that no country like Great Britain can be strong so long as any part of her dominions, so long as any part of the realm, is held by strength, and not by consent of the people themselves (cheers). What gives strength to a kingdom like Great Britain? Why,



ladies and gentlemen, the consent of the people governed gives strength (cheers). Nothing else ever does or ever will. And I believe that on the day that Home Rule for Ireland is established we shall have achieved the greatest possible step for strengthening Great Britain and the British Empire as a whole (loud cheers).

Mr. John Dillon, M.P., again came forward, and said—Gentlemen, before I put the resolution to the meeting, I know you would all like to have a word from the representative of our nation in America (loud cheers), but for whose powerful and untiring help this day could never have dawned upon Ireland. Mr. John O'Callaghan, of Boston, will now address you.

#### SPEECH OF MR. JOHN O'CALLAGHAN.

Mr. John O'Callaghan, National Secretary of the U.I.L. of America, on coming forward, received a great ovation, the assemblage cheering vigorously and waving their hats. He said—Fellow-countrymen—If I had ten thousand hearts like another distinguished Corkman in former times (laughter) I would thank you from the very bottom of them all, for the welcome you have given to the grandson of the Grand Old Man (loud cheers). But the limitations of my heart being so thoroughly understood I shall simply say, in the name of the people of our race in America, that the hand of friendship held out in honesty, I believe, by England within the past ten days will be grasped and appreciated by our race in the United States (loud cheers). Mr. Dillon has told you truly that if you are assembled here to-day in the Convention, of which this mass meeting is a small part, it is because you have come here, despite the efforts of some of the men whose names were appended to that message of yesterday (cheers). I know the men (hear, hear). I know them well. (A Voice—"They are no good"). No good, absolutely no good (cheers). They have done everything in their power, limited as it is, for a dozen years back to thwart the efforts of the Leader of the Irish Race, who is speaking to Ireland to-day, and whose voice will be heard in America as clearly and as surely and as thoroughly as it is being heard in Ireland to-day (cheers). I want from this platform to-day to say that

there is an easy test that can be applied to their pretensions. Let them call a public meeting, open to the Irish-American Race, anywhere in America, and put to the proof the lies they have told in the cablegram they sent here yesterday (hear, hear). Let them go to New York; let them come to Boston, where I hope to be shortly; let them go to Chicago; let them go to anywhere, and in a free meeting such as this put to the test whether the acceptance by the Irish Party and by the Irish Leader of this Bill is the voice of the Irish Race in America, as it is in Ireland (cheers). The whole of the forty-six signers of the cablegram have not, in ten years, contributed ten dollars to the Irish cause. I want to say this, and I know that when I say it I speak the feeling of our people in America, and of every race as well as ours, that while money is needed for this cause you will have it, and the signers of the manifesto of yesterday will never be needed to be drawn upon to win success (cheers).

#### SPEECH OF MR. JEREMIAH MACVEAGH, M.P.

Mr. Jeremiah MacVeagh, M.P., in response to loud calls for a speech, came forward and was enthusiastically cheered. He said—My experience of the English constituencies for the past few months has convinced me—and I know something of the temper of Liberal meetings, I have been present at them all over England, Scotland, and Wales—that throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain to-day there is absolute unanimity in the ranks of the Liberal Party in favour of Home Rule for Ireland (hear, hear). The Liberal Government settled the question of self-government in South Africa, and they gained credit for it in the English constituencies, and if they are able to settle the Irish question they will gain such a measure of credit for that as will ensure for them unbounded success at the next General Election (loud cheers). They said to the English people from that Convention what they said to the Protestants of Ulster, that they sought no enmities, they wanted to be friends of all, they wanted to proclaim a blessed oblivion of the past, and they wanted to open up a new chapter that would mark the onward march of the Irish people in the path of freedom and prosperity (loud cheers).

## MR. DILLON PUTS THE RESOLUTION.

There were calls for a speech from Mr. Devlin, and Mr. Dillou said—Mr. Devlin is now addressing the Convention inside, and he will be out presently. I now submit the first resolution, and in doing so I wish to make this appeal to the delegates—I wish to read the resolution again before I put it to the opinion of the Convention, and I want to appeal to all to recollect that this is a solemn act. I would appeal to you to remember that if you adopt this resolution we shall accept that adoption as a mandate to the Irish Party to fight for the Bill (cheers). If you give us this mandate—(cries of “We will”)—I would ask you to protect us against treacherous criticism (hear, hear), and to see that, while we are fighting the enemy in front, we are not to be stabbed in the back by treacherous friends (loud cheers).

Mr. Dillon then read the resolution a second time and put it to the Convention. The assemblage signified their acceptance of it by loud and repeated cries of “Aye,” and “Hip, hip, hurrahs.”

Mr. Dillou invited those who were opposed to the resolution to say “No,” and at first one or two persons in the huge assemblage called “No,” seemingly in a jocular spirit, because when Mr. Dillon a second time called for the “Noes” there was no response. He then declared the resolution carried unanimously and said:—Now, gentlemen, I hope and trust that I may convey to the Leader of the Irish Party an assurance that the people of Ireland will stand at his back and allow no traitor to strike down his arm (loud cheers).

Mr. Dillon then left the balcony and returned to the Round Room, and Mr. William Field, M.P., acting on his invitation, took the chair.

## SPEECH OF MR. WILLIAM FIELD, M.P.

Mr. William Field, M.P., who was warmly cheered, welcomed as senior member for the City of Dublin, the men who had come from the country, delegated to represent the Irish nation at the great Convention. It had been said that the measure of Home Rule which had been introduced by Mr. Asquith and accepted by Mr. Redmond, on behalf of the Irish Party, would not be

safe from criticism in the Convention. The resolution had already been adopted in the enormous assembly in the Round Room. They were going to accept this Home Rule Bill. He believed that when they obtained the right to self-government, they in Ireland would not alone be able to govern themselves, but they would set an example of democratic progress, as they had already done, to the English people (cheers).

At the conclusion of Mr. Field's speech a clergymau, speaking from amongst the assemblage in the garden, asked that Mr. Redmond should be sent for in order that the people assembled there might see him?

Mr. Field—Yes, sir, we will do that.

## SPEECH OF MR. J. C. LARDNER, M.P.

Mr. J. C. Lardner, M.P., who was received with cheers, said that was a great day for Ireland (cheers). It was a great day for the young men who had entered upon the struggle just on the very brink of victory (cheers). He was one of the young brigade that came from Ulster that day to bring to the Convention not a message of bitterness or hatred or of intolerance, but with good wishes and good feelings for their Protestant fellow-countrymen (cheers). In Ulster to-day there were a great many Protestants who were in favour of the great measure that was being advocated at that Convention, but owing to the tyranny of the Orange Lodges they were afraid to come out into the public and to give expression to their opinions. He had been told so privately by many of them (cheers). Their leaders had fired their last shot, and that shot would be fired in vain. They had tried to belittle the messages that had been received in favour of the Home Rule Bill from men of fame throughout the Empire; they tried to belittle the messages that had been received from Irishmen who had done great things in the Greater Ireland beyond the seas, but, with all their Orangeism, how many telegrams had they been able to get against the Bill? Only three (cheers). Where were the Orangemen and Tories of Australia and South Africa or America? Where was the great Protestant population of the world? Not on the side of the enemies of Ireland (cheers). All that they had been able to get in answer to their appeal against this



great Bill for emancipation and freedom for the Irish people were three telegrams (laughter and cheers)—two from Orange editors in Canada and one from an ex-Orange official (laughter). The whole Empire and the people of the world were on the side of Ireland (cheers). To-day the last hope of the Tory Party was gone. To-day the Ulster Orange Party had to fall back upon a few disgruntled Irishmen in America who had never done anything for the cause which the Irish Party and the Irish people at home had been advocating so long (cheers). He had never paid any attention to the charge that the Protestants would be oppressed by the Catholics of Ireland. Who had built up the trade of Belfast? Who gave the orders to the travellers who left Belfast every Monday morning? They got their orders throughout Connacht and Munster and Leinster (cheers). And yet the Irish people were told they were bigoted. But that cock would not fight to-day (cheers).

#### SPEECH OF DR. ESMONDE, M.P.

Dr. Esmonde, M.P. (Tipperary), who was received with cheers, said they had lived for years in enmity with England and he did not admit for one moment that they were less patriotic now; but they were prepared to grasp the hand of friendship that was extended to them by the British people and to avail of the new opportunities that were now offered to them to bring their country into increased cultivation and increased prosperity, vying with their English neighbours and outstripping them in commerce, in education and in civilisation (cheers).

#### SPEECH OF MR. DEVLIN, M.P.

Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., who was received with enthusiastic cheering, said—Fellow-countrymen, I think, as one responsible largely for the organisation of the Convention to-day (hear, hear), that it is only a fitting thing that I should come here to this overflow Convention and express the profound regret which all of us feel that we were unable to secure in the capital of Ireland a hall large enough to resound to the ringing cheers of the representatives of Ireland, assembled to greet the new liberty that is nearly upon us (cheers). I think my friend, Mr. Gladstone, will admit that if any gathering could typify

what the Irish Parliament will be like he will recognise that never was there better temper or greater patience displayed by men rallying from all parts of country than was shown by you to-day in your disappointment. Fortunately, you did not come here to discuss or analyse this great measure of freedom. Already Ireland had given its unorganised sanction to the great speech delivered by Mr. Redmond, when he accepted the Home Rule Bill (cheers), but I think it will be admitted that in a land like Ireland, where there is so much free speech amongst our friends, every one would have expected to find a solitary voice raised in protest.

At this point of Mr. Devlin's speech, Mr. John Redmond came to the balcony and received a great ovation from the meeting. Mr. Devlin made way for Mr. Redmond to address the meeting.

#### SPEECH OF MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P.

Mr. Redmond, who on coming forward was received with renewed cheers, said—I regret that it is physically impossible for me to say more than two or three words to you. Indeed it was only when I heard of this extraordinary and remarkable scene out here that I left the chair at the Convention for a few moments, so that I might witness this scene with my own eyes. Nothing like it has ever taken place in the history of Ireland, at any rate in our lifetime. The Convention inside is the largest I ever saw, and we have this large Convention outside, with one sentiment animating both assemblies, a sentiment of joy and gratification at the Home Rule Bill that has been introduced, and a sentiment, I think I may, without impropriety, say, of gratitude to the men who, for some years back have fought for this end in the midst of unparalleled difficulties, and with many men deprecating them, suspicious of them, and attacking them in their own country (cheers). This is a great day of triumph and vindication for the Irish Party and for the National Cause (cheers), and as I said in the House of Commons, I thank God that I have been privileged to live to see this day (cheers). I am full of confidence for the future. I see, humanly speaking, no earthly reason why this Bill should not pass into law in this Parliament. I am personally convinced that it will pass into law in this Parliament (cheers), and that sooner than any of you think we

will have an end of this wretched strife which has kept our country poverty-stricken and divided so long, and we will witness at long last the Irish nation prosperous, united, and loyal because contented, and living with the flag of liberty above the land (loud cheers).

#### MR. DEVLIN'S SPEECH.

Mr. Devlin, M.P., continuing his speech, said—I have often spoken under extraordinary circumstances, but this is the first time I have addressed a Convention in the open air, and it is the first time I have ever delivered a speech in instalments (laughter and cheers). I have to reiterate for you what Mr. Redmond has stated, that the Convention to-day was not only an historic event, but it was a great triumph and vindication of the Irish Party as has been declared here by our leader. For ten years almost we have gone through the fiery ordeal, not only of bitter opposition from Tory critics abroad, but we have had to face the opposition of some of our fellow-countrymen elected to high positions at home (hear, hear). If during all those years we have declined to repel attacks, if we have refused to defend ourselves in face of abuse and criticisms, and if we have practically borne unfair charges and refused to deny them, it was because we were not the agents of faction, but the representatives of a nation struggling to be free (cheers). Mr. Redmond asked the people of Ireland two years ago to trust him. The people of Ireland responded by trusting him in the most complete degree, and he comes back to them to repay their trust by giving them that great trophy of liberty incorporated in the Home Rule Bill presented to the Convention to-day (cheers). That Bill gives Ireland an Irish Parliament, the first time that the word Parliament has been ever introduced into a Home Rule measure. It gives Ireland power to make her own laws by the elected representatives of her own people. It secures control over every Board in Ireland that has been carried on, and administered in the past by England or England's agents in this country. It secures financial arrangements not only satisfactory and generous but even magnanimous. It gives us all we have asked for, all we ever hoped to attain, and, therefore, I say we rejoice at the historic triumph of a great and holy cause. We, who in the Irish Party, behind our Leader, have borne

the brunt and burden of this battle, rejoice that while it means your freedom it also means your vindication (cheers). Well, let me touch upon one aspect of this question that will cause discussion and controversy in Ireland—I mean the question of the loyal minority in Ulster. We are told they are not satisfied with the safeguards contained in the Bill. I challenge, or, rather, I invite, them here and now to tell us in Ireland or in Parliament on the second reading, in clear and explicit terms, what precise safeguards they want for the minority, and then Ireland will be able to concede these safeguards if it is humanly possible to concede them (cheers). I am here to-day, not only as an Irishman, but as an Ulsterman, and any Ulsterman who wants to keep Ireland dragged at the chariot-wheels of another power—I deny his right to speak for me (cheers). I deny the charge that Ulster is against Home Rule. I traverse the statement that Belfast is against Home Rule (cheers). I say that I am here as a Belfast representative (cheers), and this Convention to-day is composed not only of the men of Munster and Leinster and Connaught, but we have here to-day the flower of enlightened Ulster (cheers). There is a Protestantism in Ulster other than the Protestantism of the Moores, the Craigs, and the Lonsdales—the Ulster Protestantism of Henry Joy McCracken and Wolfe Tone (cheers). There were revolutionists in Ulster before. The men who rose in rebellion in '98 were not the Catholics of Cork but the Protestants of Belfast (cheers). If we have business and prosperity and progress in the Protestant capital of Ulster it is the spirit, not of the apostles of religious rancour and class war, but the spirit of the preachers of unity and freedom and democratic power and strength that will unite our ranks to participate in the new glory of the country (loud cheers).

#### SPEECH OF MR. BRISCOE, T.C.

Mr. J. M. Coghlan Briscoe, T.C., General Secretary of the Town Tenants' League, proposed the adoption of the second resolution. He said that resolution was in the same spirit as the resolution passed the previous day by the representatives of six hundred centres of the Town Tenants' movement, leaving this whole question of freedom for Ireland in Mr. Redmond's hands (cheers).

### SPEECH OF MR. BENNETT, SCARVA.

Mr. Bennett, Scarva, seconded the resolution. Speaking in the name of thousands of Protestants in Scarva, he said they were most anxious that a settlement of the Home Rule Question should be brought about (cheers). No doubt they were drilling in the North, and they had guns made of spade-shafts (laughter), but he could tell them that in Scarva Protestants and Catholics lived in harmony and friendship (cheers). It was a most abominable falsehood to say that there was any dread of religious persecution under Home Rule (cheers). Such a statement was a blasphemous lie, as he had told Colonel Seely at Newry, and as he wished to tell Mr. Gladstone now. The speaker compared the relative expenditures on police and education in Scotland and Ireland; and said that in these things there would be an improvement under Home Rule. That should be enough to make them all convinced Home Rulers (cheers).

The resolution was adopted.

### SPEECH OF MR. P. J. BRADY, M.P.

Mr. P. J. Brady, M.P. for St. Stephen's Green Division, said that in the name of Ireland's capital, that portion of it in which that mighty assemblage of representatives of the people was being held, and in the name of Catholic Ireland, he gave the most emphatic contradiction to those who said that the native Catholic people of Ireland were supporting the ruination of those who differed from them on religious belief. The only religious intolerance that he knew of in Dublin was the intolerance of the Orangemen who disturbed the services at St. John's Protestant Church, Sandymount, Sunday after Sunday until their ringleaders were fined £2 in the Police Courts (cheers). Irish Catholicism had never been used to oppress any religious belief (cheers).

### SPEECH OF MR. E. J. KELLY, M.P.

Mr. E. J. Kelly, M.P. (East Donegal), said that as the Home Rule Bill was passing through Committee the Irish Party would improve it, and when it was passed into law it would be far better than it was to-day (cheers). Therefore, they had all the more reason to look forward with confidence to the new Irish Parliament (cheers).

### SPEECH OF MR. WILLIAM O'MALLEY, M.P.

Mr. William O'Malley, M.P., spoke a few words in Irish, in the course of which he said he had no doubt the time would come when Irish would be spoken throughout the country as it was before. Speaking in English, Mr. O'Malley referred to the misrepresentation which the members of the Irish Party had to meet and live down in Great Britain, and said that now the people of England were friendly to Ireland and to the cause of Home Rule (cheers).

### SPEECH OF MR. WALLACE CARTER.

Mr. Wallace Carter, Secretary of the Home Rule Council, said he was delighted to know that not only was the Home Rule Bill satisfactory to the Irish people, but it was being received with enthusiasm throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain (cheers). The Liberal Party had had its dark days, but Liberalism had passed through the fiery ordeal, and had once more triumphed (cheers). It had been stated by their opponents that Mr. Redmond had forced this Bill from the Liberal Government. To a certain extent that was true, because if Ireland did not want Home Rule there would be no Home Rule Bill, but when Mr. Redmond went to the Prime Minister and to the Liberal Party and asked them to do justice to Ireland he went to the Prime Minister and the Party which had already determined to do so and to right the wrongs of the past (cheers). He belonged to the people called Methodists, and he was proud of it, because 100 years ago John Wesley stood up in England to defend the right of religious liberty, and because John Wesley was one of those who protested against the misgovernment of the people of Ireland (cheers). He hoped the people of Ireland were going to stand behind their leader as one man. That was the secret of their success. In the past Ireland had had her divisions, and it was because of these divisions that Ireland's rights had been so long delayed. It was impossible for the present or any other Government to maintain its position in power unless it was true to the Irish people (cheers). Therefore, if they stood behind Mr. Redmond and trusted in him to leave him the amendment of this Bill and the future of the Bill in his wise, statesmanlike hands, he was as sure as



he was standing there that Mr. Redmond would protect Ireland's rights and would lead them to victory (cheers).

Mr. Flavin, M.P., delivered a short, pithy speech, then Mr. Booth, a native of Cork and a Protestant Home Ruler residing in Essex, who took the chair at Mr. MacVeagh, M.P.'s, meetings there, spoke in favour of Home Rule; and pointed out that Protestants had nothing to fear from a Parliament in College Green.

Mr. Flavin, M.P., proposed a vote of

thanks to the chairman, Mr. Wm. Field, M.P., which was seconded by Mr. Carter, and supported by Mr. McKenna, Co. C., from Ulster.

The motion was passed with acclamation.

Mr. Field briefly and suitably replied, and finished by singing "Who Fears to Speak of '98," in which the immense audience joined heartily.

The meeting concluded with three rousing cheers for Mr. John Redmond and the Home Rule Bill.



# CONVENTION DELEGATES.

## CLERGY.

Archdeacon O'Leary, P.P., V.G., Kenmare; Rev. Richard Keany, P.P., Caherlistrane, Tuam; Rev. Clare D. O'Brien, C.C., Wicklow; Rev. James Rossiter, C.C., Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford; Rev. J. J. O'Hea, P.P., Leap, Cork; Rev. Michael J. Quinn, P.P., Carlingford, Louth; Rev. J. Burton, P.P., Ballyvourney, Cork; Rev. Arthur O'Friel, C.C., Glenties; Rev. John Doody, P.P., Mullinavat, Waterford; Rev. J. C. M'Bride, C.C., Leggamaddy, Downpatrick; Rev. Nicholas Duggan, P.P., Moycarkey, Thurles; Rev. C. Murray, P.P., Rochfortbridge; Rev. Joseph Grant Mooney, P.P., St. Patrick's, Ringsend, Dublin; Rev. D. M'Alister, C.C., Warrenpoint; Rev. D. Reynolds, Adm., Longford; Rev. F. Lynch, C.C., New Prospect, Virginia, Cavan; Rev. J. P. Norris, B.A., C.C., Mountrath, Queen's Co.; Rev. John J. Fennelly, C.C., Ballybrack, Co. Dublin; Rev. John Kennedy, C.C., Bruckless, Donegal; Rev. W. B. MacFeely, Adm., the Cathedral, Derry; the Rev. Patk. O'Reilly, C.C., Belturbet, Cavan; Very Rev. Charles Canon Quin, P.P., V.F., Camlough, Co. Armagh; Rev. R. J. Burts, C.C., the Cathedral, Cork, AntAthair Padraic Ua Grianain, Rath Foicheallain; Rev. James Brady, P.P., St. Laurence's, Seville-place; Rev. T. E. Maguire, C.C., President, Magheracloone U.I.L., Co. Monaghan; Rev. R. O'Brien, P.P., Paulstown, Kilkenny; Rev. P. O'Donnell, P.P., Ashford, Wicklow; Rev. Paul Murphy, P.P., Edenderry; Rev. Eugene MacCarthy, James-street, Dublin; Rev. John A. McLaverty, C.C., Aldergrove, Crumlin, Co. Antrim; Rev. John P. Callinan, P.P., Killmore, Ballinasloe; Rev. Thomas J. Reidy, P.P., Moore, Ballinasloe; Rev. Patrick T. Sheahan, President U.I.L., Glounthane, Mallow; Rev. Thomas Murray, C.C., Drumconrath, Ardee, Co. Meath; Rev. Walter Carmody, P.P., Glennamaddy, Galway; Rev. Myles V. Ronan, C.C., Pro-Cathedral, Dublin; Rev. John Brogan, P.P., Moyalty, Co. Meath; Rev. P. E. Boland, C.C., Bonniconton, Ballina; Rev. John Healy, C.C., The Presbytery, Dalkey; Rev. Michael Hayes, P.P., Feakle, Co. Clare; Rev. Henry McCabe, C.C., Bawnboy, Co. Cavan; Rev. J. Nolan, P.P., Kirkcubbin; Rev. Thos. Kearney, P.P., Kilmeen, Co. Cork; Ven. Archdeacon Flavin, P.P., Clonmel; Father O'Flynn, Killorglin, Co. Kerry; Rev. C. Kennedy, C.C., Fintown, Donegal; Rev. J. Harkin, C.C., Castle-

derg, Co. Tyrone; Rev. M. J. Munnelly, P.P., Ballycastle, Co. Mayo; Rev. T. Gillic, P.P., Duleek, Co. Meath; Rev. James Carmody, P.P., Milltown, Co. Kerry; Rev. P. Smyth, C.C., Rathcabbin, Birr, Co. Tipperary; Right Rev. Mgr. W. F. O'Doherty, P.P., V.F., Omagh, Tyrone; Rev. Michael Diskin, P.P., Milltown, Co. Galway; Rev. J. F. Mullarkey, C.C., Achill Sound, Co. Mayo; Rev. Joseph A. Pelly, P.P., Ballymacward, Co. Galway; Rev. Patrick Campion, C.C., Hacketstown, Co. Carlow; Very Rev. J. Murphy, D.D., P.P., V.F., Macroom, Co. Cork; Rev. Thomas Macken, P.P., Fenagh, Carrick-on-Shannon; Rev. Alfred L. Greaven, C.C., B.A., St. Paul's Belfast; Rev. Philip King, P.P., Ballinagleragh, Dowra, Carrick-on-Shannon; Rev. James Gleeson, Limerick; Very Rev. James Canon Gallagher, P.P., Rathmullen, Co. Donegal; Rev. Michael J. Gallagher, C.C., Kilclooney, Glenties, Co. Donegal; Right Rev. Monsignor M'Glynn, V.G., member of National Directory, Stranorlar, Donegal; Rev. Patrick V. MacCann, C.C., Oristown, Kells, Co. Meath; Rev. James Byrne, P.P., Tolerton, Carlow; Rev. Francis M'Cullagh, P.P., Cudaff, Donegal; Rev. Thomas Lynch, C.C., Parochial House, Dunsany, Meath; Very Rev. Dr. Butler, P.P., Roundwood, Wicklow; Rev. James Scanlan, P.P., Dungloe, Co. Donegal; Rev. Edward Brennan, P.P., Muckalee, Ballyfoyle, Co. Kilkenny; Rev. E. Fitzgerald, C.C., Chairman West Limerick Executive U.I.L., Clouncagh, Ballingarry, Co. Limerick; Rev. John Canon Gavigan, P.P., Carrigart, Donegal; Rev. Hugh Maguire, Kincasslagh, Donegal; Very Rev. John J. Hegarty, P.P., V.F., Belmullet, Mayo; Rev. Bernard M. Quin, Adm., V.F., Ballina; Rev. M. Norris, P.P., Naas, Co. Kildare; Rev. James Dunphy, P.P., Cuffe's Grange Kilkenny; Rev. J. H. Molony, C.C., Borrisokane; Rev. J. Soraghan, C.C., Tempo; Rev. P. Egan, P.P., Duniry, Loughrea; Very Rev. John Canon Gunning, P.P., Bunanadden, Co. Sligo; Rev. P. J. Smyth, P.P., Rahan, Tullamore; Rev. Patk. Gavin, C.C., Roundwood, Co. Wicklow; Very Rev. M. Hamill, P.P., V.F., Kilkeel, Down; Rev. J. P. Purfield, C.C., Ferrybank, Arklow; Rev. Joseph M. Seaver, C.C., Kilcullen; Rev. Francis Carolan, P.P., Tullyallen, Drogheda; Rev. James M'Kenna, C.C., Newbliss, Co. Monaghan; Rev. John O'Reilly, P.P., Killinkere, Virginia, Co. Cavan; Rev.



Wm. Rice, C.C., Clane. Sallins; Rev. H. MacLeone, P.P., Killymard, Donegal; Rev. Wm. Ryan, P.P., Ballybricken, Kilmallock; Very Rev. P. A. Canon Flanagan, P.P., Aughrim, Drumsna; Very Rev. Michael Canon M'Glone, P.P., Rosslea, Clones; Rev. E. Russell, P.P., Parteen, Limerick; Rev. John Galligan, P.P., Dromahair, Leitrim, Rev. Bernard Maguire, C.C., Broomfield, Castleblayney; Rev. Patk. Smyth, P.P., Teeworker, Bailieborough, Co. Cavan; Rev. J. O'Driscoll, Roscarbery, Co. Cork; Rev. P. J. Moore, C.C., Newbridge, Castle-dawson, Co. Derry; Rev. Denis Hassett, C.C., Dunhill, Tramore, Co. Waterford; Rev. James O'Connor, C.C., Causeway, Tralee; Rev. John Conlon, Gothan, Carlow; Rev. L. Gilligan, P.P., Dunkerrin, Moneygall and Barna, King's County; Rev. David Bolger, C.C., Rathgarogue, New Ross; Rev. John Reeves, Tournafulla, Co. Limerick; Rev. M. Canon Corcoran, P.P., Gowna, Cavan; Rev. F. Cassidy, P.P., Kilfenora, Co. Clare; Very Rev. Archdeacon Ryan, P.P., V.F., Fethard, Co. Tipperary; Rev. M. Brophy, C.C., Abbeyleix; Rev. J. Martin, P.P., St. Bride's, Ballintubber, Roscommon; Very Rev. Arthur Canon Ryan, P.P., V.G., Tipperary; Rev. Edmond Burke, P.P., Gortnahoe, Thurles; Rev. P. E. Mallon, Blacklion, Enniskillen; Very Rev. Thomas R. Power, P.P., V.F., Galbally; Rev. David Grant, C.C., Cathedral, Newry; Rev. W. J. Condon, C.C., Cashel; Rev. Joseph F. Houlihan, C.C., Carrigaholt, Clare; Rev. D. Gaffney, Fuerty, Roscommon; Very Rev. Canon Smyth, Ballybay; Rev. E. V. MacGowan, C.C., Lurgan; Rev. E. J. Scanlan, C.C., Birr; Rev. P. Tracey, P.P., Kilmurry; Rev. Timothy O'Donoghue, P.P., Kilmartyna, Macroom, Rev. Patrick Forde, C.C., St. Mary's, Drogheda; Rev. P. Flanagan, P.P., Summerhill, Meath; Rev. W. Healy, P.P., Templeboy, Co. Sligo; Rev. J. Darcy, P.P., Terryglass, Borrisokane; Rev. H. Kerr, P.P., Derrybeg, Gweedore, Donegal; Rev. Thos. J. Keenan, C.C., Clogher; Rev. C. O'Donohoe, C.C., Cootehill, Co. Cavan; Rev. Jas. Canon Grimes, P.P., Portadown; Rev. T. Nohilly, P.P., Lismagh, Banagher; Rev. P. Hunt, P.P., Straide, Mayo; Rev. J. P. Branigan, C.C., Dunleer; Rev. P. Soden, P.P., Killesher, Florencecourt, Fermanagh; Rev. D. J. Lynne, C.C., Fethard, Wexford; Rev. E. Canon Mulhern, P.P., Bundoran; Very Rev. R. Colahan, P.P., St. Cronan's, Bray; Rev. M. J. M'Grath, C.C., Ballycallan, Kilkenny; Very Rev. Canon Columb, P.P., Ballinahown, Athlone; Rev. P. O'Flaherty, P.P., Ballyvary, Foxford, Keelogue's Parish, Mayo; Rev. N. Cantwell, C.C., Seville-place, Dublin;

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Executive Council, London—T. F. Gaynor.

Daniel O'Connell, Swansea—Councillor W. J. Clancy, M.E.C.

John Dillon, Stockport—Alderman J. T. Hopkins, Councillor J. Bigger.

Dawn of Freedom, Edinburgh—Mrs. G. K. Meredith, M. J. Moran.

Liverpool—John Dolan, Patrick Meaney Wolfe Tone, Bradford—C. Rooney.

Wavertree, Liverpool—M. Myers, T. Darcy.

Accrington—Thomas O'Connor.

O'Meagher Condon, Glasgow—Henry Healy, D. J. Mitchel Quinn.

Cardinal Moran, Cardiff—A. W. Callaghan, Harold Turnbull.

John Ferguson, Airdrie—John Higgins. Consett, Durham—M. Donohoe, M. Donnelly.

Dawn of Freedom, Barrow-on-Furness—Patk. Cosgrove, Luke O'Haurahan.

Bristol—John Valentine, Wm. Quirk.

Robert Emmet, Cardiff—Dr. Dillon, Dr. Mullin.

Irish Parliament, London—T. W. Conway, LL.D.; Dr. Sophie Bryant.

Metropolitan, London—T. Keliher, Alderman J. Anglin, J.P.

Joseph Devlin, Bristol—John Valentine, William Quirk.

Home Government, Glasgow—Bernard Dempsey, James M'Vey.

Father John Hughes, Coatbridge, Scotland—Charles Coyle, James Devlin.

Dawn of Freedom, Partick, Glasgow—P. J. O'Callaghan.

Springburn—Anthony Griffiths, Hugh Bradley.

Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, Coatdyke, Scotland—John C. Grant Michael Sands.

T. P. O'Connor, Manchester—J. R. Judge, J. Morgan.

Michael Davitt, Dundee—B. M'Laughlin, G. Leitchman.

Yorkshire U.I.L. Branches—Farrell Kiernan.

The Irish National Club, Newcastle-on-Tyne—Peter Bradley, Owen M'Conville.

Clapham, London—Peter Keating, P. Collins.

Robert Emmet, Castleford, Yorkshire—Henry Lavene, John Ritson.

Acton and Chiswick, London—Daniel P. Cronin, Mrs. D. F. Cronin.

Oldham—James Byrne, Patrick May.

Soho, London—Mr. Walker, H. Stanhope Bedding.

Bexley, Heath, Kent—C. C. Ryan, J. J. Bunting.

Michael Davitt, Gillmoss, Derby—James Dunbar, Michael Mullroy.

J. O'D. Derrick, Glasgow, Organiser for Scotland.

John Dillon, Blackley, Manchester—M. J. M'Donald, J. M'Grath.

Irish National Club, Leeds, Central—S. M'Farlane, J.P.; T. Corcoran.

Executive Council, Scotland—John Currie.

Joseph Devlin, Paisley—Dr. Fern, President; John Alexander.

Michael Davitt (Temperance), St. Helens—Edward Kavanagh, Thomas O'Keeffe.

Birkenhead, Cheshire—John M. Byrne, Edward L. Byrne.

O'Connell, Liverpool—Thomas Faulkner.

St. Patrick's, Chester—Rev. Father John Capistran, O.S.F.C.; Thomas Rafferty.

Michael Davitt, Manchester—James Reilly, Hugh Lee.

Owen Roe O'Neill, Middlesbro'—J. Derwin, I. Curry.

Robert Emmet, Renfrew, Scotland—John Mullin.

John E. Redmond, Govan—P. Neary, P. M'Henry.

Michael Davitt, Coatbridge—Padraig Ua. Loingsigh, Patrick Phee.

Bishop O'Donnell, Maryhill, Glasgow—Felix Mullan, John Cryan.

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A. M. Sullivan, Wigan—John M'Quaid, Cornelius O'Brien.

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Division 574, A.O.H., Derrylisters, Fermanagh—William Leonard, James Kerrin, Wm. P. Burns.

Division 889, A.O.H., Limerick—Connor Enright, Thomas J. Ambrose, James G. Fitzgerald.

Division 477, A.O.H., Goland, Donegal—Hugh O'Donnell, D.C.; Anthony M'Elwee, Pat M'Cafferty.

Division 376, A.O.H., Drumsna, Leitrim—Thomas O'Daly, Michael Shamy, Michael Beirne.

Letterkenny Division A.O.H., Donegal—Thomas Mulhern, J.P.; John Gallagher, Chas. Ward.

Division 398, A.O.H., Doorat, Co. Tyrone—Joseph Devine, Chas. M'Glinchy, Con Gallagher.

Division 884, St. Patrick's, A.O.H., Kilbeg, Co. Meath—Hugh Monaghan, Christopher Casey, Philip O'Reilly, R.D.C.

Division 885, St. Patrick's, Kilcurry Co. Louth—Michael Rice, James Marmion, John Marmion.

Division 130, A.O.H. (Board of Erin), Belfast—J. C. Lavery, J. M'Connell, John O'Kane.

Division 895, St. Patrick's, A.O.H., Limerick—S. Coleen, M. Fitzpatrick, J. M'Mahon.

Division 906, A.O.H., Monaghan—John W. Connolly, John Flanagan, J. MacCabe.

Division 110, A.O.H., Boyle, Roscommon—James Conway, Michael Horan, Bernard Cregg.

Division 593, A.O.H., Granard, Longford—James M'Cabe, P.; Thomas Hanagan, V.P.; Thomas Monaghan.

Division 513, A.O.H., Mullacavan, Fermanagh—John M'Donald, James M'Grorey, James Creehan.

Cornafean A.O.H., Cavan Parish, Willehandra—James M'Keown, Peter Sheridan, Bernard Donohoe.

Division 564, A.O.H., Duneaney—Patk. Henery, Patrick M'Donal, Hugh Christey.

Clashmore A.O.H., Waterford—John O'Halloran, M. J. Power, jun.; John O'Brien.

Division 265, A.O.H., Mayogall, Londonderry—Con O'Neill.

Division 517, A.O.H., Drumoghill, Co. Donegal—John Lynch, James Clay.

Division 823, A.O.H., Conway's Cross, Co. Sligo, South Parliamentary Division—John Cryan, Ml. Mulligan, Dominick M'Rone.

Cahiriveen A.O.H., Co. Kerry—Maurice Fitzgerald, J. Daly, M. J. O'Sullivan.

Division No. 778, A.O.H., Co. Limerick—John O'Kelly, John Fitzgibbon, D. Mulcahy.

Division 292, A.O.H., Tydavenet, Co. Monaghan—Peter Loraghan, President; Patrick M'Affrey, Patrick M'Guinness.

Division 235, A.O.H., Scramogue, Co. Roscommon—Peter Thompson, John Saunders, Joseph Maguire, J.P., Co. C.

Aghabeg A.O.H.—Patrick M'Donnell, Patrick Nolan, James Plunkett.

Division 781, A.O.H., Kiltely, County Limerick—M. Carroll, J. Murphy, J. Jones.

Arva A.O.H., Cavan—Thomas Cully, Jas. Masterson, Jeremiah Hayes.

Division No. 122, A.O.H., Benefit, Cork—Thomas Byrne, President; Simon O'Mahony, T.C.; Jeremiah O'Mullane.

Division 646, A.O.H., St. Andrew's Dublin—J. J. Hunt, President; Henry Napier, Vice-President; Owen Waters.

Division 421, A.O.H., Iskaheen, Donegal—B. O'D. Browne, Patrick Margery, Patrick Doherty.

Churchtown, Buttevant, Cork, A.O.H.—Andrew Kiely, John Murphy, Con O'Brien.

Wexford, St. Abban, New Ross, A.O.H. W. O'Connor, L.R.C.P.I., President; James Barry, Rec. Sec.; Joseph Brewer.

Division 75, A.O.H., Drumlish, Co. Longford—James Devine, D.C.; John Hughes, D.C.; M. Cooney, D.C.

Division No. 649, A.O.H., Tullyvaillon, Co. Armagh—Peter M'Ardle, Peter Murphy, Thomas Nugent.

Knockbridge East, A.O.H., Co. Cavan—J. P. M'Intyre, R.D.C.; Patrick Farrelly, E. M'Caffrey.

Drumcliffe A.O.H., Co. Sligo—P. G. Shaw, John Oates, Patrick Harte.

Division Bailieborough A.O.H., Co. Cavan—D. J. Ryan, Thomas O'Reilly, V.C.; Hugh Rooney.

Division Garadice A.O.H., Co. Leitrim—J. Prior, Francis Smyth, John Quinn.

Ballyfarnon A.O.H. (647), Co. Roscommon—P. F. Devine, P. J. Devine, Bernard Donagher.

Drumkeen A.O.H. (250), Co. Donegal—W. Bradley, James Huston, Patrick Laferty.

Division 405, A.O.H., Lisburn, Antrim—J. M'Manus, Richard Murray, W. J. Cappa.

Gilford A.O.H. (204), Down—John Kennedy.

Drumree, Portadown, A.O.H. (267), Armagh—Patrick M'Shane, Edward Moonan, Patrick M. Cullen.

Mayobridge A.O.H. (111), Down—Jas. Grant, Hugh Fegan, William Sloan.

Division 46, A.O.H., Antrim—John Hughes, Richard White, John Devine.

Athboy (St. James's) A.O.H., County Meath—Thomas Brown, Thomas Reilly, Christopher Proudfoot.

Edgeworthstown A.O.H. (663), Co. Longford—Peter M'Namara, Francis Mahedy, P. Connor.

Crossmolina A.O.H. (Board of Erin), Co. Mayo—P. J. O'Reilly P. Rowland, T. P. Tolan.

Adrumree A.O.H. (479), Co. Fermanagh—John Mulligan, John Maguire, T. Murray.

Dola A.O.H. (823), Co. Limerick—Denis McCormack, D.C.; James K. Ryan, William Crowe.

Toura A.O.H. (14)—Joseph Ferguson, Fras. Duff, John Keown.

Cloney A.O.H., Co. Antrim—John Graham, Henry Mullolland, John Quinn. "Joseph Nolan" A.O.H., Louth—Patrick J. Murphy, James J. Tiernan, Michael Lynch.

Division 58, A.O.H., Clonard, Antrim—James Deighan, John Tumulty, Arthur Conlan.

St. Mary's (36), A.O.H., Antrim—Charles Malone, Daniel M'Crory, Edward Cunningham.

Division 21, A.O.H., Belfast—Bernard Dorian, Michael Kane, James Gormley.

Division 494, A.O.H., Castlederg, Co. Tyrone—Edward M'Glinchy, John Devine, James Brady.

Division 107, A.O.H., Donegal—Charles M'Menamin.

Division 64, A.O.H., Drumraymond, Antrim—Patrick Marron, Daniel O'Donnell, R.D.C.; Hugh O'Donnell.

Division 413, St. Clares, A.O.H., Leitrim—B. M. Rooney, D. M'Guinness, D. Kilkenny.

Division 335, A.O.H., Fermanagh—Hugh Ferguson, James Timoney, Charles Harren.

Maghery A.O.H., Armagh—David Tennyson, James Skelton, Daniel Forker.

Division 807, A.O.H., Greencastle, Tyrone—John M'Alcer, president; Patrick M'Cullagh, John Bonner.

Division 231, A.O.H., Cookstown, Tyrone—Thomas O'Connell, Dr. Gillespie, M. M. Quinn.

Keash A.O.H., Sligo—Patrick Duignan. Gurteen A.O.H., Sligo—Patrick O'Dowd, president; Patrick M'Manamy, Co.C.; M. J. M'Loughlin, recording secretary.

Division 672, A.O.H., Highwood, Sligo—J. J. Devine, J. M'Loughlin, P. Killoynce.

Loughallan A.O.H., Roscommon—Dr. Redden, J.P.; John M'Manus, P. Earley.

Division 764, Mullaghmore, Sligo—John Hannan.

Killinkere A.O.H., Cavan—Terence Clarke, Charles Roe, Andrew Lynch.

Division 362, A.O.H., Muck Grange, Louth—Michael J. Boyle, James O'Hanlon, James Toal.

Ballyvourney A.O.H., Cork—Timothy D. Dinnun, Daniel O'Leary, R.D.C.; John O'Connell, R.D.C.

Kilmeedy A.O.H. (869), Limerick—

John Boohan, Thomas Kiely, James Boohan.

Glennullin A.O.H. (289), Derry—Jas. Mullan, president; Daniel O'Kane, V.P.; Daniel O'Mullan, sec.

Foxrock A.O.H. (896), Dublin—C. Hyland, E. Farrell, R. Clare.

Backaderry A.O.H. (324), Down—Patrick Owens, James Savage, Peter M'Nulty.

Aunsborough A.O.H. (217), Down—Arthur M'Conville, John M'Neilly, Arthur Connolly.

Brookeboro' A.O.H., Fermanagh—Dents. Halpin.

Ballyunion A.O.H., Kerry—Wm. O'Sullivan, James Lynch, Wm. Walsh.

Clonbroney A.O.H. (189), Longford—M. Ross, J. J. Killane, Peter M'Guire.

Sixmilecross A.O.H., Tyrone—James Shields, Patrick M'Cartin, Patrick Rodgers.

Moville A.O.H., Donegal—Dan Doherty, Bernard M'Donald, James Barr.

St. Laurence O'Toole A.O.H., Donegal—Patrick Joseph Crossan, P. Kerrigan, James M'Sheffery.

Kilkeel A.O.H., Down—James Hanna, Joseph Curran, Patrick M'Veigh.

Ballybofey A.O.H., Donegal—Denis Gallagher, president; Peter Mulrine, secretary; James Boyle, solicitor, Co. Trustee.

Division 404, A.O.H., Antrim—P. M'Cann, John Toal, James M'Laughlin.

Lisnaskea A.O.H. (454), Fermanagh—Patrick M. Mahon, Patrick Maguire, James Smyth.

Corran A.O.H. (148), Armagh—Patk. Toner, Thomas M'Govern.

Donagh A.O.H., Fermanagh—P. Dullaghan, John Reilly, John M'Manus.

Carrickroe A.O.H., Monaghan—Patrick Connolly, Francis M'Kenna.

Herbertstown A.O.H. (780), Limerick—Patrick Baggot, V.P.; Patrick J. Lonergan, sec.

Newtownbutler A.O.H. (407), Fermanagh, P. M'Donnell, W. M'Conville, Francis Beatty.

Knockbridge A.O.H., Louth—T. Loughlin, P. Murray, P. M'Namee.

Division 191, A.O.H., Darkley, Armagh—P. J. Traynor, B. Carragher, P. Hughes.

Division 280, A.O.H., Glenn, Down—M. O'Hare, B. F. M'Elroy, P. H. Reavey.

Division 57, A.O.H., St. Paul's, Antrim—O. M'Auley, J. Ward, W. J. Coleman.

Division 715, A.O.H., Bantry, Cork—J. J. M'Carthy, D. O'Donovan, D. F. O'Sullivan.

Division 272, A.O.H., Gweedore, Donegal—D. Coll, J.P.; J. S. Gallagher, Con. Timoney.

Division 305, A.O.H., Ballymoyer, Armagh—Thos. Markey, H. Savage, F. Burke

Division 117, A.O.H., Kilmainham Wood, Meath—Thos. M. Lynch, R. Lynch, Thos. M'Guinness.

Division 714, A.O.H., Holywood, Down—J. P. Maginnis, W. J. Curran, J. M'Dowell.

Division Gorey, A.O.H., Wexford—P. Byrne, P. M'Donald, T. Stokes.

Division 1, A.O.H., Derry—R. M'Kimm, H. M'Gillis, P. M'Laughlin.

Division Kerry, A.O.H.—G. A. Aldwell, J. M. Donovan, G. Rice.

Branch Upper Killeavy, A.O.H., Armagh—P. M'Nulty, M. Sloan, M. M'Coy.

Division 418, A.O.H., Donegal—Jas. M. Boyle, C. Boyle, B. M'Gill.

Division Ardtanna, A.O.H., Down—Jas. Rodgers, E. M'Mullan, T. Burns.

Division Donohill, A.O.H., Tipperary—H. Quinlan, W. Allis, P. Dwyer.

Division 509, A.O.H., Fintown, Donegal—P. Timoney, M. Gallaher, W. M'Monagle.

Division Ballygawley, Tyrone—J. Mulgrew, J. Mullin, T. Droogan.

Division 251, A.O.H., Culbann—John M'Gregor, J. M'Ilroy, P. Major.

Division 43, A.O.H., Termon, Donegal—Edward Friel, Marcus M'Loughlin, Patrick Ward.

Division 26, A.O.H., Calry, Co. Sligo—W. Harte, D.C., President; Owen Clarke, Financial Sec.

Division 382, A.O.H., Killasnett, Co. Leitrim (North)—John Feeney, D.C.; Michael M'Dermott, D.C.; John M'Aviney.

Division 534, A.O.H. (B.O.E.), Ross-gull, Carrigart—Patrick M'Bride, D.C.; Patrick Gallagher, D.C.; John M'Bride, D.C.

A.O.H., Knockaderry, Co. Limerick—J. D. Murphy, D. O. K. Noonan, D. P. O'Connor.

A.O.H., Askeaton, Co. Limerick—Patrick Hough, Edward Cussen, Thomas Kelly.

A.O.H., Castletown Bere, Co. Cork—Thos. F. M'Carthy.

Division 354, A.O.H., Tyane, Co. Derry—David Welch, jun.; Dan Maguire, James M'Nally.

A.O.H., Lahardane (Archbishop), Co. Mayo—Charles Flynn, President; Wm. Barrett, A. Browne.

Division 48, A.O.H. (B.O.E.), Strabane, Co. Tyrone—John Toorish, Charles Sharkey, Eugene Conroy

Division 725, A.O.H., Rathmines, Dublin—Ernest Mayne, E.E.; Thomas C. Little, Henry P. Molony, M.A.

Division 293, A.O.H., Silverwood, Lurgan, Co. Armagh—John News, President; Mark Nicholson, Sec.; Thomas Murray.

Division 322, A.O.H., Clogher, Co. Tyrone—Patk. Bailey, Bernard M'Kenna, Patrick M'Kenna.

Division 911, A.O.H., Portaferry, Co. Down—Patrick J. Doyle, Thomas Collins, John Dynes.

A.O.H., Dr. Blewitt, Co. Antrim—Dr. James Blewitt, Andrew Rooney, George Curran.

Division 458, A.O.H., Loughinisland, Co. Down—Jas. Higgins, D. J. M'Kenna, John Murphy.

Division 547, A.O.H., Oram, Co. Monaghan—Jas. F. Nugent, Michael Murray, James Shiels.

A.O.H. (B.O.E.), Collooney, Co. Sligo—John Mulligan, Thomas Brennan, Dominic P. Bree.

Division 164, A.O.H., Crumlin, Co. Antrim—David Walsh, Thomas Magee, William Hunter.

Division 359, A.O.H., Annacloy, Co. Down—John Joseph Smyth, John Grieves, John Dougherty.

Division No. 740, A.O.H., Arklow, Wicklow—Edward Norris, Michael Waldron, J. J. Peters.

Upper Kildress Division, A.O.H., Tyrone—M. Monaghan, John Loughran, P. Heagney.

Sarsfield's Rock Division, No. 815, A.O.H., Limerick—D. Barry, D.C.; Patrick Looby, Michael Hastings.

Division No. 476, A.O.H., Kilgarvan, Donegal—Michael Gallagher, Charles M'Fadden, Patrick Loughrey, D.C.

Division No. 202, A.O.H., Aughnacloy, Tyrone—Michael M'Kenna, Patrick M'Kenna, Patrick Kelly.

Division No. 690, A.O.H., Bessbrook, Armagh—M. J. O'Hare, P. Brady, E. O'Hare.

Division No. 88, A.O.H., Aughatarra, Armagh—John Conlon, John M'Namara, M. M'Parland.

Division No. 568, A.O.H., Frosses, Donegal—John O'Donnell, Michael Gallaher, John Meehan.

Division City of the Kings, No. 582, Galway—R. P. Nolan, Co.C.; Patrick Macnamara, J. J. Lynch.

Knocknagoshel Division A.O.H., Kerry—J. D. Long, R.D.C.; M. J. Ahern, B. J. Murphy.

Division No. 669, A.O.H., Abbeyfeale, Limerick—James Moloney, Timothy Neligan, James R. Cotter.

Rathkeale Division, A.O.H., Limerick—Patrick Ryan, Joseph Kennedy, Jas. Barrett.

Division No 309, A.O.H., Kiltyclogher, Leitrim—Francis T. Keenan, Denis M'Gonigle, Francis C. Ferguson.

Maudabawn Division, A.O.H., Cavan (East Division)—John M'Cabe, John Doyle, Patrick Boylan.



Division No. 67, A.O.H., Dublin—T. P. O'Brien, Robert Keely, P.L.G.; J. O'Beirne.

Division No. 252, A.O.H., Tallysarn, Armagh—John Loughran.

Lower Drumrielly Division, A.O.H., Leitrim—Philip M'Manus, Owen M'Grail, Michael Fox.

Division No. 643, A.O.H., Ballymahon Town, Longford—John J. Flynn, Joseph Nally, jun.; John Walsh.

Division No. 396, A.O.H., Ematrix, Monaghan—Patrick M'Cabe, John Davitt, John Nolan.

Division No. 860, A.O.H., Miltown Malbay, Clare—Thomas T. O'Brien, Richard White, Matthew Lynch.

Killyman A.O.H., Tyrone—Patrick M'Grath, John Donaghy, George M'Avoy. Tinahely A.O.H., Wicklow—E. J. Murphy, H. E. Bassett, C. Byrne.

Division 45, A.O.H., Belfast—James Feenan, Wm. Mathews, B. Burns.

Division 580, A.O.H., Cootehill, Cavan—J. A. Fay, President; James Brady, V.P., Francis Mullen.

Division 222, A.O.H., Ballinderry, Co. Derry—John Donald, John Mallon, Thomas Doyle.

Division 153, A.O.H., Dunloy, Antrim—Patrick Molloy, Samuel Scott, Charles M'Quillan.

Division 274, A.O.H., Downpatrick, Co. Down—John M'Mullan, Patk. J. Skeffington, William F. Smyth.

Division 545, A.O.H., Doogra, Cavan—Joseph Shannon, Bernard Cassidy, Michael Reilly.

Kinoughtra A.O.H., Fermanagh—Charles Curry, Francis Corrigan, Patk. M'Alone.

Division 631, A.O.H., Scotshouse, North Monaghan—Patrick MacCabe.

"Limerick City" Division 550, A.O.H., Limerick—Joseph A. Quilty, V.P.; John J. O'Donnell, Hon. Sec.; Daniel Vaughan.

Division 878, A.O.H., Annagry, Donegal—Neil O'Donnell, President; Patrick Sharkey, Secretary.

Division 847, A.O.H., Bandon, Cork—John Griffin, William Keyes M'Donnell, James O'Mahony, R.D.C.

Division 350, A.O.H., Croom, Co. Limerick—P. J. Ryan, Denis Sheehy, Michael Fitzgerald.

Division 246, A.O.H., Shrigley, Co. Down—Charles H. Kelly, Hugh F. Kelly, James Hannon.

Drumlinn, A.O.H., Co. Roscommon—Martin M'Dermott, Michael Horan, John M'Dermott.

Division 172, A.O.H., Annaduff, County Leitrim—Francis Guckian, Michael M'Keon, Bernard Dolan.

Division 614, A.O.H., Liffar, Co. Tyrone—Hugh O'Beirne.

Division 103, A.O.H., Down—Wm. Maglennon, T. D. Magee, John Torney.

Knockmoyle, A.O.H., Co. Tyrone—Bernard Maguire, John O'Donnell, Joseph M'Alcer.

Division 243, A.O.H., Mountstewart, Co. Tyrone—P. J. Donnelly, Patrick M'Ginn, Bernard Donnelly.

Division Lissummon, A.O.H., Co. Armagh—Joseph M'Caffrey, Patrick M'Caffrey, Thomas M'Alinden.

Division 304, A.O.H., Co. Antrim—Patrick M'Veigh, Patrick Murphy, Patrick O'Kane.

Division 3, A.O.H., Belfast—James Rodgers, Henry Scullin, Michael M'Cann.

Division Kilmeenagh, A.O.H., Ardboe, Co. Tyrone—Felix Donnelly, Peter M'Guckin, Michael Coney.

Division 505, A.O.H., Ballycunny—Thomas M'Ardle, Peter Stars, Patrick M'Kenna.

Division 258, A.O.H., Ballynease, Co. Derry—Daniel Sullivan, John M'Cann, John Laverty.

Division 795, A.O.H., Foxford, Co. Mayo—John J. Boland, Harry Evans, Thomas M'Andrew.

Division 777, A.O.H., Kilfian, Co. Mayo—R. M'Gilroy, P. M'Hale, P. Walsh.

Division 72, A.O.H., Randalstown, Co. Antrim—S. Shannon, P. Donaghy, F. M'Larnon.

Division 321, A.O.H., Cavan—J. F. O'Hanlon, Thomas Smyth, Jos. Galligan.

Division 441, A.O.H., Ballytrain, Co. Monaghan—Thomas Reilly, Peter M'Gough, Hugh Geoghegan.

Division 268, A.O.H., Derymacash, Co. Armagh—Patrick M'Conville, Thomas Carville, James M'Aneavy.

Division 756, A.O.H., Dunmanway, Co. Cork—Patrick Fitzgerald, F. Crowley, P. J. Fehily.

Division 94, A.O.H., Antrim—Charles J. Dealott, Bernard O'Kane, James Stewart.

Division Crossna, A.O.H., Roscommon—P. J. Golden, E. Doyle, P. Regan.

Division 416, A.O.H., Errigal, Truagh, Monaghan—Arthur Treanor, Peter Murray, Thomas M'Kenna.

Division 311, A.O.H., Rossinver, Leitrim—Patrick M'Dermott, James Sheerin, Philip Rooney, D.C.

Division 203, A.O.H., Blackwatertown, Co. Armagh—Jas M'Cullagh, John Garvey, Jas. M'Grane.

Division Patrickswell, A.O.H., Co. Limerick—John F. Biske, Edward Boland, David Fitzgerald.

Donasgiegh, A.O.H., Co. Tipperary—John H. Coman, John Hickey, John Hogan.

Division 828, A.O.H., Doon, Co. Limerick—James S. Allis, John O'Gorman, Patrick Ryan.

Newcastle West, A.O.H., Davitt, Co. Limerick—M. Murphy, T.C.; G. Reidy, T.C.; Wm. Phelan, Co. President.

Division No. 68, A.O.H., City of Dublin—James M'Hugh, Thomas Ronayne, John Corrigan.

Division 584, A.O.H. (Kickham), Dublin—John O'Hanrahan, P. P. Curtis, E. J. Toomey.

Division No. 167, A.O.H., Ballee, Down—Patrick Shears, Charles Savage, Bernard Craig.

Division 488, A.O.H., Clonmany, Donegal—Hugh Doherty, Bernard M'Faul, Wm. Wilson.

Division 237, A.O.H., Dunglee, Co. Donegal—Patrick Boyle, Hugh Boorty, P. D. Healy.

Poyntzpass, A.O.H., Armagh—Bernard Gribben, John Cavanagh, Thomas M'Givern.

Division No. 39, A.O.H., Augher, Co. Tyrone—Jos. Nolan Rafferty, Hugh M'Elroy, P. M'Carroll.

Division 42, A.O.H., Armagh City—John Donaghy, President; Edward Short, Treas.; James A. Corr, U.D.C., Secretary.

Division 623, A.O.H., Drogheda, Co. Louth—Wm. Elliott, Peter Clinton, John J. Owens.

Division 284, A.O.H., Newry, Down—David M'Veigh, Hugh M'Carroll, Patrick Crilly.

Division 446, A.O.H., Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim—John Reynolds, Con Dolan.

Brosna, A.O.H., Co. Kerry—James Moriarty, President; Michael J. Cutter. Feohanagh A.O.H., Co. Limerick—Patrick Flynn, James Barrett, Patrick Doody.

Galway Division A.O.H.—Michael Kelly, Peter Rabbitt, Hugh J. Donohoe.

Division 594, A.O.H., Macroom, Co. Cork—T. Lucey, LL.B., Con Murphy, Mort Keller.

Division 786, A.O.H., Kilmurry, Co. Cork—Denis O'Donovan, Timothy Hartnett, Patrick Field.

Division 457, A.O.H., Slatequarry, Co. Tyrone—Peter M'Court, Michael Devlin, Wm. Corrigan.

Knox A.O.H. (686), Co. Fermanagh—Jno. Cosgrove, Jas. Hogan.

Elton A.O.H., Co. Limerick—P. J. O'Sullivan, T. English, H. O'Grady.

Old Engine and Edendork A.O.H., Co. Tyrone—John Harrington, Patrick Hillen, Henry O'Brien.

Carrick-on-Shannon A.O.H. (629), Co. Leitrim—Thomas M'Dermott, James Byrne, Michael M'Grath.

Ballybay A.O.H. (691), Co. Monaghan—Francis Gordon, John Reilly, Robert M'Aney.

Lurgan A.O.H. (183), Co. Armagh—

L. J. Murphy, C.D.; J. O'Hara, P. Maguire, C.S.

Bornacoola (Lower) A.O.H., Co. Leitrim—P. Faughmon, C. Notley, E. Beirne.

Cootehill A.O.H. (674), Co. Roscommon—Michael Conway, Michael Brodar.

Division 653, A.O.H., Co. Wicklow—Bernard H. Doyle, Jas. J. Scannell, Edward Byrne.

Cloone A.O.H., Co. Leitrim—Thomas J. Quinn.

Killaloe A.O.H., Co. Clare—James Courtney, Matthew Buckley, Francis Flynn.

Division 664, A.O.H., Co. Tyrone—J. M'Laughlin, P. O'Donnell, P. Mulligan. Ballynahinch A.O.H. (224), Co. Down—J. Green, Thomas Fox.

Moneymote A.O.H. (238), Londonderry—Patrick Devlin, J.P.; James J. Devlin, R.D.C.

Barnameen A.O.H. (516), Co. Down—Thomas Maginn, John M'Clean, Daniel Fitzpatrick.

Division 693, A.O.H., Dunleary, Co. Dublin—Patrick Grendon (President); Christopher Rochford, U.D.C., P.L.G.; Jas. W. O'Reilly.

Division 186, A.O.H., St. Johnston, Donegal—Edward Lynch.

Ardaghey A.O.H. (162), Co. Donegal—John M'Cahill, H. O'Donnell, Anthony Gallagher.

Inch A.O.H., Co. Donegal, Charles Craig, Joseph M'Loughlin, Owen Grant.

Coalisland and Derry A.O.H. (3), Co. Tyrone—Bernard Hughes, Joseph Campbell, Neal O'Donnell.

Division 451, A.O.H., Shercock, Co. Cavan—James Lee, Thomas O'Reilly, P. J. M'Cluskey.

Division 395, A.O.H., Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan—Andrew Kelly, R. Sec.; Bernard J. Brown, J. J. Gilleran.

Aughagallon A.O.H., Co. Antrim—Patrick Lavery, James Heaney, Hugh Creaney.

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Munterconnaught A.O.H., Cavan—Hugh P. Gilsean, Patrick M'Enroe, James Matthews.

Keadue A.O.H. (614), Roscommon—John M'Kenna.

Banbridge A.O.H. (443), Down—R. J. Kearns, T. Devlin, T. Mackin.

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Clones A.O.H. (10), Monaghan—Richard M'Phillips, Thomas Cosgrove, John Heart.

Eglis A.O.H. (553), Tyrone—David J. Stafford, Hugh M'Manus, Francis Stafford.

Longford A.O.H.—James Heslin, P. Boland, E. D. M'Cann.

Shinn A.O.H. (576), Down—Patrick Digney, Charles M'Clory, Felix Torley.

Lissan A.O.H. (277), Derry—Joseph O'Neill, Hugh O'Kane, Mick M'Cracken.

Killasher and Clondra A.O.H., Longford—Dr. O'Halloran, M.B.; Joseph Donegan, D.C.; James Diffley Sec.

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Clogher U.I.L. (Tyrone)—J. J. Hughes, J.P.; Mark Droogan, Francis Hackett, Michael Rafferty, Patrick Bailey, Patrick M'Ginn.

Saggard, Rathcoole, and Newcastle

U.I.L. (Dublin)—J. T. Lennon, John Sheil, Solicitor; Peter Daly, Joseph Sheil, Joseph Curtis, Wm. Bermingham.

Kill U.I.L. (Cavan)—James O'Reilly, J.P.; Edward Coyle, D.C.; James M'Cann, Peter Maguire, Andrew Lynch, Ed. Smith.

Mungret U.I.L. (Limerick)—James P. Rahilly, D.C.; Michael Clancy, Co. C.; J. Fitzgerald, D.C.; John Malone, M. Hayes, D.C.; J. Brosnahan.

Lady's Island and Tacmacshane U.I.L. (Wexford)—John Joyce, J.P.; Nicholas Pettit, J. L. Furlong, D.C.; James Murphy, D.C.; J. Druhan, D.C.; Thos. Pettit, D.C.

Graigue and Killeslin U.I.L. (Queen's Co.)—Henry Begley, Michael Murphy, jun.; Jas. M'Wey, John Gaffney, Michael Fitzpatrick, Michael Mullins.

Drumcliffe U.I.L. (Sligo)—J. Hennigan, D.C.; John Hennigan, Bryan Regan, Bernard Scanlon, James Feeney, Michael Scanlan.

Thomastown U.I.L. (Kilkenny)—David Gaffney, John Haynes, Peter Curran, P. T. Kelly, John Kelly, Patrick Ryan.

Golden U.I.L. (Tipperary)—Rev. Edward O'Keane, P.P.; James Hourigan, J.P.; J. C. Hogan, J. F. O'Brien.

Glenullins U.I.L. (Derry)—James O'Mullan, John Henry, R.D.C.; Harry M'Allister, Daniel J. O'Hagan, J.P.; John O'Mullan, Joseph A. M'Intyre, J.P.

Ballindaggin, Kiltealy, and Cavin U.I.L. (Wexford)—John F. Sullivan, Thomas Rafter, Mark Codd, M.C.C.; Albert Sly, D.C.; P. J. Bowe, D.C.; Mathew Leary, D.C.

Red Hugh U.I.L. (Donegal)—Ven. Archdeacon J. Walker, P.P., V.F.; James Dunlevy, Solicitor; Daniel Connolly, J.P.; Hugh Langan, J.P.; John Gallen, Patrick Cannon, J.P.

Robert Emmet U.I.L. (Mayo)—Michael Philbin, Michael Keavney, Michael Horan, James Joyce, John Barnicle, Michael Hopkins.

Lisdoon U.I.L. (Monaghan)—Thomas Marron, Peter Slevin, Patrick M'Neaney, E. Corrigan, Frank Duffy, John Daly.

Ballinascreen U.I.L. (Derry)—Michael O'Kane, Bernard M'Shane, James H. Gormley, Patrick Rogers, James O'Neill, Charles Heron.

Collon U.I.L. (Louth)—Edward Gargan, Thomas Mathews, Joseph Barry, Thomas Healy, Peter Halpin, Patrick Lawless, Joseph Drum.

Clooney U.I.L. (Clare)—Eugene Duffy, Co. C.; Laurence Brohan, Co. C.; Thos. M'Namara, James Doherty, J.P.; Co. C.; Michael Gallaher, Patrick Culligan.

Balleek U.I.L. (Armagh)—Bernard M'Verry, John M'Loughlin, Owen



O'Hare, Patrick Quinn, Patrick Hayes, Michael Kelly.

Carlow U.I.L.—Peter Lawler, U.D.C.; Patrick J. McDonald, U.D.C.; Nicholas P. Roche, Patrick Donohoe, Denis Mullane, U.D.C.; Frederick J. Williams.

McKillop Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Patrick Canning, Patrick Quinn, John Bradley, Denis McCardle, John McCardle, Patrick Murphy.

Tissara Branch U.I.L. (Co. Roscommon)—Ml. Casserley, D.C.; Ml. Mulvey, Sec.; Jos. O'Brien, Bernard Cunniff, John Tumelty, Pat Collins.

Kilbagnet Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—John Barlow, Wm. MacDonagh, John Mulligan, John Hurley, Henry Hynde, Patrick Shallow.

Abbeyknockmoy Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—James M. Walter, Dan Farrell, Thos. Miskell, Pat. Synnott, John Farrell, Thos. Treacy.

Ballyadams Branch U.I.L. (Queen's Co.)—Thos. McHugh, Patrick Farrell, Michael McLoughlin, John Coogan, John Lacey, Richard Malone.

Ballybay Branch U.I.L. (Co. Monaghan)—Patrick Connolly, Philip Reilly, John Collins, Jas. McGeough, Jas. Balfe, George McParland.

Bandon Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—J. J. Calnan, J.P.; Daniel McCarthy jun.; James Lawton, Patrick Connolly, Timothy Coffey, Daniel Burke.

Summerhill Branch U.I.L. (Co. Meath)—James McIntyre, Michael Butler, John Fry, D.C.; Joseph Mulligan, D.C.; William Elliott, Andrew Kerrigan.

Castletownroche Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Thomas Sisk, James Blake, Phillip O'Connell, Con McDonnell, William Collins, James Roche.

McVeagh's Branch U.I.L. (Co. Down)—Hugh O'Hare, William Sawey, Daniel McCardle, Thomas McNeill, John Mulholland, James McCavitt.

Grenagh Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—P. M. Walsh, Patrick M. Mullane, Ml. Buckley, Jeremiah T. Byrnes, C. Murphy, C. Lehane.

Tydavnet Branch U.I.L. (Co. Monaghan)—James Smyth, C.C.; John McKenna, Sec.; James Kelly, Patrick Boylan, John Mohan, Francis Connolly, D.C.

Cloughbawn and Poulpeasty Branch (Co. Wexford)—J. R. Dier, James P. Doran, Patrick O'Doherty, M. J. O'Brien, Thomas Cloney, John Sinnott.

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Clogheen Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—Dr. T. Hennessy, Michael M. F. Ross Lonergan, Denis Cashin, Joseph McCraith, Daniel Kean, Michael Hanrahan.

Macroon Branch U.I.L. Co. Cork)—Dr. James Bradley, J.P.; Timothy M. Cronin, Cornelius O'Leary, Patrick Crowley, J. M. Fitzgerald, Richard Quill.

Calry Branch U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—Rev. Fr. McParland, President; Patrick Harte, V.P.; Frank J. McDonagh.

Athea Branch U.I.L. (Co. Limerick)—John M. White, Patrick Dove, Patrick Hunt, E. Wolfe White, John O'Mara, John Danaher.

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Tallaght Branch U.I.L. (Co. Dublin)—Timothy Muldoon, James M'Grane, Pat Jordan, Christopher Lennon, James M'Grane, junior; Austin Muldoon.

Newtownbutler Branch U.I.L. (Co. Fermanagh)—Michael M'Dermott, John Reilly, Francis Tummou, Pat Mohan, Pat Heuston, James M'Donagh.

Keelogue Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo) John Walsh, D.C.; Martin Toura, Pat Carney, Martin Corley, D.C.; John Dempsey, Michael Kelly.

Mayobridge Branch U.I.L. (Co. Down)—Peter O'Hare, D.C.; Chas. Grant, D.C.; Patrick Keenan, Michael Fitzpatrick, James Trainor, Thomas Fegan.

Waterford City Branch U.I.L.—D. McDonald J.P.; Owen Dawson, T.C.; David O'Hanlon, T.C.; M. T. Fitzgerald, John Brennan, William Fitzgerald.

Oram Branch U.I.L. (Co. Monaghan)—Francis M'Geough, Francis Corrigan, John Prunty, John Boyd, Michael M'Mahon, Wm. J. Brady.

Ardfield and Rathbarry Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Denis Callanan, R.D.C.; James O'Sullivan, Cornelius O'Leary, Timothy Keohane, Michael Coghlan.

Ballygar Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—P. S. M'Donnell, Solicitor; Michael

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Moycarkey Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—James O'Brien, Michael St. John, D.C.; Philip Byrne, Philip O'Grady, D.C.; Jeremiah Fitzgerald, P. W. Hogan, Secretary.

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Sixmilebridge Branch U.I.L. (Co. Clare)—James O'Flynn D.C.; Michael Quinn, D.C.; Joseph Quinn, Augustine Quinlivan, John Hargrove, John Reidy.

Caherline Branch U.I.L. (Co. Limerick)—John Gallagher, Pat. D. Colleran, Thomas Mulligan, Pat. Richardson.

Killeevan Branch U.I.L. (Co. Monaghan)—Felix Kearns, Edward Graham, Michael Duffy, Patrick Quigley, Terence M'Carville, John M'Mahon.

Curry Branch U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—Very Rev. P. Canon Mulligan, Patrick T. Brennan, Edward Durkan, D.C.

Drumlease Branch U.I.L. (Co. Leitrim)—Father Galligan, P.P.; M. Bradley, D.C.; P. M'Sharry, F. E. Moran, M. M'Goldrick, Battie Rooney.

Killeigh, Raheen, and Ballingar Branch U.I.L. (King's Co.)—James Scally, Co. C.; Charles Doorley, D.C., Co. C.; Patrick Nugent, D.C.; W. J. Kinsella, J.P.; Arthur Kavanagh, Luke Scally.

Dromtariffe Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—James Pomeroy, R.D.C.; Richard Philpott, Patrick Quinlan, John Lynch, Edmund Barrett, Michael O'Keefe.

Clone Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—Peter Falls, R.D.C.; Michael O'Neill, James O'Neill, Patrick Hughes, John Lynch, John M'Kee.

Westport Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—E. J. Heraty, U.D.C.; Dr. Bermingham, M.D.; James Kelly, John Gibbons, Michael Brown, John M'Ging.

West Mayo Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Edward O'Malley, D.C.; Thomas Prendergast, P. J. Kerrigan.

Mullaghdund Branch U.I.L. (Co. Fermanagh)—Thomas Doherty, Patrick Greene, Michael Farmer, Patrick Greene, Joseph Doherty, Patrick Lunny.

Greenane Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wicklow)—Rev. Father Clarke, O.C.; S. J. Burke, T. Byrne, J.P.; M. Byrne, P. Connolly, H. M'Carthy.

Tagmon Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—Gregory Walsh, D.C.; Peter F. Bogan, Jas. Cullen, Mark F. Brown, J.P.; William Keating, John Ryan, D.C.

Kilmacabea Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—J. D. Collins, Michael White, Timothy O'Donovan, J. M'Carthy, R.D.C.; P. M'Carthy, R.D.C.; Patrick O'Donovan.

Muff Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Matthew Smith, Philip Farrelly, Patrick Lynch, Peter Farrelly, Owen O'Reilly, Patrick Curtis.

Arran Island Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Pat Hernon, Martin Connolly, Pat Fitzpatrick, Colman King, Martin Dinane, Michael Hernon.

Kiltubride Branch U.I.L. (Co. Leitrim)—Michael Carter, Charles Gilbride, Michael Cahill, Terence Geoghegan, Patrick Beirne, John M'Keon.

Ballinafad Branch U.I.L. (Co. Shgo)—H. M'Dermotroe, P. Kelly, P. Slein, M. Condon.

Kilmore Branch U.I.L. (Co. Arnaigh)—Felix Morgan, James M'Geough, Laurence Cullen, James Woolsley, Michael M'Conville, James M'Cann.

Timoleague and Clogagh Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Joseph A. M'Carthy, C.E.; Capt. D. Murphy, M. Tobin, R.D.C.; T. J. Griffin, J.P., R.D.C.; J. Downing, D. Murphy.

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Corduff Branch U.I.L. (Co. Monaghan)—P. Keenan, R.D.C.; T. F. Marron, P. Keenan (Hugh), L. M'Bride, Thomas O'Connor, P. J. Finegan.

Kilcloon and Rodanstown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Meath)—Thomas Flynn, Michael Dunne, Francis Field, Philip Monahan, Robert Murphy, Michael Kelly.

Nire Branch U.I.L. (Co. Waterford)—James Power, David Mulcahy, John Sheehan, John Morrissey, John Wall, Michael O'Brien.

Finglas Branch U.I.L. (Co. Dublin)—John Brennan, D.C.; Michael Lawlor, D.C.; Frank Molloy, D.C.; Thomas Connor, Richard Hannon, Patrick Heery.

Cloonboniffe Branch U.I.L. (Co. Roscommon)—John Egan, Patrick Creon.

Durrow Branch U.I.L. (Queen's Co.)—Jas. Delaney, J.P.; Robert Talbot, John Hutchinson, Daniel Carroll, James Bergin, James Scott.

Sixmilecross and Drumduff Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—James Ward, R.D.C.; Patrick M'Cartin, R.D.C.; James Coyle, John Rafferty, William Mullin, James Shields.

Kilcormac Branch U.I.L. (King's Co.)—Michael Kilmartin, Michael Butler, Patrick Callaghan, Thomas Mooney, Edward Dooley, Patrick Dooley.

Carrigtwohill Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Thomas F. Mulholland, Patrick O'Connell, James Deasy, R.D.C.; Patrick O'Sullivan, Daniel Fitzgibbon, Laurence Cotter.

Mountmellick Branch U.I.L. (Queen's Co.)—John Williams, Co. C.; John Twomey, Co. C.; Patrick Fingleton, F.C.; Richard Lawrence, R.D.C.; Patrick Mooney, R.D.C.; James M'Intyre.

Derrynoose Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Patrick Kelly, Bernard Keenan, John Murphy, Peter Cowan, Felix M'Keown, Patrick Murray.

Borris Branch U.I.L. (Co. Carlow)—P. Murphy, J.P.; James Kealy, Thomas Kavanagh, Michael Millett, Edward Joyce, J. C. Breen.

Kiltristan Branch U.I.L. (Co. Roscommon)—M. J. O'Connell, D.C.; M. M'Hugh, D.C.; M. J. Dufficy.

Clanvaraghan Branch U.I.L. (Co. Down)—Ed. Murray, Patrick Loughlin, Dan Murray, Henry Caney, P. Murphy, James M'Vernon.

Gorvagh Branch U.I.L. (Co. Leitrim)—William Murphy, Francis Canning, Thomas Hargiden, John Flynn, Thomas Cunningham, James Murphy.

Ballymote Branch U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—Jas. Hannan, J.P., Co. C.; James Gilmartin, M. Gallagher, M. M'Glynn, John Clarke, Thos. Wims.

Coomhola Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Wm. O'Sullivan, Jer. S. Crowley, L. Burke, Pat Linehan, Denis Joyce, Cornelius O'Leary.

Crossard Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Thos. Waldren, Martin Henry, Sec.; Roger Follard, D.C.; Patrick Healy, D.C.; Michael Curley, John Higgins.

Carrickbeg Branch U.I.L. (Co. Waterford)—Robert Fitzgerald, U.C.; Robert Walsh, R.D.C.; William Hearn, J.P.; John D. Power, Thos. O'Connell, U.D.C.; James Foran.

Darver Branch U.I.L. (Co. Louth)—A. M'Guinness, William Brennan, Alick Sweeney, James Thornton, Matt Curtis, Matt. Woods.

Collegeland Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—James Murray, James Mackle, Doran Hughes, J.P.; James Clancy, Felix Kelly, Patrick O'Neill.

Moynes Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—John Shanahan, Joseph Morrissey, James Mara, Martin Flynn, Thomas Ryan, Lant. Fogarty.

Boherlahan Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—Nicholas Ryan, M.C.C.; Philip Scanlan, Wm. O'Brien, D.C.; Thomas Hennessy, Edmond Dwyer, Martin J. McKeogh.

Dromantee Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Thomas Kearney, Peter O'Hare, Jas. Loughran, jun.; James (Ed.) Murphy, James Morgan, jun.; James McGuill, jun.

Killeenadeema Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Patrick Monahan, Patrick Coy, Jas. Burke, John Mulhern, William Murray, John Forde.

Garrison Branch U.I.L. (Co. Fermanagh)—Rev. J. R. Maguire, C.C.

West Ward Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Cornelius Desmond, John Dunlea, T.C.; Daniel Gamble, T.C., P.L.G.; Thomas Kelleher, John J. Duggan, Mr. J. Nolan.

Grange Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Niall Mackle, Patrick Brannigan, Peter M'Cann, John Finn, Henry Molloy, Joseph McCreaty.

Middletown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—John Mooney, John M'Keown, Francis O'Neill, Patrick Gaffney, James Quinn, James Gaffney.

Ennis Branch U.I.L. (Co. Clare)—P. A. Kelly, Dan Egan, Jas. Lynch, Solicitor; John Moroney, Daniel Neylon, Patk. Howard.

Ramsgrange Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—James O'Neill, T. W. Power, P. Cummins, D.C.; P. Ryan, James Neville, Robert Devereux.

Beragh Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—Thos. O'Cleary, James O'Connor, Patk. Owens, Bernard Donnelly, Francis H. Rodgers, Patk. Grimes.

Rock and Slatequarry Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—Francis Falls, J.P.; Daniel Cush, John Hayden, Robert Daly, Felix McGeough, Arthur Toner, R.D.C.

Erritt Branch U.I.L. (Co. Roscommon)—John Dillon, James Gormely.

Cloonloo Branch U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—Dan. Breany, Terence Boylan, Thos. Doherty, D. Toheny, Bernard Gara, Thos. Casey.

Donaghmore Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—Very Rev. Canon M'Cartan, William Cunningham, Sec.; Michael Quinn, John McCann, Joseph Daly.

Ballindine Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Mark Waldron, Thos. Hennelly, Jas. Waldron, J. Fahey, Thos. Mooney, Edw. Kilkeenny.

John O'Dowd Branch U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—Michael Gorman, John Gorman, Matt. Scanlan, James McKeon, John Farrell.

Keash Branch U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—Michael Gray, Sec.; J. M. Cryan, J.P., Treas.; P. Duignan, V.P.; D. Crofton.

John Mitchel Branch U.I.L. (Co.



Limerick)—John L. Scanlon, R. Murphy, W. Foster, Thos. Collins, James Sheehy, John J. Flynn.

Muckalee Branch U.I.L. (Co. Kilkenny)—Daniel Brennan, Laurence Maher, Patrick Farrell, James Malone, John Comerford, Ed. Cahill, Sec.

Fieldstown and Monasterboice Branch U.I.L. (Co. Louth)—Matt. Byrne, Pat Donegan, John Halligan, John Dunne, James Butterly, Pat Commons.

Rath Branch U.I.L. (Co. Clare)—M. P. O'Gorman, T. O'Loughlin, T. Duggan, M. O'Gorman, J. O'Reilly, T. Flynn.

Coolcappa Branch U.I.L. (Co. Limerick)—Edward O'Shaughnessy, James E. Mangan, Michael O'Shaughnessy, John Lynch, Richard Liston, John J. O'Shaughnessy.

Loughlinsland Branch U.I.L. (Co. Down)—Rev. A. Tully, P.P.; Charles E. Greene, Peter Fitzpatrick, Joseph Rogan, John Savage, Robt. Magrean.

Ardaghy Branch U.I.L. (Co. Monaghan)—H. J. O'Connor, E. Murphy, R.D.C.; Owen Murphy, Bernard Duffy, R.D.C.; Jas. Duffy, Andrew Hall.

Ballycastle Branch U.I.L. (Co. Antrim)—J. P. O'Kane, J.P.; Daniel Lamont, R.D.C.

Clough Branch U.I.L. (Co. Longford)—Pat Gerety, John Dooly, Joseph Garahan, Daniel Garahan, John Belton, James King.

Fethard Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—Edmond O'Shea, Michael Slattery, Michael Coffey, Patrick O'Connell, John Phealan, Robt. F. Coffey.

Crossna Branch U.I.L. (Co. Roscommon)—Rev. C. MacHugh, C.C.; P. Regan, Co. C.; D. Lane, D.C.; E. Doyle, D.C.; Patk. Sheeran, D.C.; Terence Fanning, Chas. Sheeran.

Killashee and Clondra (Co. Longford)—Patk. Casserly, Thomas Gilleran, Patrick Gilleran, Joseph Burke, Thomas Killian.

Kilmeen U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—John Collins, R.D.C.; Denis M'Carthy, Jerh. Lyons, Matt O'Donovan, Chas. M'Sweeney, R.D.C.; Jas. J. Kingston.

Kilmore U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—Peter French, Peter Parle, John Day, Jas. Sinnott.

Roveagh U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Pat Garvey, Thos. Kilkelly, Ml. Murphy, John Greaney, Ed. O'Connor, Thos. Corbett.

Athenry U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—R. P. Nolan, Co. C.; Joseph Sweeney, John Heneghan, D.C.; John Healy, Ed. King, Patk. Sise.

Knockbride East U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—John O'Reilly, Bernard Murray, Eugene Lynch, Jas. M'Breen, Patk. Lynch, Matthew Carroll.

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Rossnaree U.I.L. (Co. Meath)—Thos. Dwyer, D.C.; Thos. M'Gruder, Thos. J. Gogan, Owen Kirk, Geo. M'Gavisk, Joseph Everard.

Kilmessan U.I.L. (Co. Meath)—W. A. Doran, P. J. Coady, W. Lynch, M. Fitzsimons, Matt Quinn, Thomas M'Namara.

Islandeedy U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—John Collins, D.C.; Peter Tuohy, D.C.; James Quigley, Richard J. Feehan, Wm. Irwin, Pat. Muldoon.

Gathabawn U.I.L. (Co. Kilkenny)—Richard Slattery, Wm. Skehan, Ml. Darcy, Pat Slattery, Wm. Mackey, J. M'Donald.

Henry Munroe U.I.L., Ardoyne (Bel-fast)—Patk. M'Namara, Ml. Carolan, Dan Conlon, J. P. Monaghan, John Donaghy, Hy. Conlon.

Ballinhassig and Ballygarvan U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Timothy Corcoran, M.C.C.; Denis Duggan, R.D.C.; Hugh Twomey, Dr. James Keating, Wm. Hogan, R.D.C.; Wm. Mescall.

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Castleconnor U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—Pat Crean, D.C. M. E. Howley, D.C.; Thos. Hallinan, Anthony Clarke, Ml. Kilkannon, John Loftus.

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Glinsk U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Luke Kenny, Thos. Burke, Wm. Hynes, Luke Cunniff, John Lally, Bernard Mulvihill.

Knocknarea U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—Rev. Father Smallhorne, James Cooney, Roddy Parke, Ml. Harte, senr., Michael Bree, junr.; Bernard Collery.

Kilruane U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—Patrick Kennedy, Ml. Flannery, D.C.; Rody Spain, Ed. Gleeson, George O'Leary, J.P.; John Kennedy.

Castlerahan and Ballyjamesduff U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Patrick Fegan, James J. Brady, Patk. Reilly, M. P. Brady, Secretary; Dan Lynch, J. Hanly.

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Whitegate U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—W. P. Holland, Jas. Flannery, Thos. Burke, John Hogan, J. J. Morgan, P. M'Dermott.

Duniry U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—M. Egan, M. Larkin, J. Hickey, L. Broderick, M. Kelly, Patrick Walsh.

Dunnamaggan and Kilmoganuy U.I.L. (Co. Kilkenny)—Thomas Brennan, Edward O'Neill, D.C.; Richard Dunne, Michael Power, P. J. Moore, D.C.; W. P. Crowley.

Kilbecanty U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Patrick Lambert, D.C., Hon. Secretary; Patk. Diviney, Patk. Donohue, F. Kilcooley, S. Glynn, J. J. Parker.

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Patk. Butler, Martin Delahunty, Daniel Burke.

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Balbriggan U.I.L. (Dublin)—Pat. McCabe, Ml. Sharkey, Bernard O'Reilly, Charles Graham, Thos. Wade, Wm. Bannon.

Killare U.I.L. (Westmeath)—Patrick McKenna, Matthew Gavagan, D.C.; Laurence Clavin, D.C.; Owen McCormack, Owen Cuskelly, Matthew Slevin.

Multyfarnham U.I.L. (Westmeath)—Dan Sharry, D.C.; Carbury Healy, John Mulvanny, Jas. Downes, Wm. Murtagh, Patrick Farrell, D.C.

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Bray U.I.L. (Wicklow)—H. T. O'Carroll, John Traynor, Martin Langton, J. J. Moran, P. M'Donnell, J. J. Murphy.

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Enniscorthy U.I.L. (Wexford)—John M'Carthy, Henry W. Doyle, Aidan Doyle, P. J. Shaw, Thos. Kenny, P. Byrne, J.P.

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Cootehill U.I.L. (Cavan)—John Lennon, John S. Smith, J.P.; Thos. Woods, J.P.; John O'Sullivan, Thos. O'Connor, John P. O'Brien, U.D.C.

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Cappataggle U.I.L. (Galway)—M. Connolly, Patk. Lenehan, John Grehan, Patk. Burns, Peter Curly, Patk. Bowes.

Ballymachugh U.I.L. (Cavan)—Patk. Kelly, Bernard Boylan, Philip Sheridan, John Hall, Thos. Brady, Francis Galligan.

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Glenbrien U.I.L. (Wexford)—John Stamp, D.C.; Patk. Murphy, Jas. Cleary, David Rickard, Jas. O'Brien, Patk. Doran.

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Clounagh Branch U.I.L. (Co. Lime-  
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Castletown Finea Branch U.I.L. (Co. Westmeath)—P. Fitzgerald, J. Fagan, D.C.; P. Cromer, T. Smyth, G. Walker, N. Farrell.

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Rossinver U.I.L. (Leitrim)—Terence Connolly, James Rourke, John Gallagher, John Sheerin, D.C.; Patk. Gillbride, John Fox.

Barmeeen U.I.L. (Down)—Stephen Tornan, J. P.; Hugh Mallin, J.P. John Lennon, D.C.; Edward Fegan, D.C.; Peter McConville, Henry McAlindon.

Seagoe U.I.L. (Armagh)—"St. Patrick's" Branch—James Hennon, Jos. H. McGeown, John Kearns, Henry McAlinden, R.D.C.; Patk. McConville, R.D.C.; Francis Blair.

Killanerin U.I.L. (Wexford)—Patrick Walsh, Terence Dunne, John Sheehan, John Ouley, George Woodbyrne, John Byrne.

Milltown, Rathconrath U.I.L. (Westmeath)—Michael Ballesty, Co. C.; Jas. Scott, D.C.; Edward Egan, D.C.; Thos. Timbs, D.C.; Patrick Rourke, Michael M. Cormack.

Clonakilty U.I.L. (Cork)—David McCarthy, Jerome O'Sullivan, Jerome Hurley, Patrick O'Sullivan, Edward Roche, Thomas Sutton.

Dunmore U.I.L. (Galway)—Thomas Fahy, Co. C.; Thomas Walsh, D.C.; Ml. Finigan, Patrick Finigan, O. J. McHugh, Thomas Glennon.

Borrisokane U.I.L. (Tipperary)—Patrick Heeran, Dr. L. J. Quigley, Patrick Hogan, William Reddan, Michael McKenna, D.C.

Wolfe Tone U.I.L. (Churchtown, Buttevant, Cork)—Edwd. Flannery, Wm. O'Connor, J. Roche, John Coghlan, John Sampson, Michael Thompson.

Dunmanway U.I.L. (Cork)—D. Healy, Hon. Secretary; J. O'Leary, T. Cotter.

Templederry U.I.L. (Tipperary)—Jas. Harrington, Michael Doyle, John O'Donoghue, Michael O'Donoghue, D.C.; Edward Lee, Timothy Young.

Craughwell U.I.L. (Galway)—Martin Hallinan, James Donohoe, John Nevin, John Finnigan, Michael Connolly.

Maugerow U.I.L. (Sligo)—Michael Horan, Dominick Heraty.

Lecanoy U.I.L. (Mayo)—William Fergus, Thomas Ruddy, John Burns.

Ballymoy U.I.L. (Armagh)—James McPartland, John Cowan, Francis Cowan.

Bagenalstown U.I.L. (Carlow)—John McGrath, J.P.; William Prandy, D.C.; Patk. Fenlon, Edmond Brennan, Jas. Brophy, D.C.; Philip Bolger, D.C.

Ballinacarrow U.I.L. (Sligo)—John O'Grady, D.C.; Dominick Faney, D.C.; Michael McBrien, John O'Hara, Assistant Hon. Sec.; Hugh Frizzell, John Clarke.

Kilchreest U.I.L. (Galway)—Rev.

Father Griffin, P.P.; Laurence Murphy, Henry Haverty, John Forde, Michael Hehir, D.C.; Edward Forde.

Williamstown U.I.L. (Galway)—Mr. Hawthorne, Thos. Higgins, Patrick Egan, Matthew Brennan, Peter Quinn, James Mulrooney.

Brackna U.I.L. (King's Co.)—Patrick Mooney, Laurence Allen, Nicholas Conlan, Edward Malone, Patrick Conlan, Joseph Conlan.

Ballygunner U.I.L. (Co. Waterford)—John Power, William Sheehan, James Flynn, Michael Flynn, James Dwyer, Thomas Power, Hon. Sec.

Clonguish U.I.L. (Longford)—Charles Smith, President; John Kenny, V.P.; James McCormick, Joseph Callaghan, Thomas Barden, Brian Dooris.

Kilconnell U.I.L. (Galway)—Dr. J. J. Egan, M. Mullen, P. Lynskey, M. Reynolds, John Ward, Joseph Kelly.

Leney U.I.L. (Westmeath)—James McCormack, James Reilly, Thomas Finnegan, James Flood, William Eustace, Thomas Tynan.

Loughmore U.I.L. (Tipperary)—James Davey, Michael Harvey, Patrick Egan, Patk. Barry, Patrick McCormack, Thos. Kavanagh.

Cullohill U.I.L. (Queen's Co.)—James Baird, D.C.; Joseph Bracken, James Kelly, William Dunphy, John Maher, D.C.; R. S. Roberts.

Lower Drung U.I.L. (Cavan)—Patk. O'Reilly, D.C.; James Reilly, James Donohoe.

Slane U.I.L. (Co. Meath)—T. P. Macken, Michael Macken, P. McGavisk, Bernard Fitzsimons, Thomas Boyle, C. Nulty.

Killusty U.I.L. (Tipperary)—Thomas Keane, Thomas O'Shea, James O'Flaherty, Patrick O'Brien, Michael Duggan, Michael O'Donnell.

Cloughdub U.I.L. (Cork)—Jeremiah J. Lyons, Michael Hurley, Timothy Lowe, John Daly, Cornelius Kelleher, Timothy Gould.

Clonmel U.I.L. (Tipperary)—John Kane, B. J. Long, Wm. Condon, L. Pope, Joseph Perrige, John Roche.

Centre Ward U.I.L. (Cork)—T. C. Butterfield, T.C.; Denis Buckley, T.C.; H. P. F. Donegan, Denis Cullinan, T.C.; David Curtin, Richard Murphy, T.C.

Donoughmore U.I.L. (Cork)—Timothy Cogan, Robert W. Honohan, Daniel O'Mahony, John Punch.

Ballon U.I.L. (Carlow)—John Kinsella, John Coughlin, James Nolan, D.C.; Patrick Smyth, Luke Nolan, Francis Kinsella.

Knockmore U.I.L. (Mayo)—William J. Quigley, Joseph Finnerty, P. Foody, Thomas Brown, Thomas Nallen, Andrew Munnely.

Ballymacormack U.I.L. (Longford)—Jas. Kearney, William Leonard, Thomas Farrell, J. Kenny, T. Kenny.

Ballinaheglish U.I.L. (Roscommon)—Edward Hayden, John Naughton, William Kelly.

Frosses U.I.L. (Donegal)—R. Furey, Patk. Kennedy, Patrick Boyle, John Blake, James Waugh, James McCahill.

Clonmore U.I.L. (Tipperary)—John Butler, Wm. Hockney, T. Martin, J. Guider, Joseph Meagher, Patrick O'Brien.

Mountjoy U.I.L. (Dublin)—Michael Byrne, Councillor P. Mahon, A. Burgess, T. P. Cullen, President; Patrick Byron, J. M. Paterson.

Leitrim U.I.L. (Down)—James O'Flinn, J.P.; Patrick McMullen, James McGrady, Joseph McKenny, John Ward, James Savage, J.P.

Madabawn U.I.L. (Cavan)—Patrick Clarke, James Tackney, John Masterson, Patrick McQuaid, Patrick Connolly, John Carroll.

Drumkeen U.I.L. (Donegal)—Daniel Houston, James Devenney, Francis McCarron, Edward Sweeney.

South Kilnurry U.I.L. (Cork)—Edwd. Neville, J.P.; J. Fitzgerald, J.P., R.D.C.; James Donovan, R.D.C.; Michl. Donovan, Timothy Hartnett, James Horgan.

Newbridge U.I.L. (Galway)—John Cunningham, Co. C.; Owen Egan, D.C.; Michael Dillon, D.C.; Patrick Hynes, Patrick Lawless, John Crowe.

Castlecomer U.I.L. (Kilkenny)—Cornelius O'Brien, Thomas Costigan, D.C.; Denis O'Carroll, Martin Brennan, Edwd. Doyle, John Brophy.

Lough Egish U.I.L. (Monaghan)—Owen Brannigan, Peter Daly, Peter Coleman, Thos. Brennan, Patrick Flannigan, John Ward.

Kilmoon U.I.L. (Meath)—Bartholomew Mooney, John Halligan, Patrick Delany, Christopher Connor, James Donnelly, Peter McDermott.

Trinity Ward U.I.L. (Dublin)—Laurence Doyle, Michael Spain, Henry L. Carr, Myles Lawler, Michael Fanning, John Devlin.

Blackwater U.I.L. (Wexford)—Andrew O'Brien, William Devereux, Francis Cullen, Edward Sinnott, John Fox, Mogue Fortune, J.P.

Drogheda U.I.L. (Louth)—Alderman Luke J. Elcock, M. A. Casey, Patrick Mew, T.C.; E. McArdle, T.C.; P. F. Corcoran, James Devin.

Keadue U.I.L. (Roscommon)—Thos. McGrath, Thomas Flynn, Patrick Gaffney, John Flynn, Thomas Quinn, Michael J. Kelly.

Kilrush U.I.L. (Clare)—Michael O'Meara, Michael O'Dea, senior; Michl.



Lyons, Patk.\* Bourke, D.C.; James Bourke, John Nolan.

Lower Drumgooland U.I.L. (Down)—Arthur Gilmore, John O'Reilly.

Ballintra U.I.L. (Monaghan)—Patrick Lennon, James Mooney, Francis Mooney, Edward M'Mahon, Edward Clery, Peter Nahor.

Ruskey U.I.L. (Leitrim)—James Murphy, Bernard Donnellan, Patrick Carroll, Patrick Cunboy, James Flynn, Thomas Cox.

Dawn of Freedom U.I.L. (West Belfast)—(Antrim)—George Farrell, Martin J. Burke, Matthew M'Donald, Alex. Kelly, Thomas Daniels, Dr. Wm. M'Lorinan, J.P.

Derrylin U.I.L. (Cavan)—P. M'Kenna, C. Curry, Michael Murray, Luke Ciarke, James Maguire, P. Blake, J.P.

Cashel Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—Jas. Hanly, Richard Grace, Paul Cusack, Thomas Harty, Patk. Darmody, J.P.; John Cahill, D.C., P.L.G.

Killeagh and Inch Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Charles O'Brien, Martin O'Keeffe, Michael Sliney, Michael P. Barry.

Ashford Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wicklow)—L. Cullen, Jas. Loughlin, R.D.C.; Wm. Hender, Wm. Byrne, Alex. J. Byrne, Thos. J. Butler.

Kilglass Branch U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—W. J. Caffrey, Co. C.; James O'Dowd, J.P., D.C.; Thos. Doyle, Francis Rouse, Bartholomew Sweeney, Mark Hannon.

Haggardstown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Louth)—P. J. Murphy, R.D.C.; Nicholas Hardy, Jas. Halfpenny, Michael Duffy, Edward Murphy, Patrick M'Guinness.

Ballysteen Branch U.I.L. (Co. Limerick)—Philip J. O'Sullivan, Solicitor; Joseph Mack (M), J. Mack (S), David Naughton, John Neville (M.), Daniel O'Shaughnessy, D.C.

Downpatrick Branch U.I.L. (Co. Down)—Charles M. Russell, Solr.; Ml. J. Johnston, James Williamson, B.L.; John Feenan, Robert Henderson, William J. Devlin.

Rotunda Ward Branch U.I.L. (City of Dublin)—Patrick J. Duffy, T.C.; J. M. Buckley, James Leech, J. H. D. Molony, Peter O'Hara, P. Shortall, T.C.

National Branch U.I.L. (Belfast)—J. Clarke, F. Keane, J. A. Kelly, W. Carleton, J. M'Guigan, Jas. Kilpatrick. Wolfhill Branch U.I.L. (Queen's Co.)—Thomas Breene, J.P.; Patk. Conlan, Jas. O'T. Haugh, James Brennan, D.C.; Ml. Brown, Michael Kelly.

Killeshill Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—Bernard Laverty, James M'Elhatton, Sec.; Chas. M'Bride.

Glangevlin Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Philip M'Govern, D.C.; Pres.; Thady Dolan, Sec.; Peter Dolan.

Castlebridge, Screen, and Kilmacoe

Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—Owen Murphy, James O'Brien, Andrew Lennon.

Burncourt Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—William Fogarty, J.P., Co. C., D.C.; John Mulcahy, R. English, D.C.; John Creed, Thos. O'Gorman, Bat. Corbett, D.C.

Crimlin Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Patrick Coyle, Michael Gillan, Patrick Jennings, John Moran, Thomas Deasy, Michael M'Hale.

Charlestown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—M. C. Henry, J.P.; P. Campbell, J. Parsons, D.C.; J. J. Morrisroe, D.C.; T. Hopkins, T. O'Donnell.

Edgeworthstown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Longford)—John Hughes, Patk. Lennon, D.C.; Thos. Cunningham, D.C.; Hugh Murray, Ml. Kenny, John Hanafee.

Milltown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—John Mannion, Patk. Charles, Michael Mee, Michael Nally, Thomas Greene, William Molloy.

Ahākista and Kilerohane Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Frank O'Mahony, Timothy Arundel, John MacCarthy, Jeremiah O'Donovan, Kieran Lynch, — Nicholas.

Ringsend (Pembroke East) Branch U.I.L. (Co. Dublin)—James Cassidy, P.L.G., U.D.C.; Laurence Fitzharris, Henry Adams, Patrick Cassidy, Jas. Redmond, Laurence Redmond.

Fenagh Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Bernard Heatherton, James Ford, Ml. Murphy, Co. C.; James Wrynn.

Woodford Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Patrick Boland, John Roche, jun.; David Hickey, Michael Lyons, James Egan, Frank M'Guire.

Clontarf West Ward Branch U.I.L. (Co. Dublin)—Joseph Doyle, A. Lyon, M. J. Cahill, W. E. Reigh, J. Maguire, B.L.; W. J. Clare.

Templeport Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—William M'Teggart, Denis M'Caffrey.

Cloonfad Branch U.I.L. (Co. Roscommon)—A. Fitzmaurice, Michael Hunt, James Dennigan, Thomas Lally, James Quinn.

Glencorrib Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Patk. Lyden, D.C.; Patk. Lyden, D.C.; Patk. T. Flood, Michael Murphy, John Noone, Patk. Moran, Patk. Connolly.

Killarney Branch U.I.L. (Co. Kerry)—Wm. O'Sullivan, M.D.; Michael Leahy, U.D.C.; Maurice M'Cartie, Solicitor; A. J. Moynihan, John Kelly, T. J. Lyne.

Drumraney Branch U.I.L. (Co. Westmeath)—Patrick Dillon, Bernard Geoghegan, Ed. Sheil, Peter Heallon, Roger Brien, James Belton.

Kilcar Branch U.I.L. (Co. Donegal)—Rev. E. J. O'Doherty, C.C.; M. O. MacFadden, J.P.; James O'Byrne.

Magherafelt Branch U.I.L. (Co. Derry)—Felix Ferran, J.P.; Laurence Higgins, J.P.; Lackin, J.P.; Thos. Lackin, R.D.C.; John Kane Thomas J. M'Menamin.

Tintern Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—Jas. Ryan, Wm. A. Cullen, Patrick Walsh, James Cullen, Michael Fitzgerald, John J. Egan.

Two-Mile-Borris Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—Danl. Hayes, Edward Fanning, Jas. Hayes, D.C.; Thos. Fanning, D.C.; Martin Dwyer, John Purcell.

Clondalkin Branch U.I.L. (Co. Dublin)—C. J. Hanlon, Co. C.; Geo. Farren, D.C.; Thos. M'Gann, T. F. Healy, John Dowling, James Fox.

Usher's Quay Ward Branch U.I.L. (Dublin City)—John Groome, William C. Crimmins, Patrick J. Carbery, John Boylan, James Kelly, Hugh Kelly.

Buena and Cribally "Wm. Orr" Branch U.I.L. (Co. Antrim)—Charles McAuley, J.P.; Warwick Lake, J.P.; Thos. S. McAllister, Solicitor; James McElhenny, Bernard O'Neill, Wm. Mulholland.

Lower Killinkere Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Rev. T. Small, C.C.; T. Donohoe, J.P.; James McCabe, John Cooney, Owen Traynor.

Kilmeena Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Michael Geraghty, John Barrett, Michael Gavin, Austin McGing, James Kelly, Wm. Brown.

Drumgoon Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Thomas Connolly, Terence Cooney, D.C.; P. M'Gahan, D.C.; Thomas M'Cabe, Patrick M'Donald, John Markey.

Bellurgan and Lordship Branch U.I.L. (Co. Louth)—Jos. Nelson, P. M'Ardle, R.D.C.; Jos. O'Neill, P. Cumiskey, Thos. Dawe, jun., E. O'Hanlon, R.D.C.

Killimer and Knockerra Branch U.I.L. (Co. Clare)—M. Molony, D.C.; Tim Nolan, M. MacDonnell, Thos. Talty, J.P.; Thos. MacMahon, Patt Hassett.

Ballindangan Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—William Walsh, R.D.C.; John Lyons, James Howard, John J. Rea.

Mullingar Branch U.I.L. (Co. Westmeath)—R. J. Downes, J. T. Roche, W. Barry, C. Faulkner, C. Corcoran, J. Coleman.

Aghabullogue Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—John Coakley, J.P., R.D.C.; Thomas Carroll, R.D.C.; James Twomey, Daniel Dwyer, John Ambrose, David Dwyer.

Tullysarn Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Tom Mallon, John M'Gahan, Hugh M'Gahan, John Donnelly.

Blackwatertown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Bernard O'Neill, James Donnelly, Felix Fox, Henry Lennon, J.P.; Patrick M'Quade

Mullahoran and Loughduff Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Patrick Comasky, Bernard Brady, J.P.; James Sheridan.

Mullinlaghta Branch U.I.L. (Co. Longford)—Owen Fitzpatrick, Michael Mathews, Philip Duffy, Francis Farrell.

St. Patrick's Branch U.I.L. (Co. Killenny)—John Hughes, J.P., D.C.; Elmond Doyle, J.P., D.C.; Francis W. Doheny, B.A., Solr.; George Stallard, T.C.; Edward Murphy, Jas. Costelloe, senior.

Bailieborough Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Dr. Richard Ryan, J.P.; Patk. M'Entee, James Traynor, Patk. Cooney, P. G. Connolly, V.S.; Philip Dunne.

Togher Branch U.I.L. (Co. Dublin)—John Rogers, John Harmon, James Markey, Dan Butterly, Nicholas Butterly, H. O'Reilly.

Wolfe Tone Branch U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—Thos. V. Loftus, D.C.; Martin Battle, Dan. O'Hara, John O'Hara, D.C.; Bartly Fleming, Thady O'Hara.

Kinfenora Branch U.I.L. (Co. Clare)—Patk. Lynch, John O'Loughlin, Michael Moran, Jas. Linnane.

Miltown Malbay Branch U.I.L. (Co. Clare)—William Hynes, Thomas O'Brien, Michael Killeen, Michael Mulvihill, J. J. MacClancy, Thomas O'Brien.

Aughrim Branch U.I.L. (Co. Roscommon)—F. Glancy, E. Glancy, Tom Gannon, P. J. Neary, J. Lenehan, F. Bambrick.

Monivea Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Canon James Curran, P.P.; Peter McCann, D.C.; William Dolly, John Concar, D.C.

Aughrim Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wicklow)—C. McSweeney, Ed. Byrne, M. B. Phelan.

Castlewellan Branch U.I.L. (Co. Down)—Francis Cunningham, D.C.; H. G. McAleenan, B. McAleenan, Thomas McCann, P. O'Hare, T. Tumilty.

Kiltyclogher Branch U.I.L. (Co. Leitrim)—Peter Gallagher, Peter M'Gowan, James Dolan, Francis Keenan, James Fox, James Keaney.

Bree Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—Thomas Asple, M.C.C.; Patk. Doyle, D.C.; Joseph Wickham, William Doyle, Martin Doyle, John Doyle.

Limerick City Branch U.I.L.—C. Johnston, B.C.; Maurice Fitzgerald, J. J. Quaid, Bryan O'Donnell, J.P.; T. A. Hartigan, P. E. Burke, J.P.

Nobber Branch U.I.L. (Co. Meath)—Patrick McDermott, R.D.C.; Thomas Muldoon, Jas. Brady, R.D.C.; M. Monaghan, R.D.C.; P. Condra, Thomas Halpin.

English and Drumcullen Branch U.I.L. (King's County)—Michael Walsh, D.C. Dan. Molloy, D.C.; Edward Galvin, D.C.; Thomas Dermody, D.C.; John Guinan, Christy Mooney

Kingscourt Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—John C. Callan, Patrick Farrelly, jun.; John O'Reilly, Michael Owens, James Carroll, Jas. Carolan.

Aughnasheelin Branch U.I.L. (Co. Leitrim)—Chas. Keany, Patrick Mulvey.

Upper Drumlane Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—J. C. O'Reilly, Peter Thornton, Patrick Leddy, D.C.; Philip Brady.

Dungannon Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—John Hoy, Solicitor; Michl. M'Rory, J.P.; M. P. Cullen, Terence Cullen, Joseph Carberry, James Morrison.

Barryroe Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Thos. Brophy, David White, James Hayes, D. S. Lawton, Eugene Sheehy, Daniel O'Donovan.

Seir Kierans Branch U.I.L. (King's Co.)—Rev. J. Drennan, Adm.; Patrick Guinan, John Dooley, Sec. Patk. Troy.

Fishertown Branch U.I.L. (Queen's Co.)—Wm. Whately, D.C.; Thomas Tynan, D.C.; Edward Mulhall, D.C.; Wm. Carroll, Samuel O'Neill, John Tynan.

Keady and Darkley Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Hugh Carberry, Patrick Lenagh, James Vallely, James Arthurs, Bl. Carragher, John M'Givern.

Keady Rural Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Patrick Mone, R.D.C.; Patrick Waters, J.P.; Hugh Daley, Francis Fegan, Francis M'Kee, Francis Curran.

Crossmaglen Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—James Donaghy, James O'Donnell, Hugh Morris, Henry M'Namee, Thomas M'Enteggart, Peter Garvey.

Ferns Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—John Sinnott, J.P.; Jas. K. Nolan, Martin Doyle, Bernard Byrne, Patk. Bernie, C.W.; Patk. Nolan.

Banagher (Feeny) Branch U.I.L. (Co. Derry)—Rev. John Gribbon, P.P.; Patk. M. Heeney.

Crossabeg and Ballymurrin Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—Patrick Roche, D. O'Connor, D.C.; Ml. Fortune.

Kinnegad and Coralstown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Westmeath)—Edward Conlon, J.P., Co. C.; Thomas Falconer, Jos. Flynn, Joseph Bracken, James Maguire, Chr. Geraghty, D.C.

Croghan Branch U.I.L. (King's Co.)—John Egan, Patrick Kelly, Edward Rigney, Patk. Scully, Patrick Nolan, Thos. Dunne.

Bellaghy Branch U.I.L. (Co. Londonderry)—Dan. Convery, J.P.; Jos. Davidson, Francis Dolan, Wm. Pimley, Wm. M'Erlane, Patk. Agnew.

Tanaghmore North Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—George Corey, R.D.C.; John O'Hagan, Dan. Murray, Michael Henderson, Dan. Campbell, Bernard Findon.

Birr and Carrig U.I.L. Branch (King's Co.)—John Molloy, John Delaney, Patk. Carroll, John Byrne.

Bridge-a-Crin Branch U.I.L. (Co. Louth)—Bernard McKeown, Patrick Kearney, Co. C.; Henry Myers, Thomas M'Cormack, Arthur M'Ardle, Patrick Deery.

Dunmore and Ballynahinch Branch U.I.L. (Co. Down)—Henry A. Mulligan, Patrick Davey, D.C.; Jas. M'Mullan.

Bansha and Kilmoyer Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—John Tierney, Thomas Brett, John H. Grogan, D.C.; Wm. Grogan, Edmd. Whelan, Edmd. Burke.

Emmet Caltra Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Rev. M. Brennan, C.C.; Thomas Keane, Edward Gilmore, Michael Fallon.

Castlelyons Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Rd. Verling, John Verling, sen.; Thos. M'Auliff, Ed. Knt, John Hayes, Peter O'Leary.

Blarney Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—E. T. Mahony, Thomas Murphy, John Coleman, Michael Cremen, J.P.; Myles M'Sweeny, J.P.; Daniel Cashman, R.D.C.

Lavey Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—James Brady, Thomas Donohoe, D.C.; Patrick Cusack, D.C.; John Smith, Patk. Fay, Philip Smith.

Ardboe Upper Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—Felix Taggart, Felix Laverty, Ambrose O'Neill, Patrick M'Aleer, Jas. Brady.

Newry Branch U.I.L. (Co. Down)—Jas. Grant, J. Treanor, Jas. Hughes, Thos. Ruddy, John Brady, J. P. Convery.

Midfield Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Michael Joe. M'Loughlin, John Gallagher, Martin Salmon, Dominick Geraghty.

Killimordaly Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—John Nolan, Michael Callanan, Peter Kilkenny, Michael Hardiman, Ml. O'Connor, John Glynn.

Shreen and Dromard Branch U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—Paul Clark, J. Dondican, D.C.; Wm. Flannelly, D.C.; Mathe & Clarke, Michael Gilgan, Seaghan O'Coindealbhein.

Longford Branch U.I.L. (Co. Longford)—Charles M'Kenna, U.D.C.; Michl. Cox, John Nevin, Patrick Hopkins, Pk. Gill, Wm. Casey.

Killinurey Branch U.I.L. (Co. Leitrim)—Thos. Fallon, J.P.; Denis Meehan, John Kinlegan, Jas. Clancy, Charles Meehan, John Kelly.

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Ballymacrab and Corran Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Michael M'Geown, James O'Toole.



Aughabog Branch U.I.L. (Co. Monaghan)—Francis M'Phillips, Patrick Nolan, Patrick M'Donnell, Michael Connolly, sen.; James Currin, Jas. Plunkett.  
 Fenor Branch U.I.L. (Co. Waterford)—Edward O'Byrne, Jas. Halley, Richd. Crotty, Patrick Power, Willie Flynn, Wm. Hartley.

Emmet Branch U.I.L. (Derry)—Hugh M'Keown, James Gillen, Jas. M'Devitt, Charles M'Dermott, Patrick Doherty, Con. Bradley.

Killeshandra Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Very Rev. P. Clarke, P.P., V.F.; P. Moran, John M'Clean.

Rosslea Branch U.I.L. (Co. Fermanagh)—Patrick M'Caffrey, John Connolly, Peter Gunn, Michael Smyth, Patk. Connolly, John M'Phillips.

Clane, Staplestown, and Rathcoffey Branch U.I.L. (Co. Kildare)—Wm. Murray, Patrick Murray, Patk. Rourke, Joseph Langan, Laurence Gaffney, Edw. Keating.

Clara Branch U.I.L. (Co. Kilkenny)—John Shea, D.C.; Nicholas Maher, D.C.; John O'Donnell, D.C.; Thomas Long, John Bryan, W. P. Moore.

Magheraclone Branch U.I.L. (Monaghan)—Peter Connolly, Patrick Sheridan, Peter MacGahan, James Duffy.

Drumlish Branch U.I.L. (Co. Longford)—Michael Kane, Patrick Sheeran, Conor M'Kenna, Charles Kiernan, Patk. Connell, Michael Carolan.

Ardagh Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Rev. Father Clarke, P.P.; Wm. Jennings, Michael Gillespie, D.C.

Clonamon, Parnell's Cross, and Kilmishal Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—T. O'Loughlin, Myles O'Connor, D. O'Connor, Hon. Sec.; William Kenny, Robert Power, Martin Doyle, Treasurer.

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Arva and Coronay Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Peter Masterson, C.C.; H. Prunty, T. F. Cullev.

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Cookstown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—William Mullan, James Mowberry, Lewis Devlin, James Mullen, Solicitor; James Branigan, F. P. Devlin.

Tyrrellspass Branch U.I.L. (Co. Westmeath)—Thomas J. Fox, Thomas Hayden, Thomas Cole, Joseph Gavaghan, M. O'Rourke, John Hannon.

Rathkeale (Wolfe Tone) Branch U.I.L. (Co. Limerick)—John J. O'Mahony, Co. C.; Thos. O'Shaughnessy, Wm. Ward, T.C.; William Sheehan, T.C.; Wm. O'Shaughnessy, Michael Liston.

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Lissimuin Branch U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Peter O'Hagan, Charles Rafferty, Charles O'Hagan, Patrick M'Conville, Hugh M'Caffery, James Carty.

Fourmilewater U.I.L. (Co. Waterford)—E. Nugent, J.P.; Michael O'Ryan, R.D.C.; James O'Byrne, R.D.C.; Patk. Ryan, Fras. Dwan, E. Nugent, junr.

Father Kennedy U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—D. L. O'Gorman, M.C.C.; John Baylor, David Creedon, Patk. Joyce, Wm. E. Lane, Martin Healy, junr.

Coalisland U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—James Corr, J.P.; John Corr, Solicitor; Thos. Connolly, Dr. J. J. Corr, P. J. Clancy, Fras. Harvey.

Aghagallon U.I.L. (Co. Antrim)—Thomas M'Corry, Francis M'Corry, Daniel M'Allister, Bernard Heany, Hy. Mooney, Chas. Maghee.

Julianstown U.I.L. (Co. Meath)—Laurence Moore, Joseph English, Patk. Arnold C. Sheridan, J. R. Ennis, D.C.; M. M'Keon, D.C.

Cranny U.I.L. (Co. Clare)—John Talty, D.C.; Frank O'Dea, Mat Coughlin, Michael Shannon, John Kelly, Thos. Clancy.

Castletown U.I.L. (Co. Westmeath)—Laurence Hackett, Peter Farrell, D.C.; N. T. M'Naboe, Co. C.; Jos. Carey, Loughlin Clavin, Joseph Brennan.

Enniskillen U.I.L. (Co. Fermanagh)—Patk. Falconer, J.P.; John F. Wray, LL.B., Solicitor; James J. Cavanagh, Thomas Curran, V.P., Edward Brady, James Cox.

Bantry U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—D. O'Leary, B.L.; Chas. O'Donovan, Dan. Lucey, Thos. Tobin, R.D.C.; Denis J. O'Leary, Michael Crowley.

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Shanbally and Ringaskiddy, U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—John O'Sullivan, Thos. J. O'Sullivan, John F. M'Swiney, R.D.C.; Michael Looney, R.D.C.; John Murphy, James Cadogan.

Ballyroan U.I.L. (Queen's County)—Thomas Dowling, Terence Delaney, John Carroll, John Devoy, John Dughan, William Keenan.

Tullow U.I.L. (Co. Carlow)—Charles F. M'Nally, J.P., Co. C.; James Murphy, Co. C.; Edward Moore, Gerald O'Toole, D.C.; Patk. Kavanagh, Michael P. Mackey.

Swanhubar U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Jas. Casidy, Patrick McGovern.

Kilkeery U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—T. McLaughlin, Patk. Trainor, Patk. McCaughey, John McGurren, Patrick McBride, Thos. Charlton.

Kelloe U.I.L. (Co. Longford)—Rev. E. Dalton, C.C.; John Doherty, Co. C.; John Flynn, Nial Prunty, John Doyle, Chas. Scanlon.

Myshall and Drumpea U.I.L. (Co. Carlow)—John P. Nolan, D.C.; Michael Kelly, D.C.; Patrick Fenehon, James Fitzpatrick, Edward Fitzgerald, Thomas Murphy.

Donaskeigh U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—Joseph O'Dwyer, Edmond Crosse, D.C.; Wm. Ryan, Treasurer; John O'Dwyer, Patrick Ryan, Sec.; Thomas O'Dwyer.

Inniscarra U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Rev. J. O'Callaghan, C.C.; Eugene Lane, D. J. Hennessy, B. D. O'Callaghan, Peter Scanlan, John Byrne, D.C.

Gorey U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—Patk. Doyle, Thos. J. Doran, Robert J. Byrne, Michael Cantwell, James Hughes, Garrett Doyle, junr.

Lurgan U.I.L. (Co. Armagh)—Andrew Campbell, V.P., Solicitor; Robert J. Callen, V.P., Solicitor; John C. O'Reilly, Hon. Secretary, Solicitor; Geo. Carter, R.D.C.; Chas. S. O'Neill, R.D.C.; Robert Levin.

Michael Davitt East Belfast U.I.L. (Co. Antrim)—Michael Byrne, John O'Hare, Frank Larkin, Frank Duggan, John Dologhan, Jas. Doherty.

Clontuskert U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Michael Curley, Pat Callaghan, Michael Kerwin, Pat Hurney, John Murray, John Colahan.

Galbally U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—Patrick Bradley, Peter Bradley, John Brannigan, Patk. Lally Ferdinand Bradley, Bernard McKernan.

Windgap and Tullahaught (Co. Kilkenny)—Pierce Landy, D.C.; Patk. Murray, Laurence O'Shea, Edw. Coonan, Patrick Moore.

Tulsk U.I.L. (Co. Roscommon)—Peter Shanagher, Co. C.; P. Dufficy, Secretary.

Tarbert Branch U.I.L. (Co. Kerry)—Thomas Fitzgerald.

Castletown Branch U.I.L. (Queen's County)—John Brennan, John O'Brien, John Carroll, John Finlay, Joseph Fitzpatrick, John Tarrant, jun.

Carlow Branch U.I.L. (Co. Carlow)—Patk. Lawler, U.D.C.; P. J. McDonald, U.D.C.; Nicholas P. Roche, Patrick Donohoe, Denis Mullane, U.D.C.; Frederick J. Williams.

Pomeroy Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—Chas. Kane, John F. Grimes, M. Donnelly, R.D.C.; Hugh Donaghy, Peter McNally, R.D.C.; Dan. Donnelly.

Emly Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—

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Ballinasloe Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—Lawrence Conroy, J.P.; John L. Beegan, U.C.; P.L.G.; John Egan, Ml. Nevin, Michael Boland, Patk. Dooley.

Balla Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Thomas Reilly, Malachy Henegan, Patk. Murphy, M. Golding, R. Walsh, J. Higgins.

Belclare Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—M. O'Donoghue, M. Ansbro, M. Canny, Martin McHugh, Thos. McHugh, John Morris.

Newport Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Patk. Carolan, D.C.; John McGovern, M.C.C.; Ed. Doherty, D.C.; John Flynn, D.C.; Owen Gannon, Thomas Murray.

Mountshannon Branch U.I.L. (Co. Clare)—Timothy Minogue, Michael Sammon, Patrick Keane, Michael Collins, Philip Geoghegan, James Cahill.

Killaloe Branch U.I.L. (Co. Kilkenny)—Thomas Egan, James Dunphy, Robert Dunphy, William Tobin, Edward Fennelly, Michael Purcell.

Kilteely Branch U.I.L. (Co. Limerick)—John Burke, John Moloney, John Jones, D.C.; John Gillhooly, D.C.; Edmond Power, John Hogan.

Tieranascragh Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—John Gibbons, D.C.; Wm. Brodar, Edward Lynch, Peter Hara, Martin Hayes, Rev. J. P. Callanan, P.P.

Knockaderry Branch U.I.L. (Co. Limerick)—Edward D. Liston, D.C.; Maurice Meehan, P. Flynn, P. Lynch, jun.; James O'S. Liston, J.P., Co. C.; Michael O'Donnell.

West Limerick Branch U.I.L. (Co. Limerick)—Timothy Watson, James O'Connor, R. Dunworth, P. O'Leary, D.C.; P. Costelloe.

Ballyneil Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—L. A. Kiely, T. Deady, T. Sexton, Co. C.; W. Kennedy, Felix Bruinock, M. Cuddihy.

Killina Branch U.I.L. (Co. Roscommon)—Timothy Rorke, J.P., D.C.; J. J. McGrath, John Ames, Bernard Lennon.

Ballinahinch Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—M. Bourke, J.P., Co. C.; D. W. Gleeson, M. Kennedy, W. O'Brien, J. Young, W. Doody.

Clonduff Branch U.I.L. (Co. Down)—John T. M'Loughlin, J.P.; William McEvoy, Jas. McAlevy, R.D.C.; Patk. Bradley, R.D.C.; Patrick Morgan, Cornelius McLoughlin.

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Farmonbarry and Whitehall Branch U.I.L. (Co. Roscommon)—Ml. Noonan, Daniel Kelly, Stephen Cox, Jos. Fallon, Peter Kelly, D.C.; John Gearty.



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Cross (Michael Davitt) Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Patrick L. Reilly, Owen Clark, M. Quinn, Philip Fox, Patrick Tait, Patrick Sheridan.

Clonbroney Branch U.I.L. (Co. Longford)—James O'Neill, J.P.; Henry Grier, John Brady, John Farrell, Patk. Earley, Patrick Reilly.

Killasse and Callow Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—T. B. Keane, M. Kilty, T. Doyle, D.C.; M. Igoe, D.C.; M. Hegarty, John McGowan.

Ballintemple Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—Hugh Brady, Charles Dobson, James Brady, Peter R. Smith, John Lynch, Terence Corr.

Stabannon Branch U.I.L. (Co. Louth)—Jos. Geraghty, Thos. Carroll, Thos. Mathews, J. Cusack, James Culligan, James J. McGee.

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Danesfort U.I.L. (Kilkenny)—Patk. Kenihan, D.C.; John Murphy, J.P.; Jas. Murphy, Thos. Shirley, Jas. Hughes, Jeremiah Purcell.

Drinagh U.I.L. (Cork)—William J. Regan.

Glassdrumond U.I.L. (Armagh)—Peter Fearon, Co. C.; John M'Cooley, Patk. Conlon, junr.; Jas. Murphy, Jas. Conlon, Francis Fegan.

Killavullen U.I.L. (Cork)—John Leahy, Ed. Buckley, John Russell.

Meagher U.I.L. (Mayo)—Martin Donoghue, Ml. O'Neill, Jas. Fallon, Jas. Clarke, John Bourke, Wm. Clarke.

North-East Ward U.I.L. (Cork)—Eugene Gayer, T.C.; Gregory Harrington, John Mahony, Cornelius O'Leary, Wm. H. O'Sullivan, John M'Cabe.

Tullylish U.I.L. (Down)—William M'Leister, Samuel A. M'Connell, John Morrow, Joseph Phillips, John S. Farrell, John M'Mahon Byrne.

Wolfe Tone, South Belfast, U.I.L.—John Malone, Ed. Killen, Robert Lennox, William Condon, Jos. Henry, Bernard M'Coey.

Maghera U.I.L. (Derry)—John M. Convery, Chas. O'Hara, R.D.C.

Knockbridge U.I.L. (Louth)—Matt Harvey, Patk. Gernon, John Watters, Jas. Casey, Patk. Shevlin, Owen Hardy.

Dunkerron, Moneygall, U.I.L. (King's and Tip)—Ml. Egan, J.P.; Ml. Keavy, Andrew Hoolan, Daniel Moore, Michael O'Donohoe, John Hayes.

Desmond U.I.L. (Limerick)—Michael

Feheny, Jas. Sheehy, D.G.; Ml. O'Halloran, Thomas O'Kelly, Thos. M'Donnell, John Lynch.

Parnell U.I.L. (Derry)—Patk. Devlin, Jos. Stuart, John Devlin, Felix Hughes.

Kinawley (Wolfe Tone) U.I.L. (Fermanagh)—Andrew Corrigan, Andrew Anderson, Luke Drumm, Francis Drumm, Jas. Collins, Patk. Reilly.

Meelin U.I.L. (Cork)—M. K. Barry, M.C.C.; Patk. O'Callaghan.

Kilconly U.I.L. (Galway)—Thomas M'Donagh, D.C.; Thos. Lally, D.C.; Thady Mangan, D.C.; Martin Blake, Thos. Burke, Ml. Keane.

Ringville U.I.L. (Waterford)—Patk. M'Carthy, Ml. O'Donnell, Ml. Curran, Ml. Bowdren, Patk. M'Kenna, Peter Moloney.

Lissycasey U.I.L. (Clare)—John Hoare, V.P.; John O'Brien, D.C.; Patk. Daly, D.C.; John Sexton, D.C.; Thomas M'Namara, Stephen M'Mahon.

Kilmore U.I.L. (Roscommon)—Jos. M. Dorr, Co. C.; Terence M'Loughlin, V.P.; John Beirne, Jas. Murphy, Ml. Fitzmaurice, Thos. Travers.

Frankmore and Aughnagurgam U.I.L. (Armagh)—Laurence Nugent, Patrick Conroy, John Trodden, Jas. Powell, Jas. Sherry, Terence Toner.

Buttevant and Lisgriffin U.I.L. (Cork)—Patk. Roche, Jas. J. Nagle, John Madden, T. W. Lenahan, James Roche, Wm. B. Nagle.

Portarlinton U.I.L. (Queen's)—Doctor Francis O'Reilly, Ml. H. Burke, R.D.C.; John Keegan, R.D.C.; Arthur Costello, R.D.C.; Henry Maher, R.D.C.; William Duane, R.D.C.

Errigan, Truagh, U.I.L. (Monaghan)—Ed. M'Cusker, D.C.; Peter M'Kenna, Bernard Keenan, D.C.

Clonea U.I.L. (Waterford)—P. Flynn, T. Cullinan, J. Dowley, R. Power, J. Walsh, T. Power.

Dunsford and Ardglass U.I.L. (Down)—John Woods, D.C.; John M'Mahon, D.C.; Denis M'Quaid, John Magee, Patk. Fitzsimons, Henry Connolly.

Oran, Donamon, and Cloverhill (Roscommon)—T. J. Fleming, B. Lally, D.C.; J. Doorly, M. Fallon, P. Fleming, P. Connor.

Bannow and Ballyneety, U.I.L. (Wexford)—John Keane, Nicholas Crosbie, Andrew, Devereux, Nicholas Moore.

Rosenallis, U.I.L. (Queen's)—William Shelly, Ml. Loughlin, D.C.; A. Conry, J.P., Co. C.; Paul Maher, D.C.; F. Keating, Co. C.; P. Conlan.

Kilbride U.I.L. (Cavan)—Wm. Smith, Ed. Farrelly, John Colwell, John Cooke, Bernard M'Hugh, Jas. Reilly.

Thradaree Branch U.I.L. (Co. Clare)—John Lynch, W. Halpin, Denis O'Neill, Thomas Ryan.

Mitchelstown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—James G. Skinner, Ml. Cusack, J.P.; Wm. Murphy, F. O'Loughlin, T. S. Morrissey, John O'Hanrahan.

Drimoleague Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—P. J. Hurley, Samuel Kingston, R.D.C.; Richard Kingston, Jas. J. Murphy, John O'Sullivan.

Tramore (Waterford)—Nicholas Phelan, Michael Gahan, James Power.

Derrygonnelly (Fermanagh)—Mr. J. Maguire, P. Leonard, A. Leonard.

Tipperary U.I.L.—John Heffernan, D.C.; P.L.G.; Patrick Glasheen, Timothy Danaher, James Clifford, U.C.; Denis Skehan, U.C.; James J. Fitzgerald, U.C., P.L.G.

St. Mary's (Limerick)—Stephen O'Mara, senr.; Richard Kay, S. M. O'Mara, Mrs. M. Byrne, P.L.G.; A. M. O'Mara, Matthew Quillinan.

Lower Drimogland U.I.L. (Co. Down)—Arthur Gilmore, John O'Reilly, James Fitzpatrick, Peter Fitzpatrick, John Fitzsimmond, Nicholas Doyle.

Woodford U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—J. Roche, junr.; David Hickey, Ml. Lyons, Jos. Egan, F. McGuire.

Canovee U.I.L. (Co. Cork)—Timothy O'Sullivan, William Duggan, Cors. Dunne, James Murphy, Denis Goid, Cors. Cronin.

Kilbeg U.I.L. (Meath)—John Gaffney, H. McEnroe, James Murtagh, Thomas B. Lynch, Christopher Smith, Hugh Smith.

Tyolland U.I.L. (Monaghan)—R. Donnelly, Peter Connolly, Owen Hughes, John Gray, Jas. McQuaid, G. Evans.

Moybologue U.I.L. (Meath and Cavan)—John M. Mahon, Co. C.; Patrick O'Brien, O. Tully.

Merchant's Quay U.I.L. (Dublin)—John White, Patk. Kavanagh, Matthew McCaffrey, Wm. Rogan, Terence Healy, Patk. Taylor.

Syddan U.I.L. (Meath)—Denis Sheil, L. Gaughran, Hugh O'Brien, Pat Smyth, Jas. McGough, Richard Balfe.

Ballyshannon U.I.L. (Donegal)—Ml. Cassidy, J.P.; Patrick M'Nulty, D.C.; J. Scanlon, D.C.

Ballymoney U.I.L. (Antrim)—James McAlee, J.P.

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Swatiragh U.I.L. (Derry)—John M'Eldowney, J.P.; John Friel, R.D.C.; Michael Doherty.

Ballymacward U.I.L. (Galway)—Thos. O'Flanagan, William Copinger.

Turin U.I.L. (Westmeath)—Patrick Cleary, Co. C.; James Cribbin, D.C.; Michael Ronan, Andrew Glynn, Michael Moore, Mathew Shaw.

St. John's U.I.L. (Sligo)—John Gorman, T. Killawee, Michael Davey, Patk. McGowan, Patk. Warren, Bernard Gammon.

Killoscally U.I.L. (Tipperary)—Denis O'Meara, Henry Phillips, Patt Ryan, D.C.; John Ryan, P. Bonfield, D.C.; M. Moloney.

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Killeagh and Inch (Cork)—Charles O'Brien, David Walsh, Michael Sliney, Martin O'Keeffe, Simon Ahern, jun.; Ml. P. Barry.

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Carrickerry U.I.L. (Limerick)—John Downey, John McMahon, Dl. Downey, Ml. Quinn, James Casey, T. J. White, Hon. Sec.

Midleton U.I.L. (Cork)—John Lane, Ml. Lynch, John O'Regan, Ml. Coughlan, D.C.; James Moore, John Kelleher.

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Rahan Branch U.I.L. (King's Co.)—William Grennan, Co. C.; Joseph Egan, John Hanlon, Patrick Healy, Timothy Conroy, Thomas Molloy.

Louth Branch U.I.L. (Co. Louth)—John F. Murphy, J.P., Co. C.; C. J. Neary, John Byrne, Andrew Ryan, Patrick Faul, Thomas Murray.

Gartan Branch U.I.L. (Co. Donegal)—Daniel Gallagher, Denis Melly, J. E. Sweeney.

Carracastle (John Dillon) Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—Rev. P. J. Mulligan, Thos. Breheny, John Kelly, John Plover, Michael Tarpey, John Quinn.

Arran Quay Ward Branch U.I.L. (City of Dublin)—Thos. Murphy, Thos. Rooney, T.C., P.L.G.; F. J. Fitzpatrick, M.P.S.I.; J. Bourke, V.P.; Jas. Power, Bartholomew O'Reilly.

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Kilgobinett Branch U.I.L. (Co. Wexford)—James Queally, M.C.C.; Edmond Beresford, Patrick Kelly, R.D.C.; Thos. Fraher, John J. Whyte, John P. Tobin.

Ballycallan Branch U.I.L. (Co. Kil-kenny)—W. R. Potter, Paul Harrison, John Breman, Michael Egan, Pat Kelly, Michael Meagher.

Ballivor Branch U.I.L. (Co. Meath)—Richard Fox, D.C.; Patrick O'Reilly, Christopher O'Keeffe, Patrick Fagan, Michael McGarry, Co. C.; James Gray.

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Longhrea Branch U.I.L. (Co. Galway)—John O'Loughlin, Patrick Keane, T.C.; Thomas Delaney, T.C.; J. J. Gurrhy, Thomas Manton.

Cahir Branch U.I.L. (Tipperary)—Stephen Cloghessy, Michael O'Donnell, Patrick Barrett.

Kilcock Branch U.I.L. (Co. Kildare)—C. P. Buckley, William O'Brien, Michael Melia, Heher Finn, Wm. Kavanagh.

Stewartstown Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tyrone)—Thomas McKenna, Patk. Corr, John Park, George Richards, Charles Logan, J.P.; John Coyle.

Sligo Borough Branch U.I.L. (Co. Sligo)—A. Kilfeather, P. N. White, J.P.; John Hughes, T.C.; D. M. Hanley, T.C.; James Friel, Henry Monson.

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Shrute Branch U.I.L. (Co. Mayo)—T. A. Morris, Arthur Morris, D.C.; Malachy Craddock, Eugene O'Neill.

Borrisoleigh Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—John Bourke, Patrick Butler, Patrick Bourke, Michael Young, James McGrath, M. Ryan, D.C.

Ballina and Boher Branch U.I.L. (Co. Tipperary)—Rev. Father Ryan, P.P.; John Kelly, John Manly, James McKeogh, James O'Brien, D.C.; Tim O'Brien.

South Ward Branch U.I.L. (Cork)—James O'Connell, T.C.; John Desmond, R.D.C.; Joseph Murphy, Patk. Crowley, Andrew O'Shaughnessy, M. S. O'Mahony.

Cooraclare Branch U.I.L. (Co. Clare)—Ml. Mescall, J.P.; Thomas Lillis, J.P.; Edmond Murphy, John Campbell, D.C.; Thomas Chambers, James O'Dea.

Drung Branch U.I.L. (Co. Cavan)—John Smyth, J.P.; Thos. Conaty, D.C.; Michael Rehill, Patrick Tynan, James Fay, Patrick Coyle.

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Tullaghan Branch U.I.L. (Co. Leitrim)—J. E. Bonnar, Thomas Maguire, James MacGowan.

Doe Branch U.I.L. (Co. Donegal)—Patrick Rafferty, D.C.; Patrick Ferry, D.C.; John Cannon.

Cappa and Nantanan Branch U.I.L. (Co. Limerick)—Patrick Cahill, John O'Connell, Michael Doody.

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North Kildare Executive—John Healy.

Co. Mayo—P. W. Durkan, Member of National Directory.

Co. Cork—Patrick Goole, Officer of Divisional Executive.

Mid-Cork Executive—Timothy M. Cronin, Hon. Sec.

Dublin—Thomas M'Auley, representing Harbour Executive.

North Meath Executive—Michl. Johnston, J.P., Treasurer.

Co. Mayo—Rev. P. J. Mulligan, P.P.; Thomas Breherly, John Kelly (Carracastle U.I.L. Branch).

South Roscommon Executive—Charles O'Keeffe, Hon. Sec.

North Tipperary—James F. Hogan, Hon. Sec. Divisional Executive U.I.L.

East Wicklow Divisional Executive U.I.L.—Charles Davis.

Co. Westmeath—Garrett O'Reilly, D.C., O.D.E.

South Donegal Divisional Executive—Michael Flood, Secretary.

South Cork Executive—Edward Barry.

Mid-Tyrone Executive U.I.L.—H. K. McAleer, R.D.C., Treasurer.

Co. Galway—John D'Arcy.

Co. Derry—Michael Doherty, Officer, Divisional Executive.

Co. Galway—Michael Joyce, Co. C.

South Sligo Executive—Michael Gil-martin, Secretary.

East Cavan Executive—Frank J. Lynch, Co. C., President.

North Monaghan Divisional Executive—Thomas Toal, J.P.

Co. Louth—Michael O'Meara, J.P., Member of National Directory.

South Monaghan Executive—Richard Boyle, V.P.

East Galway Divisional Executive—T. G. Griffin.

South Westmeath—Patrick McKenna, Co. C., National Directory.

Co. Mayo—John Walsh, J.P., Chair-man, Westport District Council.

Co. Waterford—Patrick Nugent.

South Galway Executive—Martin Walsh, V.C.

Limerick City Divisional Executive—Alderman Daniel McNeice, President.

South-East Cork Divisional Executive—J. B. Cunningham, Secretary.

Co. Derry—James Doherty, Officer, Divisional Executive.



East Galway Executive—Thomas J. Manning, Chairman.

South Tyrone Divisional Executive—Peter McGirr, J.P., Treasurer.

West Limerick Executive—John Downey, V.C.

Queen's County (Ossory)—John O'Connell D.C., Member of National Directory.

Queen's County (Stradbally)—Denis O'Shaughnessy, Co. C., ex-Officer.

Co. Wexford—Peter Parle.

County Cork—P. J. O'Driscoll, Solicitor, Member of the National Directory (representing South-East Cork).

North Dublin—Michl. Dunne, National Director.

East Mayo Executive—M. C. Henry, J.P., Chairman of Swinford R. D. Council (President); Thomas Morrin, J.P., Co. C. (Treasurer); M. J. McNulty (Secretary).

South Sligo Executive—John Cawley (Treasurer).

Co. Louth—Jos. T. Dolan, Member of Directory and Sec., South Louth Executive U.I.L.

Mid-Tyrone—Francis Joseph O'Connor, Member of National Directory.

South Fermanagh Divisional Executive—P. A. MacManus (Secretary).

Queen's Co. (Leix) Executive—Patk. Kelly, J.P. (Treasurer); F. H. Harckham, (Secretary).

East Mayo Executive—M. C. Henry, J.P.

South Down Executive—Daniel McCar-tan, Solicitor.

Co. Tipperary—James Finn, Executive Officer.

Co. Kilkenny, Nth.—John P. Fogarty, C. C., National Director.

Co. Wexford—Patrick O'Neill, Executive Officer.

Mid-Tipperary Executive—Patrick Finn (Treasurer).

Co. Dublin—Thomas O'Reilly.

East Mayo Executive—James Morrin, J.P., Co. C.

Co. Louth—John Ward, Joint Secretary.

City of Limerick—Laurence O'Donnell (Hon. Secretary).

Co. Armagh—James McGuill, D.C., ex-Officer.

Co. Clare—Michael Mescal, J.P.; Member of National Directory.

Mid-Armagh Executive—Patk. Hughes, Treasurer.

South Fermanagh Executive U.I.L.—Peter Crudden, Vice-President.

South Armagh Executive—James Donaghy, sen., R.D.C.

West Cork Executive U.I.L.—Patrick McCarthy.

Cork City Executive—John J. Horgan, Solicitor, Member of National Directory.

Cork City Executive—W. J. Dunlea, LL.D., Treasurer.

Mid-Cork Divisional Executive U.I.L.—John J. Foley, Solicitor.

West Waterford Executive—P. F. Walsh, Chairman.

Cork City—James J. McCabe, LL.B.

Dublin City—Nicholas Hore, ex-Officer.

North East Cork Executive—Jas. O'Riordan, Secretary.

South Cork Executive U.I.L. J. C. O'Sullivan, Treasurer.

North Kilkenny Executive—John Doyle.

South Meath—W. H. Doran, V.C.

Co. Meath—P. F. Byrne, ex-Officer.

Co. Louth—J. J. Callan, T.C., ex-Officer.

East Cavan—T. M. Farrelly, Member of Directory.

West Limerick Executive—John Power, Queen's County—Rev. E. Brennan, P.P., and P. J. O'Gorman.

East Tyrone Executive U.I.L.—Patk. W. McLarnon, Hon. Secretary.

County Antrim Divisional Executive—Mr. Joseph McGurley, V.P.

County Louth—W. T. Murphy.

North Tipperary Executive—Thomas O'Donoghue, President.

Mid-Tyrone Executive—Patk. McLaughlin, U.D.C., P.L.G., Assistant Sec.

County Derry—Dr. Joseph E. Mullan, Member of National Directory.

County Carlow—Michael Governey, Executive Officer.

East Clare Executive U.I.L.—Eugene Duffy, President.

South King's County Executive—J. W. McDonnell, Hon. Secretary.

County Carlow—Patrick Hanlon, Executive Officer.

County Kilkenny—Edward Corr, Co. C., Executive Officer.

County Wexford—Daniel McDonald, Executive Officer.

County Donegal C.C.—Michael Cassidy, J.P.

South Wexford—Edmund Doyle, Member of National Directory.

North King's County Divisional Executive U.I.L.—John Egan, Chairman.

County Galway—Patrick Larkin, Co. C.

County Galway—Edward J. King.

County Galway Executive U.I.L.—Martin Finnerty, Hon. Sec.

North Mayo Executive—M. B. Durcan, Co. C., Vice-President.

North Roscommon Executive—Thos. Coleman.

North Westmeath Executive—Owen Wickham, J.P., Vice-President.

South Meath Executive—P. J. Newman, Secretary.

South Longford Executive—Francis MacGuinness, Vice-Chairman, U.D.C., and Hon. Secretary.

East Donegal Executive—Geo. Magee, J.P.

Member of National Directory for West Limerick—David J. Madden.

Derry City Divisional Executive—William Logue, Secretary.

Carlow Divisional Executive—John J. Duggan, Hon. Treasurer.

Co. Clare—Arthur Stritch, Executive Officer.

Co. Kilkenny—Denis O'Carroll, Executive Officer.

Co. Donegal Divisional Executive—James Boyle, Solicitor, Secretary.

North Louth Executive—James Marmon, V.P.

South Fermanagh Executive—James Owens, D.C.

South Tipperary Executive—Daniel Kelly, J.P., C.U.C., Secretary.

Co. Galway—Nicholas O'Connor, Member of Nat. Directory.

Mid-Cork—Patrick O'Connell, J.P., R.D.C., Member of Nat. Directory.

St. Patrick's Executive—(Dublin City)—James Vaughan, T.C.

West Cavan Executive—Patk. White, D.C., V.P.

North Meath Executive—Matthew Gartland, Co. C.

North Roscommon Executive—Charles Sheeran.

North Longford Executive U.I.L.—Patrick Quinn, Hon. Sec.

Cavan Co. Council—Thomas O'Reilly, V.C., Hon. Sec., W.C., D.E., U.I.L.

East Cavan District Executive—J. C. Geoghegan, Sec.

Co. Roscommon—Patrick Regan, Co. C., Member of National Directory.

Limerick City Executive—Timothy Ryan, Mayor of Limerick.

Co. Mayo Executive—John Corcoran.

South Cork Executive—Timothy Sheehy, Chairman.

Co. Tipperary, South Riding—John M'Quish, Vice-Chairman S.R. Co. Council.

West Clare Executive U.I.L.—Timothy Keane, Hon. Sec.

Co. Leitrim—Dr. Patrick Mulcahy, Member of National Directory.

Co. Galway Executive—Thos. Collins, Co. C.

North Tipperary Executive—Mortimer Gleeson, D.C., Vice-President.

West Clare Executive U.I.L.—Matthew Kelly, Vice-Chairman.

Co. Kerry Executive—Daniel M. O'Connor.

Mid-Cork Executive—John O'Shea, Chairman, Urban Council, Macroom, Hon. Sec.

Co. Donegal—James M'Daid, Member of National Directory and Secretary of Executive.

East Tyrone Executive U.I.L.—Wm. Jno. Harbison.

North Galway Executive—Patrick Dermody, Chairman.

East Limerick Executive—John Colman, Treasurer.

Co. Clare Executive (West)—Laurence Whelan, Co. C.

Limerick City Executive—John Dundon.

East Waterford Executive—Laurence Power, V.P.

North Fermanagh Divisional Executive—Bernard Maguire, Secretary.

North Mayo Executive—Wm. Jennings, Secretary.

East Limerick Executive—Wm. Gleeson, V.P.

West Cork—Denis O'Leary, V.P.

Dublin City (Stephen's Green Division)—John M. Cogan, T.C., Member Nat. Directory.

South Donegal Divisional Executive—Mgr. Walker, P.P., V.F., Archdeacon of Raphoe, President.

South Meath Executive—Thomas Halligan, J.P., President.

North Donegal Executive—Charles Faulkner, V.P.

East Down Executive—Edward M'Greevy, J.P., Assistant Hon. Sec.

Mid-Armagh Executive—John Hughes, Sec.

East Down Executive—Charles M. Russell, Solicitor.

East Tipperary Executive—Patrick Lalor, D.C., Hon. Sec.

King's County (Birr)—William Lowry, Chairman.

East Limerick Executive—Samuel P. Harris, President.

North Meath Executive—Patk. Boyle, Member of National Directory.

North Galway Executive—Thomas Sloyan, Hon. Sec.

South Tyrone Divisional Executive—Wm. Early.

South Wexford Executive—William M. Corcoran (Hon. Sec.)

East Cork Executive—Charles O'Brien, (V.C.)

North Longford Executive—James O'Neill, Co. C., Nat. Director (Pres.)

Belfast Executive—Daniel M'Cann (V.P.)

City of Dublin—W. J. Shields, Member of National Directory (St. Patrick's Division).

Co. Tipperary—John Walsh, representative on Directory for Mid-Tipperary.

North Dublin Executive—T. P. Murphy (Hon. Secretary).

Co. Limerick (East) Executive—Michl. O'Donnell (Hon. Secretary).

East Waterford Executive—John M'Carthy (Chairman).

Co. Leitrim—Thomas Fallon, O.D.E.

South Meath Executive—Wm. Lynch (Treasurer).



Co. Waterford (West)—Dr. P. R. (ex-Officer).

King's County.—John Delany (Officer of Divisional Executive).

County Louth—Patrick Kearney (Executive Officer).

East Tipperary—Edward Anglin, M.C.C. (Member of National Directory).

South Sligo Executive—Thomas Cawley (Secretary).

South Westmeath Executive—Eugene J. Robins (President).

East Cavan Executive—Michael J. Leavey, J.P. (V.P.).

South Monaghan—Peter Coyle, Divisional Director.

Granard—Very Rev. T. Maguire, P.P. (President).

Belfast Divisional Executive—John J. Roland, Secretary.

Co. Tyrone, East—John Doris, J.P., M.C.C., Member of National Directory.

Mid-Tipperary Executive U.I.L.—John Fitzgerald, Hon. Sec.

Cork Divisional Executive—Patrick O'Leary, Solicitor, Treasurer.

Co. Armagh—Patrick Donnelly, Solr.

North Wexford Executive—John Bolger, J.P.

East Kerry Executive—T. M. Fleming.

North Sligo Executive—Wm. Frazer, V.P.

South Galway Executive—John Gilchrist, Hon. Sec.

Co. Cork—Wm. Sullivan, Member National Directory.

North Westmeath Executive U.I.L.—Patrick J. Weymes, J.P.

North Mayo Executive—Rev. B. M. Quinn, Adm.; P. W. Durkan, John Corcoran, Co. C.

East Cork Executive—Daniel Murphy, Assist. Secretary.

South Down Divisional Executive—P. D. Savage, Assist. Sec.

East Down Executive—Ed. Drake, Vice-Chairman.

Co. Waterford—Wm. Stack, R.D.C., U.D.C., ex-Officer.

Co. Tipperary (East)—Thomas Trehy.

Co. Monaghan—John Lennon, Officer of Divisional Executive.

Co. Dublin—John D. Nugent, P.L.G., Member of National Directory.

South Roscommon Executive—D. J. Kelly, V.C.

West Limerick Executive—Edward D. Liston, D.C.

South Tipperary Executive—John Bourke, V.P.

South Longford—Thomas Duffy, Nat. Director.

South Armagh—Thomas O'Hare, J.P., Co. C. and D.C.

North Tipperary—John Kennedy, Member of National Directory.

South Leitrim Executive—P. Gannon, Officer.

West Clare Executive—Patrick Garry, Co. C., Treasurer.

North Louth Executive—Peter Hughes, V.C., U.D.C., P.L.G., Secretary.

North Galway Executive—James Glynn, Treasurer.

South Cork Divisional Executive—Timothy Kearney, J.P., Vice-President.

East Wicklow Divisional Executive—Wm. Byrne, J.P., Vice-President.

King's Co. Executive—John Molloy, Treasurer.

Queen's Co.—James Conroy, Co. C.

West Waterford Divisional Executive—Alex. Heskin, Secretary.

South Sligo Executive—James Hannan, J.P.

North-East Cork Executive—Thomas Nash, V.C.

North Kilkenny Executive—Michael Rice.

East Down Executive—William F. Smyth, Hon. Sec.

South Monaghan Divisional Executive—James Keenan, Treasurer.

West Cavan Executive—James Harman, Co. C., Treasurer.

## COUNTY COUNCILS.

Westmeath Co. C.—J. E. Dowdall, Chairman, Co. C.; A. T. F. Briscoe, J.P.; Wm. Casey, James Eighan, Hugh O'Neill, J.P.; C. Hannon, J.P.

Birr, U.D.C. (King's County)—John Dooly, J.P.; Wm. F. Meara.

Pembroke U.D.C. (Dublin)—Chas. P. O'Neill, Wm. Mills Forsyth.

Killiney and Ballybrack U.D.C.—E. B. Healy, Wm. Maher.

Tipperary Board of Guardians—Wm. Conway, Richard Harly.

Clonmel, R.C. No. 2 (Co. Waterford)—William M'Eniry.

Kilkenny Co. C. (Kilkenny)—John Butler, J.P.; Jas. J. Dooley, Joseph Walsh, J.P.; John F. Smithwick, J.P.; Thomas Harrington, James Walsh.

Galway Board of Guardians—Daniel Moloney, Robert F. Mullery.

Tipperary No. 2 R.D.C.—Jeremiah Duggan, John M'Carthy.

Clonmel (Tipperary) R.D.C. No. 1—Patrick Stokes, T. Delaney.

New Ross (Wexford) U.D.C.—Peter Murphy, Peter N. O'Gorman.

Midleton U.C. (Cork)—Richard Fitzgerald, Patrick D. Moore.

Thurles U.C. (Tipperary)—Joseph M'Cormack, William Leahy.

Castleblayney U.C. (Monaghan)—John O'Farrell, Peter Corrigan.

Cashel Co. C. (Tipperary, S.R.)—Ml. M'Devitt, Dr. Laffan.

Tullamore U.D.C. (King's Co.)—Laurance Roe, J.P., Chairman; Jos. Kearney.

Bagenalstown Town Commissioners (Carlow)—Chris. Cleary, John Jordan.  
Fethard Town Commissioners (Tipperary)—Patrick McCarthy, Patrick Gearon.

Trim U.D.C. (Meath)—Francis C. O'Reilly, Edward Higgins.

Ardee Town Commissioners (Louth)—James Halpeenny, James Byrne.

Rathkeale Town Commissioners (Limerick)—P. T. Liston, Solr.: J. T. B. Hayes, M.D., J.P.

Galway U.C.—Martin Mc'Donogh. H. M. A. Murphy.

Carrick-on-Shannon No. 2 R.D.C. (Roscommon)—John J. Doyle, Chairman; John Neary, V.C.

Athy U.D.C. (Kildare)—Dr. Jerh. O'Neill, J.P.; John A. Duncan, J.P.

Macroom U.C. (Cork)—Timothy J. Twomey, J.P.; Denis Lynch

Queenstown U.D.C. (Cork)—Charles O'Callaghan, J.P., Chairman; Richd. Hennessy.

North Dublin R.D.C.—Thomas Kelly Tighe, James McKenna.

Crossmaglen R.D.C. (Armagh)—Patk. McConville, J.P.; James Donaghy.

Wicklow C.C.—Michael Byrne, J.P.; Joseph McCarroll, James Galvin, Joseph W. Reigh, J.P.; J. J. Reilly, D. J. Cogan.

Dublin C.C.—P. J. O'Neill, J.P.; James Collins, R. A. Butler, J.P.; G. K. O'Farrell, Jos. O'Neill, J.P.; Archdale Graham, J.P.

Galway R.D.C.—Michl. McNeill, J.P.; Patrick Curran.

Swinford R.D.C. (Mayo)—Michael F. Campbell, Joseph A. Mulligan.

Loughrea R.D.C. (Galway)—Patrick Riordan, J.P.; Thomas Ryan, Co. C.

Castlebar U.C. (Mayo)—Patrick Timlin, John Fogarty.

Tullamore R.D.C. (King's Co.)—Jas. Moran, J.P.; John Bucklev.

Tullamore Board of Guardians (King's County)—James Mahon, V.C.; Michael H. White, D.V.C.

Dungarvan Board of Guardians (Waterford)—Michael Ryan, Michael Flynn.

Dungarvan R.D.C. (Waterford)—Thomas Flynn, Martin Dunford.

Louth R.D.C. of Drogheda Union—Patrick Donegan, Laurence Murphy.

Meath R.D.C. of Drogheda Union—Wm. Courtney, J.P.; Captain James Lyons.

Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians (Waterford)—Thomas Tobin, J.P. Geo. Crowley.

Kilmacthomas R.D.C. (Waterford)—Michael Power, N. Fitzgerald.

Youghal U.D.C. (Cork)—Wm. Broderick, Denis Doyle.

Lisnaskea R.D.C. (Fermanagh)—James O'Donnell, Peter Clarke.

Glenties R.D.C. (Donegal)—Patrick O'Donnell, J.P.; Patk. J. Mc'Nelis.

Newbridge Town Commissioners (Kildare)—Peter Kelly, J.P.; Thomas O'Rourke.

Lismore Town Commissioners, Waterford)—Patk. O'Gorman, Andw. Hickey.

Kildare County Council—M. J. Minch, George Wolfe, John Healy, Michael Fitzsimons, Patrick Phelan, James Sunderland.

Longford County Council—Thomas Kiernan, John Masterson, Peter Igoe, Patrick Higgins, James Ross, John Doherty.

Tipperary (N.R.) County Council—Thomas Duggan, Patrick Fogarty, Rody Donohue, Martin Bourke, Carroll N. Nagle, Hugh P. Ryan.

Londonderry County Council—Hugh Laughen, P. McCloskey, J.P.; John Keenan, J.P.; Charles Heron, Joe. Davison.

Louth County Council—Joseph H. M'Ardle, M.C.C.; James McCarthy, J.P.; Peter Hughes, J.P.; William Doran, J.P.; William Woods, J.P.; Patrick Mc'Gee, M.C.C.

King's County Council (Tullamore) Wm. Corbett, J.P.; Charles Doorley, Denis Doorley, J.P.; Edward Dooly, Matthew Moore, James Scally.

Glennamaddy Board of Guardians and Rural District Council (Galway)—John McNeill, D.C.; Patrick Egan.

Urban District Council of Blackrock (Dublin)—Laurence Wickham, J.P.; (Chairman); Michael Meers, J.P.; (Vice-Chairman).

Cork Board of Guardians—Michael McCarthy, P.L.G.; David Murphy, P.L.G.

Carrick-on-Shannon No. 1 Rural District Council (Leitrim)—John Rutledge, (Vice-Chairman), Thomas Flynn (Deputy Vice-Chairman).

Limerick No. 1 R.D.C.—Patk. Hassett, D.C.; Joseph Cahill, D.C.

Fermoy Urban Council (Cork)—John Sheehan (Chairman); Edmond J. Quinlan, J.P. (Vice-Chairman).

Skibbereen R. D. Council (Cork)—James M. Burke, B.L.; Cornelius O'Driscoll.

Skibbereen Board of Guardians (Cork)—P. J. Collins, Solicitor; Michl. Long, P.L.G.

Donegal Board of Guardians—Michael Dunnion, Pat Gillespie.

Kilkenny Board of Guardians—John Magennis, Michael Sexton.

Kilkenny Rural District Council—P. F. Byrne, Kyran White.

Killarney Rural District Council (Kerry)—Florence O'Sullivan, J.P.; James O'Shea.

Killarney Board of Guardians

(Kerry)—James T. O'Connor, J.P.; Thomas Leslie.

Corporation of Sligo—Alderman John Jinks, Alderman T. Flanagan, J.P.; Alderman Edward Foley, J.P.; Alderman James P. Higgins, J.P.; Alderman John Connolly, J.P.; Councillor Edward Kelly.

Cloneygowan Rural District Council (King's County)—Michael Dempsey, Michael Moran.

Waterford County Council—Patrick O'Gorman, J.P.; James J. Walsh, John Greene, Thomas Power, Michael Power, P. W. Kenny.

Wexford County Council—John Bolger, J.P.; Thomas Asple, James Codd, J.P.; Michael Doyle, Michael Doyle, Michael Cloney, J.P.

Nenagh Urban District Council (Tipperary, N.R.)—James O'Meara, Philip Purcell, M.D.

Tyrone County Council—Thomas J. S. Harkam, Solicitor; John Doris, J.P.; Wm. Early, Solicitor; James Higgins, Bernard Doogan, Jas. Carr, J.P.

Enniscorthy Rural District Council (Wexford)—James Lynch, Thomas Hayes, Thomas Cleary, James Doyle.

Wicklow Urban District Council—Ml. John O'Brien, Francis Murphy.

Mullingar Town Commissioners (Westmeath)—P. W. Shaw, Patrick Brett.

Clones Urban District Council (Monaghan)—Hugh Gordon (Chairman), Francis Maguire, J.P.

Tipperary South Riding County Council—Michael Slattery (Chairman); John M'Quish (Vice-Chairman); Dr. John F. O'Ryan, Francis Heffernan, J.P.; P. P. Moloney, John J. Kennedy.

Keady U.D.C. (Armagh)—Ml. Smyth, J.P.; Bernard Fegan.

Tobercurry R.D.C. (Sligo)—Martin J. M'Manus, J.P.; Peter Jas. M'Dermott.

Monaghan Co. C.—Thomas Toal, J.P.; John Smyth, J.P.; Peter Mullan, J.P.; B. O'Rourke, J.P.; John Coleman, Patrick Flanagan, J.P.

Carrick-on-Suir R.D.C. (Tipperary)—J. J. Quinlan, John Blanchfield.

Killarney U.D.C. (Kerry)—Eugene O'Sullivan, J.P.; James D. O'Shea.

Carlow U.D.C.—Ebenezer Shackleton, John Brennan.

Ballymore R.D.C. (Westmeath)—William Lennon, Thomas Casey.

Ballinamore R.D.C. (Leitrim)—Ml. Bannon, Thomas Keegan.

Rathdown No. 2 R.D.C. (Wicklow)—John J. Healy, John Kelly.

Kilkeel R.D.C. (Down)—John Haughian, Patrick Grant.

Balrothery R.D.C. (Dublin)—Richard J. Rooney, J.P.; Thomas L. Smyth.

Roscrea No. 1 R.D.C. (Tipperary, N.R.)—James Dwyer, J.P.; Michael Guidera.

Portumna Board of Guardians and District Council (Galway)—Laurence Taylor, Michael Dillon.

Glin R.D.C. (Limerick)—Edward M. Dore, Roger Behan.

Lismore R.D.C. (Waterford)—John M'Grath, J.P.; James Vincent O'Brien, Limerick No. 2 D.C.—B. Skehan, J.P.; E. O'Dwyer.

Limerick Board of Guardians—The Lady Emly, Mrs. M'Donnell.

Wexford R.D.C.—Patrick Rossiter, Wm. R. Devereux.

Downpatrick R.D.C. (Down)—Charles E. Greene, Edward M'Quaid, J.P.

Dingle Board of Guardians (Kerry)—Jonathan Moriarty, R.D.C.; Michael O'Donnell, J.P.

Manorhamilton Board of Guardians (Leitrim)—Thomas M'Govern, James Lynott.

Castlebar Board of Guardians (Mayo)—Joseph Gilmartin, John Cannon.

Castlebar R.D.C.—Patrick Higgins, Martin Hapkins.

Enniskillen U.C. (Fermanagh)—Patk. Flanagan, Thomas Keenan.

Dungarvan U.C. (Waterford)—John V. Kiely, Denis Lyons.

Trim Board of Guardians (Meath)—Thomas J. Hewitt, James Gelsinan.

Enniskillen Board of Guardians (Fermanagh)—John Crozier, J.P.; J. P. Gillin.

Skebberreen U.C. (Cork)—Cornelius O'Shea, J.P.; P. J. Byrne, M.D.

Armagh U.D.C.—Michael Short, Chairman; Joseph M'Kenna.

Rathdrum R.D.C. (Wicklow)—Patrick Short, John Barry.

Rathdrum Board of Guardians—Wm. Byrne, J.P.; John Storey.

Ballinrobe R.D.C. (Mayo)—Patk. J. Costello, Arthur Morris.

Ballinrobe Board of Guardians (Mayo)—Patk. Lydon, James Clarke.

Ballyshannon Town Commissioners (Donegal)—Edward Stephens, Peter Campbell.

Croom Rural District Council (Limerick)—John Colman, J.P. (Chairman), Peter M'Carthy.

Caherciveen Rural District Council (Kerry)—E. Fitzgerald, J.P.; D. J. O'Connell.

Mitchelstown No. 2 R. D. Council (Limerick)—Robert Daly, Morgan O'Brien, J.P.

Enniskillen No. 2 Rural District, Blacklion (Cavan)—Patrick Gallen, Patrick Nolan.

Belleek District Council (Fermanagh) Hugh Gallagher, Felix Leonard.

Kenmare Rural District Council (Kerry)—Timothy J. O'Sullivan, J.P.; David Doran.

Longford Urban Council—Thomas Stafford, Joseph M'Guren.



Thomastown District Council (Kilkenny)—P. M'Donald, J.P.; Wm. Walsh.  
 Strokestown District Council (Roscommon)—Joseph Maguire, Jas. Carlos.

Dunmanway Rural District Council (Cork)—Timothy Corcoran, Richard O'Donovan.

Oughterard Rural District Council (Galway)—T. F. Naughton, V.C.; P. D. Conroy, J.P.

Mitchelstown No. 1 Rural District Council (Cork)—James M'Grath, J.P.; Michael Walsh.

Baltinglass No. 2 R. D. Council (Carlow)—Joseph P. Nolan, P. Butler, J.P.

Tuam Rural District Council (Galway)—John W. Ronaldson, J. P. M'Donogh.

Yonghal No. 2 Rural District Council (Waterford)—Maurice Doyle, John Flavin, J.P.

Inishowen R.D.C. (Donegal)—Patrick M'Daid, J.P.; John Cavanagh.

Ballinasloe No. 1 Rural District Council (Galway)—Patrick Larkin, Thomas Cahill.

Ardee No. 2 Rural District Council (Meath)—Jas. Gammons, Jas. Callan.

Sligo Rural District Council—Bernard Harte, J.P.; Roger Davey, J.P.

Edenderry No. 3 R.D.C. (Meath)—Simon V. Herbert, O. K. Gasteen.

South Dublin Rural District Council 1, James's-street, Dublin—M. P. Flood, J.P.; John J. Lawlor, J.P.

Kilrush Rural District Council (Clare)—Michael Mescal, J.P.; Thomas Tully, J.P.

Carrickmacross Rural District Council and Board of Guardians—B. O'Rourke, J.P.; Edward Kelly, J.P.; Peter Flanagan, James Shevlin, jun.

Omagh Rural District Council (Tyrone)—Daniel M'Nulty, J.P.; James Quinn.

Naas No. 1 Rural District Council (Kildare)—J. S. O'Grady, J.P.; Patrick Monahan, J.P. (Chairman).

Ennis Rural District Council (Clare)—Daniel O'Brien, J.P.; Owen Hegarty.

Kells Urban Council (Meath)—Patk. Reilly, Charles O'Hea.

Abbeyleix Rural District Council (Queen's County)—Michael Kelly, Edward Fitzpatrick.

Monntbellew Rural District Council (Galway)—Andrew Kenny, Michael Fallon.

Newcastle Urban Council (Down)—Matthew King, J.P.; Ber. M'Nulty, T.C.

Down County Council—James L. Savage, J.P.; Edward Drake, Henry M'Grath, Henry Loughran, J.P.; J. F. Small, Solr.; Matthew King J.P.

Rathdown Board of Guardians (Dublin)—Thos. Clarke, Edward Field.

Rathdown No. 1 Rural District Council

(Dublin)—Michael Broderick, Bernard Rogan.

Belfast Board of Guardians—James M'Donnell, John Diffin.

Carrick-on-Suir No. 2 R.D.C. (Waterford)—John Sheehan, John Hanley.

Kilmallock R.D.C. (Limerick)—T. W. W. Bennett, Patrick Hayes.

Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians (Counties Tipperary, Waterford and Kilkenny)—Thos. F. Morrissey, Thomas O'Grady.

Tipperary No. 1 R.D.C.—Denis Quinlan, W. R. Russell.

Bray U.D.C. (Wicklow)—James M. Magee, J.P.; J. W. Reigh, J.P.

Athy No. 2 R.D.C. (Queen's County)—Thomas Timmons, Denis Shortall.

Macroom Board of Guardians (Cork)—Michael Purcell, John O'Connor.

Macroom R.D.C. (Cork)—John Fitzgerald, Thomas Carroll.

Mountmellick R.D.C. (Queen's Co.)—James J. Aird, J.P., Co. C., Chairman; James O'Brien, Vice-Chairman.

Strabane U.D.C. (Tyrone)—Edward Gallagher, J.P.; Charles Browne.

Dundalk Board of Guardians (Louth)—Patrick Byrne, J.P. (Chairman); Bernard J. Roe, V.C.

Dundalk R.D.C. (Louth)—William Woods, J.P. (Chairman); William M'Entaggart, V.C.

Killadysert Board of Guardians and R.D.C. (Clare)—M. P. Kelly, M. Garry.

Naas No. 2 R.D.C. (Wicklow)—Laurence Hanlon, Chairman; Myles Healy, J.P.

Waterford Corporation—Cr. M. Kirwan, Mayor; Ald. O'Sullivan, High Sheriff; Ald. Power, Ald. Whittle, Ald. M. Quinlan, Ald. Hearne, Cr. W. P. Maher, Cr. J. Higgins.

Waterford Board of Guardians (Waterford and Kilkenny)—David Hyland, Chairman; Matthew Cassin.

Slievemargy R.D.C. (Queen's County)—Patrick Brennan, John M'Donald.

Westport R.D.C. (Mayo)—John Fadden, John Burnes.

Maryborough Town Commissioners (Queen's County)—Joseph Bannan, C.T.C.; Thomas Cushion.

Ennis U.D.C. (Clare)—W. Teirney, P. E. Kenneally, J.P.

Newry No. 1 R.D.C. (Down)—Patrick Connolly, Bernard Morgan.

Celbridge No. 1 R.D.C. (Kildare)—M. Kavanagh, R. N. Ronaldson.

Belfast Corporation—Alderman W. J. Moore, J.P., C.E.; Alderman Richd. Byrne, Councillor Joseph Donnelly, Solicitor; Councillor M. H. Aicken, M.D., J.P.; Councillor James M'Entee, Councillor John Collins, Councillor Patk. Dempsey, J.P.; Councillor M. M'Keown.

Rathkeale D.C. (Limerick)—Maurice Conway, T. B. Naughton.

Gort D.C. (Galway)—Thomas P. Corless, Thomas Galbraith.

Gorey Town Commissioners (Wexford) Daniel Donohoe, C.T.C.; Denis Carton, T.C.

Edenderry No. 1. R.D.C. (King's Co.)—Thos. Hume, Patrick Lynane.

Longford Board of Guardians—Patrick McCann, P. J. Mallon.

Bawnboy R.D.C. (Cavan)—John Prior, Thomas Magee.

Athlone No. 1 R.D.C. (Westmeath)—Patrick Flanagan, J.P.; F. Daly.

Birr No. 2 R.D.C. (Tipperary)—Ml. A. L. Kennedy, Michael Hogan.

Granard U.D.C. (Longford)—Patk. O'Reilly, J.P., C.U.D.C.; John Ledwith.

Newry No. 2 R.D.C.—John O'Callaghan, J.P.; Wm. J. Hanna.

Newry U.D.C.—Hugh J. McConville, J.P.; Patk. McCaffery.

Birr No. 1 R.D.C.—Mr. John Bergin, Mr. Patrick Egan.

Birr Board of Guardians—Mr. Ml. J. Horan, Mr. Ml. Masterson.

Derry Corporation—Aldermen James E. O'Doherty, Thomas M'Carter, Patrick Campbell, Charles O'Neill, Councillors Henry M'Keown, Patrick M'Callion, Geo. Doherty, Hugh Barr.

Granard R.D.C.—Patrick Cahill, Ml. M'Cormick.

Coole R.D.—Patrick Fitzgerald, Richd. Hart.

Athlone Urban Council—M. Lennon, J.P.; O. Dolan.

Boyle Board of Guardians—M. Gray, Chairman; J. M. Cryan, J.P.

Boyle No. 1 District Council—J. Keavny, J.P., Chairman; J. Sharkey, V.C.

Boyle No. C. District Council—J. M. Cryan, J.P., Chairman; J. J. Curren.

Monaghan R.D.C.—Cornelius Leonard, Chairman; Thomas Murphy.

Monaghan Board of Guardians—Patk. Kieran, James M'Mahon, P.L.G.

Ballycastle R.D.C.—Hugh M'Gill, W. G. B. Hayes, J.P.

Clifden Board of Guardians and R.D.C.—John Burke, J.P.; Michael Joyce, M.C.C.

Shillelagh R.D.C.—John V. Gahan, J.P.; Laurence Mallick.

Limerick Co. C.—Wm. R. Gubbins, J.P.; M. P. O'Shaughnessy, J.P.; John Coleman, J.P.; Michael Quinlan, J.P.; Edward B. Daly, J.P.; John J. O'Mahony.

Queen's Co. C.—John Byrne, J.P.; Michael Fitzpatrick, J.P.; F. J. Corbet, J.P.; Jas. Conroy, Daniel Quigley, Michael Drury.

Ballina R.D.C.—M. Davis, M. J. Melvin.

Ballina Board of Guardians—J. Lawrence, W. F. Craig.

Kilbeggan R.D.C.—Joseph Dwyer, Chairman; K. Molloy, V.C.

Midleton R.D.C. and Board of Guardians—Jeremiah Conway, Maurice Linehan, Batt Power, Edmond O'Brien.

Dungannon U.D.C.—Joseph Greene, Patrick Campbell.

Loughrea Town Commissioners—Patk. Kennedy, Patrick Finnegan.

Letterkenny U.D.C.—Thomas Mulhern, J.P.; Patk. Doherty, senr.

Urlingford (Kilkenny) R.D.C.—Wm. O'Connell, J.P.; Ml. FitzGerald, J.P.

Nenagh R.D.C.—Thomas M'Soby, Patrick Boufield, Mrs. Madge Powell, James Meagher, J.P.

Clonakilty U.D.C.—T. J. Canty, J.P., M.C.C., Chairman, U.D.C.; Thomas Hill, J.P.

Roscrea No. 3 R.D.C.—John Fitzgerald, Patrick Kavanagh.

Navan R.D.C.—Patrick Dunne, Owen Boylan.

Navan Board of Guardians—Chris. Quinn, John P. Timmon.

Fermanagh County Council—John Col-lum, Chairman; Patrick Blake, Thomas Gavin, John M'Hugh.

Castlecomer R.D.C.—Daniel Brennan, Michael Brennan.

Kilrush R.D.C.—Thomas Ryan, V.C.; Michael O'Meara.

Ballybay Town Commissioners—Ed. Smith, Chairman; Francis Reilly, Vice-Chairman.

Carlow Co. C.—Walter McM. Kavanagh, Patrick Hanton, Michael Governey, Charles F. M'Nally, Edw. T. Hughes, Patrick Deering.

Listowel Rural District Council—Thomas Keane, J.P.; John Boland, J.P.

North Dublin Union Guardians—John Carolan, J.P.; Denis Lynch, P.L.G.

Carrickmacross Urban Council—Alex. Fennell, J.P.; Thomas MacMahon.

Listowel (Co. Kerry) Guardians—John Holsier, Wm. L. Fitzgerald.

Baltinglass R.D. No. 1—D. J. Kehoe, Edw. Cusack.

Bailieborough Board of Guardians and R.D.C.—P. J. Carroll, Bernard O'Reilly.

Kanturk Board of Guardians and R.D.C.—J. D. O'Connor, J.P.; J. M. O'Connor, R.D.C.

Kinlough D.C.—James M'Gurran, J.P.; Felix Rooney.

Ballyshannon D.C.—Thomas O'Gorman, J.P., C.D.C.; Patrick M'Nulty, D.C.

Cavan R.D.C.—Patrick Cusack, Thos. Smith.

Ardee No. 1 R.D.C.—William A. Doran, Anthony Malone.

Dunshaughlin R.D.C.—William Lynch, Andrew Halligan.

Dalkey U.D.C.—Gerald H. Murphy, Charles M'Gowan.



Ballinasloe Urban Council—Andrew J. Cahill, Michael Flanagan.

Ennisclorthy U.D.C.—Timothy O'Connor, John O'Reilly.

Dundalk Urban Council—Patrick Rice, U.D.C.; Thomas O'Rourke.

Tralee U.D.C.—J. M. Slattery, J.P., C.U.D.C.; Thomas Slattery, V.C., U.D.C.

Westport U.D.C.—Myles Staunton, J.P., Chairman of Council; James Ryan, Vice-Chairman

Templemore U.D.C.—John Maher, Rd. Meagher.

Corofin R.D.C.—H. J. Hunt, Daniel McGann,

Warrenpoint Urban Council—Patrick O'Neill, Michael Hourican.

Gorey District Council—P. J. Fanning, J.P.; Arthur B. Brennan, D. Kennealy, Michael Lyons.

Kilkenny Corporation—Alderman J. Purcell, Mayor; Alderman M. L. Potter, J.P.; E. T. Keane T.C.; P. Rowan, T.C.; John Morris, T.C.; T. Steward, T.C.

Clare Co. C.—J. J. Daly, LL.B.; Jas. O'Regan, P. J. Linnane, Batt. Crowley, Michael Considine, Michael Leyden.

Cavan Co. C.—T. P. McKenna, Chairman; William Fitzpatrick, Ml. P. Brady, John T. Gogarty, Peter E. Farrelly, Thomas Brady.

Galway Co. C.—T. G. Griffin, Chairman; Michael McNeill, Chairman, Finance Committee; P. J. O'Malley, Vice-Chairman; John Lohan, Thomas Collins, James Joyce.

Meath Co. C.—Thomas Halligan, J.P.; Wm. Martin, J.P.; P. J. Kennedy, J.P.; James O'Reilly, George McIvor, James E. McGlew.

Edenderry Town Commissioners—Denis Fay, J.P., Chairman, J. P. H. Patterson.

Callan Town Commissioners—Michael Shelly, Martin C. Hayden.

Clonmel Corporation—The Right Worshipful Councillor John Meehan, Councillors Michael O'Connell, Edward Burke, Daniel O'Meara, John Magner, Patk. J. Condon.

Limerick Corporation—Michael Dooley, B.C.; Daniel Hannen, B.C.; Alderman J. O'Brien, Alderman P. Dillon, M. O'Callaghan, B.C.; Jas. Gilligan, B.C.; Alderman P. O'Donovan, Robert Frost, B.C.

Newcastle West Town Commissioners—John Phelan, Joseph P. Cregan.

Donegal County Council—James Dunlevy, Solr.; William Gallagher, J.P.; Michael Cassidy, J.P.; Edw. Gallagher, John E. Boyle, William Kelly, Solr.

Belmullet U.D.C.—Patrick Reilly, Chairman; Terence Hamilton, J.P.

Monaghan U.D.C.—Francis Tierney, J.P.; James McMahon.

Sligo Co. C.—James Durkin, J.P.; Patrick Cummins, Peter Cawley, John M'Loughlin, E. J. O. Cooke, J.P.; B. V. Kelly, J.P.; H. T. M. Carrick, J.P. Tipperary U.D.C.—Matthew W. O'Connell, Richard Cavanagh. Fermanagh R.D.C.—John Maguire, James Coulson.

Tuam Town Improvement Commissioners—Jas. McDonnell, Michael Shine.

Cork Corporation—Right Hon. James Simcox, William Hart, T.C.; J. F. O'Sullivan, T.C.; Henry O'Shea, Alderman; Daniel Horgan, T.C.; William Desmond, T.C.; Thomas Stack, Alderman R. H. Tilson, T.C.

Leitrim Co. C.—Thomas McDermott, Thomas Fallon, J.P.; Patk. Maguire, R. P. Wallace, J.P.; James O'Rorke, Thomas McGivney.

Stranorlar Board of Guardians and Rural District Council—George Magee, J.P.; James Connolly, Frs. Calaghan, J.P.; Michael Devine.

Corporation of Drogheda—His Worship the Mayor (Alderman Thos. McCullough), Alderman S. Jordan, J.P.; Alderman P. Lyons, J.P.; Councillors W. T. Skeffington, J.P.; John Dolan, T. V. McQuillan.

Milford R.D.C. (Donegal)—Patrick M'Gettigan, Patrick Sheils.

Drogheda Union Board of Guardians—Peter Lynch, J.P., Vice-Chairman; James S. Kelly.

Castleblayney R.D.C.—James Geoghegan, D. Coyle Geelan (Clerk of the Council).

Cork C. C.—D. N. O'Gorman, J. D. O'Connor, J. N. Burke, Tim Corcoran, T. Sheehy, John Farrell.

Municipal Council and Borough of Wexford—Howard Rowe, Joseph Kelly, T.C.; James Ffrench, C.C.; P. J. Carroll, T.C.; James Sinnott, Alderman; James J. Stafford, Alderman.

Arklow U.D.C.—Peter Kavanagh, Ml. Tyrrell.

Kerry Co. C.—D. M. Moriarty, M. J. Nolan, J.P.; William Barrett, Pat Trant, J.P.; John Bailly, Maurice FitzGerald, J.P.

Ballymahon R.D.C.—Joseph Allard, John Killian.

Carlow R.D.C.—John Brophy, Thomas Bolger.

Schull Board of Guardians—Wm. Roycroft, John Cotter.

Cork R.D.C.—Michael Ahern, J.P., Chairman of Council; Edmond Russell.

Scariff R.D.C.—John O'Callaghan, John O'Brien.

Clones No. 1 R.D.C.—Michl. Connolly, jun.; Hugh Maguire.

Charleville R.D.C.—John J. O'Flaherty, John Cronin, J.P.

Kinsale R.D.C.—Patrick Horgan, Jerh. Lynch.

Cork Co. C.—D. L. O'Gorman, J. M. Burke, Ml. Barry, J. R. Daly, John Fitzgerald, T. Sheehy.

Municipal Council of the City of Dublin—The Right Hon. Lorcan G. Sherlock, Lord Mayor; Alderman James J. Kelly, High Sheriff; Councillor Miss Harrison, Alderman Gerald O'Reilly, Alderman Delahunt, Denis J. Cogan, T.C.; Chris. Monks, T.C.; John Thornton, T.C.

South Dublin Union Board of Guardians—Charles J. Warner, Thomas Duffy, J.P.

Slievardagh R.D.C.—John Rooney, Thos. Corcoran

Carrick-on-Suir Urban Council—William Galvin, John Hurley.

Cork Harbour Commissioners—Sir James Long, J.P., Chairman; D. J. Lucy D. M. Barry.

### IRISH NATIONAL FORESTERS.

Sir Charles Russell, No. 240. I.N.F. (Lurgan, Co. Armagh)—James Casey, Patrick Lavery, John Hughes.

Gerald Griffin I.N.F. (City of Cork)—James Daly, T.C., P.L.G.; Patk. Foley, Treasurer; David Love, C.R.

Red Hugh O'Neill I.N.F. (Dublin District)—Hugh O'Rourke, Wm. C. Crimmins, Patrick Donnelly.

Northern Star, No. 20, I.N.F. (Antrim)—William Cahir, Patrick Curran, Thomas Kelly.

St. Michael, No. 626, I.N.F. (Cavan)—Michael Kelly, James Lynch, Patrick Smith.

St. Kyran I.N.F. (Kilkenny)—Patrick Morrissey, Thomas Buggy, Patk. Lennon.

Henry Joy McCracken, I.N.F. (Antrim, Belfast)—Patrick Lavery, LL.B.; Joseph Donnelly, Dr. M'Sparran, M.B.

Francis Davis I.N.F. (Ballymacarrett)—Patrick Meenan, Wm. McKenna, Fras. M'Auley.

Belfast District I.N.F.—P. J. Malone, James Loughrey, Hugh Murray.

St. Laurence O'Toole I.N.F. (City of Dublin)—B. J. Woods, Brother Chris. Kearns, Jas. Croke.

St. Laurence I.N.F. (Tyrone)—Owen Rodgers, Henry Neeson, Michael Gavin.

Dr. Nulty, 262, I.N.F. Mullingar (Westmeath)—Michael Scally, Joseph Bennett, Thomas Holohan.

John Martin I.N.F., 41, Rutland-sq., Dublin—Patrick Mahon, T.C., P.L.G.; John Dillon, John Hanlon.

Dunleary I.N.F. (Dublin)—Walter Doyle, John Dowling, Thomas Bunbury. Sunburst, 128, I.N.F. (City of Dublin)—James Doyle, Andrew Molloy, John J. Traynor.

William Redmond I.N.F. Delgany (Wicklow)—Michael Cullen. J. J. Clarke, W. Darcy.

Brian Boru I.N.F. (Clontarf, Dublin)—John Ryan, Maurice Shanahan, David McKay.

Father Moore I.N.F. (Kildare)—Chr. McKenna, T.C.; Morgan Duggan, Joseph Murphy.

Isle of the Sea I.N.F. (Dublin)—Wm. Kennedy, John Lennon, William Kinsella.

Old Bridge, Athlone, I.N.F. (Westmeath)—Michael Duffey, James Smith, James Naughten.

William Orr I.N.F. (Cookstown, Tyrone)—Jas. Mayne, John R. Rickard, Joseph O'Neill.

Bishop Kelly I.N.F. (Tyrone)—Joseph Boyce, George Kerr, James Given.

Anthony Marmion I.N.F. (Louth)—Robert Morton, Thomas M'Dermott, Jos. Murphy.

Robert Cranston, 150, I.N.F. (Tyrone)—Dr. J. J. Corr, Joseph Gartland, Jas. M'Ternon.

Dr. Leahy I.N.F. (Newry, Down)—Robert H. O'Rourke, U.C.; Dr. J. Kean, J.P., M.D., U.C.; John Quinn.

Robert Emmet (Castlebar) I.N.F. (Mayo)—Jas. Byrne, John Rodgers, T. Stanton.

Violated Treaty Branch I.N.F. (Limerick)—Alphonsus O'Halloran, Maurice Fitzgerald, Michael A. Daly.

Fontenoy Branch I.N.F. (Dublin)—James Mulvey, P. J. Corbett, Henry O'Hanlon.

Rising Sun Branch I.N.F. (Monaghan)—P. M'Are, C.R.; B. Lynch, P. Daly, Treasurer.

St. Dymphna Branch I.N.F. (Monaghan)—John Treanor, C.R.; John Duffy, Sec.; Patrick Murray.

Alexander Blain (Camlough) Branch I.N.F. (Co. Armagh)—John Dowds, Michael Kearney.

Farney (Carrickmacross) Branch I.N.F. (Co. Monaghan)—Thos. Nolan, Peter Finegan, Patk. Conlon.

Con of the Hundred Battles Branch I.N.F. (King's County)—Denis Kearney, C.R.; E. J. Graham, Thos. Conway, Solicitor.

Oliver Plunket (Ardee) Branch I.N.F. (Louth)—Matt Campbell, John Tierney, Thomas O'Neill.

Father Dempsey (Newcastle) Branch I.N.F. (Down)—John Fegan, James Rooney, Thos. Rafferty.

Myles the Slasher Branch I.N.F. (Cavan)—Jas. Sexton, Patk. Brady, John Johnston.

John Redmond Branch I.N.F. (Dublin)—Chris. Mooney, Jeremiah Dooley, Fk. O'Driscoll.

Devenish Branch I.N.F. Enniskillen (County Fermanagh)—J. P. Wray, C. Cavanagh, M. Flanagan.

Sons of St. Patrick Branch I.N.F.

(Dublin)—Thomas J. Loran, Robert Devlin, Richard Lambert.

Thomas Russell (Downpatrick) Branch I.N.F. (Down)—Joseph M'Greevy, Thos. Rogan.

C. J. Kickham Branch I.N.F. (Tipperary)—James Meelian, Charles Dillon, Richard Stapleton.

Ocean Star Branch I.N.F. (Dublin)—James Byrne, Arthur O'Neill, William Hoey.

St. Molaga Branch I.N.F. (Dublin)—John Derham, Michael Morrissey, P. J. Curtiss.

Dr. Croke Branch I.N.F. (Dublin)—Patrick Mullen, John Moylan, Thomas Slemen.

St. Macartan Branch I.N.F. (Monaghan)—John M'Dermott, Matt Marley, Patk. M'Carthy.

'98 (Dublin) I.N.F.—C. O'Flanagan, J. Carey, M. Radburne.

St. Peter (Antrim) I.N.F.—Daniel M'Cormack, Jas. Mackin.

The Geraldines, 657, Foxrock (Dublin) I.N.F.—Hugh Cumiam, James Byrne, Bertie Hickie.

St. Malachy I.N.F. (Belfast)—William M'Kenna, Edward H. Magennis, Robert J. Monahan.

A. J. McKenna I.N.F. (Belfast)—Daniel O'Hara, Joseph M'Auley, James Boyle.

Ben Edar I.N.F. (Dublin)—Geo. Radcliffe, Denis Finn, James Waldron.

Billy Byrne, No. 390, I.N.F. (Dublin)—Edward Kelly, Peter McGregor, Laurence Fox.

J. P. Leonard I.N.F. (Queenstown, Co. Cork) (East Cork E.D.)—Brothers John Donovan, Frank Dolan, Daniel Steptoe.

T. M. Healy I.N.F. (Armagh)—James Trodden, James Smyth.

John Mitchel (Newry) I.N.F.—Thos. Buzby, Terence Ruddy, Jas. Monaghan.

Lord E. Fitzgerald (Louth) I.N.F.—James Kelly, James Mullen, John Casey.

Tom Moore (Wexford) I.N.F.—Thomas Rossiter, Richard Corish, John P. Rochford.

Red Hand of Ulster (Ballybay, Monaghan) I.N.F.—Francis Boyle, John Toye, Bernard M'Nally.

Dr. Logue (Louth) I.N.F.—Thomas Lawless.

Round Tower No. 8 (Dublin) I.N.F.—William P. Dunne, Timothy Lynch, Thomas O'Connor.

Father O'Growney (Meath) I.N.F. Patrick Connell, William Tormey, Jno. English.

Tara (City of Dublin) I.N.F.—Joseph Fay, Mark Gallagher, Thomas Griffin.

St. Tierney (Monaghan) I.N.F.—Thos. M'Govern, Ed. B. Maguire, Bd. Traynor.

Dean Cogan (Navan, Meath) I.N.F.—Jas. Reilly, Andrew Sheridan, Thomas Kennedy.

Robert Emmet, No. 135 (Banbridge, Co. Down) I.N.F.—Jas. Brennan, sen.; James Farry, Michael M'Cusker.

Branch St. Patrick (Carlow) I.N.F.—Ml. Doyle, Wm. Purcell, J. Neavyn.

Heart of Erin (Warrenpoint) I.N.F.—Mr. Thos. Hanna, Mr. Daniel O'Neill, Mr. John M'Hugh.

Dublin District (Dublin) I.N.F.—John Moran, Jos. O'Brien, John Mullett.

Charles Stewart Parnell, No. 712 (Wicklow) I.N.F.—Brothers S. J. Doyle, James M'Call, James de Courcy.

St. Paul (Dublin) I.N.F.—John Whelan, John Lawler, Wm. Coughlan.

Father P. Vallely (Whitecross, Co. Armagh)—Bros. J. M'Keown, C.R.; J. Markey, Tr.; Quinn, Asst. Secretary.

St. Mochta's Branch I.N.F. (Co. Down)—Patrick M'Cann, W. H. Howe, Thomas Boyle.

## TOWN TENANTS.

College Green (Dublin)—Coghlan Briscoe, T.C.

Dunmore (Co. Galway)—Thomas Fahy, Co. C.; Michael Howley, James Glynn.

Callan (Co. Kilkenny)—Wm. Egan, T.C.; John J. Dunne, T.C.; Jas. Lyons.

Skerries (Co. Dublin)—James Weldon, Wm. Healy, Francis Aherne.

Co. Dublin—Simon Hughes Fitzsimons, Cootehill (Co. Cavan)—James Murray, U.D.C.; Philip Smith, Thos. Brady.

Clonmel (Co. Tipperary)—S. J. Purcell, T. A. Morris, R. Stapleton.

Carrick-on-Suir and Carrickbeg (Co. Tipperary)—Patrick Bourke, John T. Feehan, James M'Grath.

Birr (King's Co.)—Thomas Devoy, Denis D. Burke, Michael Masterson.

South Co. Dublin—P. S. Fleming, P. J. Beatty.

Tuam (Co. Galway)—Francis Keane, T.C.; Thomas M'Hugh, T.C.; James Daly, T.C.

Killarney (Co. Kerry)—David Hurley, U.D.C.; Timothy O'Connor, M. J. Minchin.

Tralee (Co. Kerry)—M. Griffin, U.D.C.; M. P. Ryle, J. J. O'Riordan, Hon. Sec.

Dunlavin (Co. Wicklow)—C. Lawler, John Cunningham, James W. Lawler.

Ballindine (Co. Mayo)—Mark Waldron, James Waldron, Thomas Hennelly.

North Co. (Dublin)—Wm. Seville, J.P. Pembroke (Dublin)—Anthony Scott, C.E., U.D.C.

Harbour Division (Dublin)—John Calixtus Briscoe, C. J. Fleming.



Ballingarry (Co. Tipperary)—P. Kickham, John McGrath, Michl. Dalton.  
Edgeworthstown (Co. Longford)—Thos. Wilson, M.D.; Charles Cullen, Jno. O'Brien.

Loughrea (Co. Galway)—Thomas Sweeney, Patk. Keane, John O'Loughlin.  
Castlecomer (Co. Kilkenny)—John Quinn, Thomas Collins (Thomas Bergin).  
Borrisoleigh (Co. Tipperary)—Michael Maher, Edward Finn, James Coffey.  
Tipperary (Co. Tipperary)—P. McGrath, V.C., U.C.; D. J. McCarthy, W. O'Neill.

Athlone (Co. Westmeath)—Henry J. Walker, B.A.; John F. Galvin, James A. Hynes.

Castleknock (Co. Dublin)—Michael Butler.

Executive—Peter W. Shanley.  
College Green—Christopher E. Blair.  
Mountmellick (Queen's Co.)—J. P. Dunne, Hon. Sec.; Laurence M'Evoy, D. Williams.

Longford—M. F. M'Guinness, Charles M'Kenna, Owen Victory.

Drumkeeran (Co. Leitrim)—Rev. John Smith, C.C.; John M'Greal, Hugh Dolan.

Johnstown (Co. Kilkenny)—W. de Courcy, J.P.; Cornelius Sheedy, Wm. M'Evoy.

Golden (Co. Tipperary)—Denis Molunby, W. R. Russell, D.C.; Ed. Cummins, Sec.

Naas (Co. Kildare)—James Conway, M. Fitzsimons, Jas. Dowling.

Tyrrell's Pass (Co. Westmeath)—Ml. Ryan, D.C.; John Gonoud, Jos. Cuffe.  
Riverstown (Co. Sligo)—Thomas F. Culhane, Patrick M'Donagh, Ml. Moran.

Blackrock (Co. Dublin)—Ml. Heggarty, Thomas F. Heaver, Fras. J. Beahan.

Galway City—J. J. O'Flynn, Thomas Stormouth, Patrick Irwin.

Athea (Co. Limerick)—John M. Danaher, John O'Mara.

Arva (Co. Cavan)—Peter Mulligan, B. O'Connor, W. J. M'Caughey.

Limerick—Thomas Lawlor, Patrick Henihan, B.L.; Timothy M'Donnell.

Manorhamilton (Co. Leitrim)—John M'Kenna, James Cooney, Jas. N. Dolan.

Carlow—Stephen Nolan, Bernard Rafferty, John Foley.

Newport (Co. Mayo)—John M'Govern, John Kilroy, M. J. Cusack.

Muinebheag (Co. Carlow)—Michael Sheill, E. J. Kelly, Terence Nolan.

Belturbet (Co. Cavan)—Patk. McGrath, John M'Gowan.

Ballyhaise (Co. Cavan)—T. Farrelly, P. J. Brady, C.E.; C. E. Costello.

Athenry (Co. Galway)—Christopher Daly, P. J. Holland, Wm. O'Reilly.

Dundrum (Co. Louth)—William Russell, Joseph Parson, Thomas Cassidy.

Thomastown (Co. Kilkenny)—Martin Cantwell, Patrick Magee, Denis Murphy.  
Shercock (Cavan)—Ml. Finegan, T. Traynor, P. J. Lennon.

Carrickmacross (Co. Monaghan)—Ml. Daly, Richard Boyle, Fras. Connolly.

Foxford (Co. Mayo)—John Coghlan, Patrick Dunlevy.

Ennis (Co. Clare)—J. J. Meane, Wm. Keane, John Clohessy.

Roscrea (Co. Tipperary)—Martin Hogan, M. Madden, D.C.

Mullagh (Co. Cavan)—Thomas Flanagan, J. Gibney, Robert Hynes.

Clonsannon (Co. Leitrim)—Michael McGrath, Timothy Murray, James J. Duignan.

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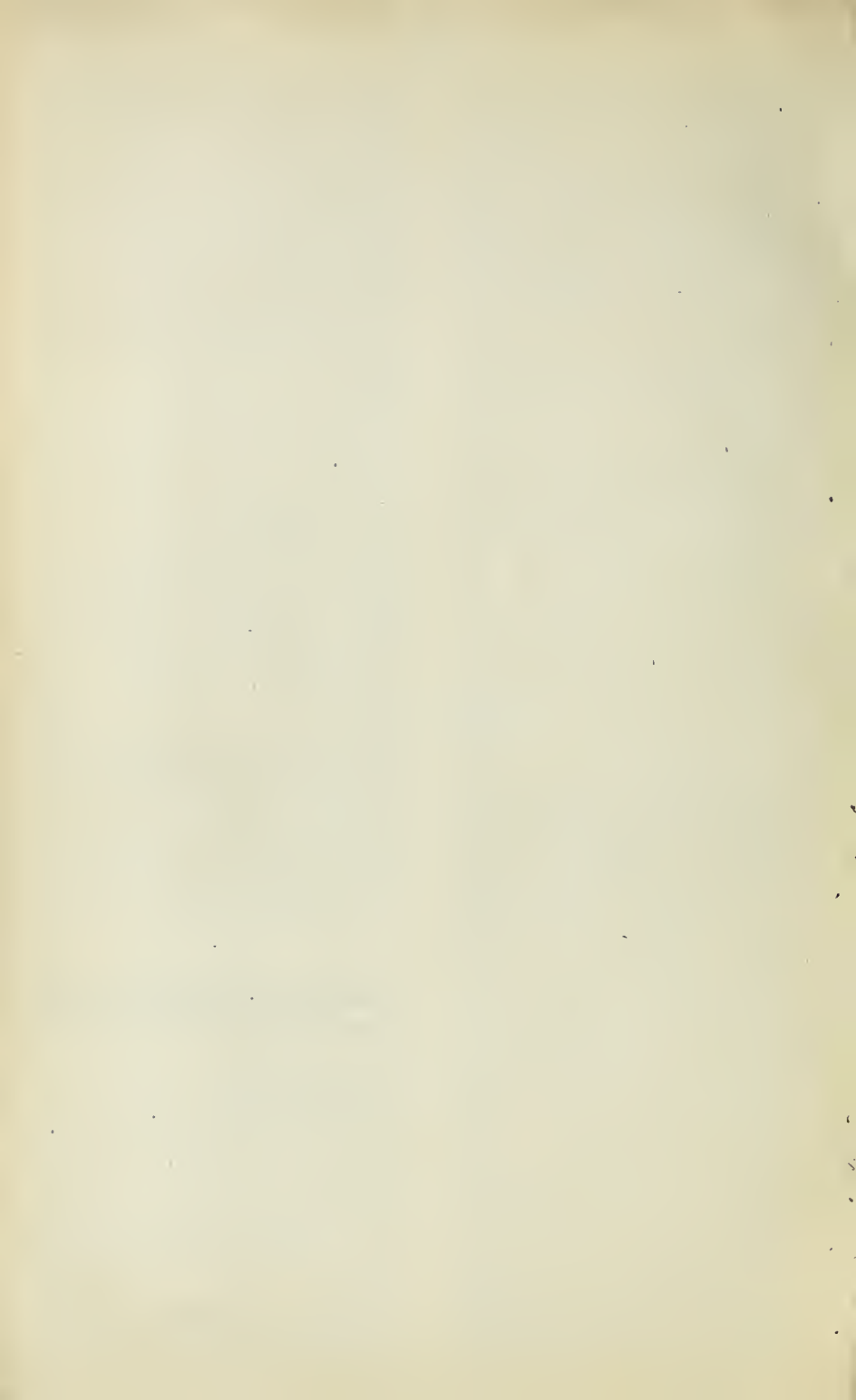
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WHAT HOME RULE  
MEANS AND OTHER  
LEAFLETS ISSUED BY  
THE IRISH PRESS  
AGENCY.

MAUNSEL & CO., LIMITED,  
96 MIDDLE ABBEY STREET, DUBLIN.



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## PREFATORY.

*It has been thought desirable to publish in a collected form twelve of the Leaflets issued by the Irish Press Agency. To them is added a reprint of Mr. John Redmond's speech on Earl Percy's Amendment to the Address, delivered in February, 1909. No attempt has been made to cover the whole field of the controversy; the case for Home Rule was made by the greatest of Liberal statesmen, and the present House of Commons has by an overwhelming majority endorsed anew the principle of that great measure of justice for which Mr. Gladstone made his supreme and unavailing effort. So far as Liberals are concerned, it should be enough for Irishmen to appeal to the memory of Gladstone. But our wish is to address Englishmen of all parties, and reply will here be found to the more usual objections against Home Rule.*

*The opening Leaflet gives, by citation of the most authoritative utterances, a definition of Ireland's demand, which is the true answer to the cry that Separation is our object.*

*A single word may be added. It is absurd and unfair to quote against those Nationalists who adhere to the Constitutional movement the speeches or writings of professed extremists in America and elsewhere whose main object is to injure and hamper the power of the Constitutional party.*

*Several of the Leaflets are devoted to rebutting the charge of special criminality brought against Ireland. But here again a general observation may be made.*

*Englishmen frequently argue that because under the Union lawlessness of a specific type has been recurrent in parts of Ireland, it would be wrong to grant Home Rule. In other words, they adduce the very failure of government from Westminster as an argument against allowing Irishmen to govern themselves.*

*Other aspects of the incompetence and wastefulness of the present system will be found set out.*

*Mr. Redmond's speech is reprinted as a reminder to Englishmen that some of the offences with which Irishmen are frequently taxed are at least equally prevalent in England; and that failure to detect the offenders is no proof of conspiracy, or else is equally a proof in both countries.*

*The Leaflets, printed separately for distribution, can be had singly or in quantities from this agency.*

STEPHEN GWYNN,  
Editor, Irish Press Agency,  
2, Gt. Smith street, Westminster.

# WHAT IS MEANT BY HOME RULE?

Englishmen continually answer to Irish arguments. "Yes, but what do you mean by Home Rule?"

They generally go on to affirm that Mr. Parnell said he would never put on his coat till he had "severed the last link which bound Ireland to England." It should be said at once that Mr. Parnell denied on oath before the Parnell Commission that he had ever used these words, and challenged his opponents to produce anyone who had taken them down. The phrase is, indeed, inconsistent with all his public utterances and the whole tenour of Home Rule policy.

That policy can only be judged by the proposals which have been made or accepted authoritatively on behalf of the Irish people.

## I. BUTT.

The term "Home Rule" was originated by Isaac Butt, as a policy superseding the demand for "Repeal"—that is, the restoration of "Grattan's Parliament," which was a co-ordinate assembly having the power of declaring war and peace.

Butt's proposals were formulated in a series of resolutions passed by the "Home Rule Conference" held in Dublin, 1852, Nov. 1873.

The first two resolutions were declaratory: the third claimed "the privilege of managing our own affairs by a Parliament assembled in Ireland, and composed of the Sovereign, the Lords, and the Commons of Ireland:" the fourth sketched the scheme in broad outline.

"That, in claiming these rights and privileges for our country, we adopt the principle of a Federal arrangement, which would secure to the Irish Parliament the right of legislating for and regulating all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, *while leaving to the Imperial Parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting the Imperial Crown and Government, legislation regarding the colonies and other dependencies of the Crown,*

*the relations of the Empire with Foreign States, and all matters appertaining to the defence and stability of the Empire at large ; as well as the power of granting and providing the supplies necessary for Imperial purposes."*

The last four expounded the spirit and temper of the Nationalists towards the Empire, and towards the Unionist minority.

"That such an arrangement does not involve any change in the existing constitution of the Imperial Parliament, or any interference with the prerogatives of the Crown or disturbance of the principles of the Constitution."

"That, to secure to the Irish People the advantages of constitutional government, it is essential that there should be in Ireland an administration for Irish affairs, controlled, according to constitutional principles, by the Irish Parliament, and conducted by ministers constitutionally responsible to that Parliament."

"That, in the opinion of this Conference, a Federal arrangement, based upon these principles, would consolidate the strength and maintain the integrity of the Empire, and add to the dignity and power of the Imperial Crown."

"That, while we believe that in an Irish Parliament the rights and liberties of all classes of our countrymen would find their best and surest protection, we are willing that there should be incorporated in the Federal Constitution articles supplying the amplest guarantees that no change should be made by that Parliament in the present settlement of property in Ireland, and that no legislation should be adopted to establish any religious ascendancy in Ireland, or to subject any person to disabilities on account of his religious opinions."

It will be observed that since 1873 the Imperial Parliament has completely overthrown the then existing "Settlement of Property." The Union has not saved Ireland from a revolution.

## II. PARNELL.

Under the leadership of Mr. Parnell, Home Rule passed from the region of academic discussion. The Irish demand is defined by Ireland's attitude to the legislative proposals of Mr. Gladstone.

On the second reading of the Home Rule Bill of 1886 Mr. Parnell clearly accepted the offer of a subordinate Parliament. He said:—

We have always known since the introduction of this Bill the difference

between a co-ordinate and a subordinate Parliament, and we have recognised that the Legislature which the Prime Minister proposes to constitute is a subordinate Parliament. . . . Undoubtedly I should have preferred . . . the restitution of Grattan's Parliament. . . . but I consider that there are practical advantages connected with the proposed statutory body, limited and subordinate to this Imperial Parliament as it undoubtedly will be, which will render it much more useful and advantageous to the Irish people than was Grattan's Parliament. . . .

He went on to define what he meant by the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

I understand the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament to be this—that they can interfere in the event of the powers which are conferred by this Bill being abused under certain circumstances. But the Nationalists, in accepting this Bill, go, as I think, under an honourable understanding not to abuse those powers ; and we pledge ourselves in that respect for the Irish people, as far as we can pledge ourselves, not to abuse those powers, and to devote our energies and our influences . . . to prevent those powers being abused.

The Imperial Parliament will have at command the force which it reserves to itself, and it will be ready to intervene, but only in the case of grave necessity arising.

Finally, he made it clear that he spoke for Ireland.

I believe that this is by far the best mode in which we can hope to settle this question. We look upon the provisions of this Bill as a final settlement of the question, and I believe that the Irish people have accepted it as such a settlement

### III. THE POSITION TO-DAY.

Mr. Parnell's speech really sums up the situation. Again and again Mr. Redmond has said : " We stand where Parnell stood." But his own utterances are most explicitly brought to a head in the motion introduced by him, as Leader of the Irish Party, on March 30, 1908. The sentence which contained its purport, ran thus :—

That the reform of Irish Government is a matter vital to the interests of Ireland, and calculated greatly to promote the well-being of the people of Great Britain ; and, in the opinion of this House, the solution of this problem can only be obtained by giving the Irish people the legislative and executive control of all purely Irish affairs.

To this it was proposed to add :—

Subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament.



Of this addition Mr. Redmond said :—

I regard these words as unnecessary. We have always recognised the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and we have always held the view that it would be impossible to alienate that supremacy in creating a statutory legislature for Ireland. The Bill of 1886 was based upon the maintenance of the supremacy of this Parliament. The preamble—the very first words—of the second Home Rule Bill of 1893, were these :—

“Without impairing or restricting the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, a Legislature shall be created.”

Englishmen sometimes say that the Irish Party should formulate its own scheme. Mr. Redmond's answer to that is given in an interview published in Mr. Barry O'Brien's *Dublin Castle* (p. 417).

If they mean that we should put our demand into a Bill, and present it to the House of Commons, I do not think that there would be any use in that. The House of Commons will give no attention to a Home Rule Bill which is not introduced by the Prime Minister of the day, and made a Cabinet question. But if they mean by a concrete case an illustration of the kind of thing we want, let them look to their self-governing Colonies and Dependencies.

In the same interview, Mr. Redmond dealt with other questions habitually raised by objectors.

“Do the Irish want to sit in the English Parliament as well as in their own ?” the interviewer asked. Mr. Redmond replied :—

“Parnell was ready to accept a Bill either excluding or retaining the Irish members. In 1886, under his leadership, we accepted a Bill excluding the Irish members. In 1888 he wrote to Cecil Rhodes :—

‘To return to the question of the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. My own views upon the points and probabilities of the future, and the bearing of this subject on the question of Imperial Federation—my own feeling upon the measure—is that if Mr. Gladstone includes in his next Home Rule measure the provisions of such retention we should cheerfully concur with him, and accept them with goodwill and good faith.’

“What we want,” Mr. Redmond added, “is to be allowed to attend to the business of our own country. If Englishmen wish us to remain in their Parliament, as well as to attend to the affairs of our own country in an Irish Parliament, we are prepared to do so, or if they wish us to remain in our own country alone, and not to come to their Parliament at all, we are willing to accept that. Nothing can be fairer than this attitude.”

Again, on the question, “What are Irish affairs ?” he said :—

“There, again, the position taken up by Parnell (which is the position we still hold) was most reasonable. He was willing that the Home Rule Bill should either specify directly the affairs which should be left to an Irish Parliament, or, upon the other hand, to confer complete powers of legislation on the Irish Parliament, subject to the exclusion of certain subjects. The



Bill of 1886 is forgotten, and I do not mention it now with a view of suggesting that it should be revived. But to state what it proposed to do will give an idea generally of what we want. I take the summary from the Life of Parnell.

‘He (Mr. Gladstone) proposed to establish an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive for the management and control of Irish affairs, reserving to the Imperial Parliament the following subjects:—The Crown, peace or war, the army, navy, militia, volunteers, defence, etc., foreign and colonial relations dignities, titles of honour, treason, trade, Post Office, coinage. Besides these, exceptions the Irish Parliament was forbidden to make any laws respecting (*inter alia*) the endowment of religion, or in restraint of educational freedom, or relating to the Customs or Excise.

‘The Dublin Metropolitan Police were to remain under Imperial Control for two years, and the Royal Irish Constabulary for an indefinite period; but, eventually, all the Irish Police were to be handed over to the Irish Parliament. Ireland’s contribution to the Imperial Revenue was to be in proportion of one-fifteenth to the whole. All constitutional questions relating to the power of the Irish Parliament were to be submitted to the Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council. The Irish Members were to be excluded from the Imperial Parliament.’

“In 1893,” Mr. Redmond continued, “another Home Rule Bill was introduced by Mr. Gladstone (retaining Irish Members), and that Bill was accepted by us and carried through the House of Commons and rejected by the Lords. So that Englishmen have had ample opportunity for learning what we want, whether they are disposed to give it to us or not.

When Englishmen ask us what we want, we answer in a sentence, A measure of legislative autonomy, similar to that enjoyed by any of your self-governing Colonies or Dependencies. If you want an illustration, look at Canada, look even to the Transvaal. The Transvaal is a new country, yet it enjoys legislative autonomy; Ireland, a more ancient kingdom than England, does not.”

Briefly, then, the demand has been always and authoritatively limited to the grant of a subordinate Parliament for purely Irish affairs. Military control or the regulation of foreign policy has never been claimed. Difficulties of detail are raised by Englishmen, not by Irishmen. We have no desire to injure England’s prestige or Imperial power. We claim simply that “local autonomy” which is conceded to all other separate communities of white men within the Empire.

# CANADA AND HOME RULE

(Abridged from Mr. John Redmond's Speech to the Young Scots' Society in Glasgow, November 29th, 1907.)

When Queen Victoria ascended the Throne, Canadians were in armed rebellion against England. When the British Government of that day ordered "Te Deums" to be sung in Canadian Churches, to celebrate her accession, the congregations rose *en masse* and left the buildings.

Fifty years later, at Queen Victoria's Jubilee, Englishmen would hardly believe that Canada was ever disaffected.

What caused the change?

The grant of Home Rule to Canada, while Canada was still seething with unrest.

There is nothing exceptional in this. In Australia and Cape Colony, as in Canada, self-government was conceded after great and menacing movements, breaking into rebellion and bloodshed. But the case of Canada is that which offers the completest resemblance to the symptoms which prevail in Ireland, and, therefore, the completest argument for applying the same cure.

In Canada, as in Ireland, there were two races and two religions. The British, settlers of a more recent date, exercised a political ascendancy in favour of their own race, and the Protestant religion. The minority claimed, as it claims in Ireland, to make its will prevail over that of the majority. Lord Durham, in his famous report, says:—"The English look upon the French with contempt. . . . The French look upon the English with alarm, with jealousy, and, finally, with hatred."

Supporters of ascendancy in Canada used precisely the same arguments against Canadian Home Rule as are used in the case of Ireland. The Duke of Wellington said that—"Local responsible government and the sovereignty of Great Britain were completely incompatible." History has confuted the Duke.

Lord Stanley said in the House of Lords:—

"What would be the consequences (of granting the Canadian demand)? The establishment of a republic—the concession would remove the only check to the tyrannical power of the dominant majority—

a majority in numbers only, while in wealth, education, and enterprise they are greatly inferior to the minority. The minority of the settlers are of British descent; and one thing is certain, if these settlers find themselves deprived of British protection, they will protect themselves."

Canada has not moved a step towards separation, nor towards republican institutions. Yet Canada is divided only by an imaginary line from the greatest Republic in the world, and could, if it rebelled, only be conquered with the utmost difficulty. The tie of free association within the Empire has held in the face of the strongest natural and political attraction.

In the case of Ireland, what did Grattan say? "The sea denies us union, but the ocean forbids separation."

In Canada there has been no hint of civil war, nor has the Catholic majority oppressed the Protestant minority. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the French Catholic Premier, is trusted by the Protestants of Ontario no less than by the Catholics of Quebec. The cause of sectarian bitterness was not theological difference, but the unfair predominance given to one creed identified with one political party.

Lord Durham said:—"The Bench, the magistracy, the high places in the Episcopal Church, and a great part of the legal profession, are filled by this party; by grant or purchase, they have acquired nearly the whole of the unoccupied lands of the province; they are all-powerful in the chartered banks, and, till lately, they share among themselves exclusively all offices of trust and profit. The principal members of this party belong to the Church of England, and maintenance of the claims of that Church has always been one of their distinguishing characteristics."

This applies word for word to Ireland.

Again, with regard to the administration of justice, Lord Durham wrote:—"The public have no security for any fairness in the selection of juries. There was no check on the sheriff. The public knew he could pack a jury whenever he pleased, and supposed that an officer holding a lucrative appointment at the pleasure of the Government would be ready to carry into effect their designs."

Jury-packing in Canada, as in Ireland, was caused by refusal of the juries to convict. In September, 1837, the Governor-General, Lord Gosford, wrote:—

"In two recent instances, where the Attorney-General preferred bills of indictment in the Court of King's Bench at Montreal, one against a Dr. Duchesnois, for publicly tearing, and treating with contempt, the proclamation issued by me on the 15th June last; and in another, against a certain individual in the county of the Two Mountains, for a conspiracy

to drive out of the county, by means of threats and acts of violence, several inhabitants, because they held opposite political opinions, the bills have been ignored by the Grand Jury, in the face of the strongest evidence."

Lord Gosford was a Coercionist, and his picture of Canada in 1837 is the Tory picture of Ireland to-day.

"The Papineau faction are not to be satisfied with any concession that does not place them in a more favourable position to carry into effect their ulterior objects, namely, the separation of this country from England, and the Establishment of a Republican form of Government."

His Attorney-General describes boycotting :—

"A system of proscription, based upon national distinctions and political prejudices, was adopted and pursued. The British inhabitants, and those loyal Canadians who adhered to the political principles of their British fellow-subjects, perceived on a sudden that all intercourse between them and those of their neighbours who professed a different political opinion was studiously denied, all interchange of the ordinary offices or the common necessities of life had abruptly terminated; they had incurred the penalty of social excommunication."

Also intimidation, and even cattle-driving :

"Mobs assembled by night, and with shouts of intimidation and threats of personal violence endeavoured to terrify the loyal inhabitants into an adoption of their principles. The house of one, Jean Baptiste Cleval, was fired into. . . . The British subjects (settlers) were also subjected to a series of harassing annoyances—their fences were broken down, their cattle driven astray, their horses cropped and otherwise disfigured, and a variety of petty injuries inflicted."

He attributes these symptoms, as the Irish Tories do, to "the artful and unscrupulous misrepresentation with which the agitators delude and excite their more ignorant countrymen."

Yet in the face of all this, Canada's demand was conceded. Her demand was for full Home Rule—a legislature with an executive responsible to it. She had tried a half-measure, a Parliament without power to choose and control its own ministry, and from this disintegration and disloyalty had arisen. The complete concession of freedom was followed by complete loyalty. Nor is that all. Prosperity replaced misery. Lord Durham wrote :—"The present evil is not merely that improvement is stayed, and that the wealth and population of these Colonies do not increase according to the rapid scale of American progress. No accession of population takes place by immigration, and no capital is brought into the country. On the contrary, both the people and the capital seem to be quitting these distracted provinces."

To-day Canada is united, harmonious, peaceful, and prosperous. Canada to-day asks Home Rule for Ireland (by repeated resolutions of her Parliament) in the interests of the Empire. Australia does the same.

Every self-governing Colony is in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, because each knows that if it were governed as Ireland is, it would be, as Ireland is, discontented and miserable, and that, if Ireland were free within the Empire, as the self-governing Colonies are free, Ireland would be, as they are, prosperous and contented.

The whole case that this leaflet is written to state cannot be better concluded than by an extract from the speech which Sir Edward Grey delivered on Friday, April 19th, 1907, in the presence of the Colonial Premiers, with reference to the grant of Home Rule to the Transvaal :—

“The history of our relations with our self-governing colonies had been a great chapter in the history of freedom. Freedom gave to self-governing colonies the power to develop their countries, and what was more important, the special excellencies of their race and character, in the environment of the country in which they lived. *That was a great gift—the power to develop—which freedom gave. But it had another gift—namely, that of healing.* In the history of one of our great colonies we have already seen how it could heal wounds and strife, and bring races together, and we are confident, in our latest self-governing colony, the healing gift of freedom will be equally potent; and we all feel that the tie between the mother country and the Colonies is now one which combines the advantages of union with the privileges of independence.”



# THE RECORD OF IRISH LOCAL BODIES.

Mr. Balfour recently gave it as his opinion that—

“ The Local Government Act is being used in every county in Ireland where the Nationalist Party have a majority . . . as a great electoral machine for promoting the party interests of a particular section, even though the really essential local interests are fatally sacrificed thereby.”

Mr. Long repeated the charge, and drew the same conclusion, that it would not be safe or fair to the minority to extend in any way the power already possessed by the majority in Ireland.

Let us examine this contention in the light of facts.

It is quite true that wherever Nationalists are in an electoral majority they return Nationalists to the County and District Councils.

Why not ? Do Liberals elect Tariff Reformers to represent their views ? Had Unionists been chosen as popular candidates, the fact would undoubtedly have been used as an argument to prove that the Irish Party does not represent the mind of Ireland.

Mr. Balfour's accusation applies with more than equal force to the Irish Unionists. Elections are everywhere in Ireland conducted on political issues : the difference between the parties lies in this, that the Unionists impose a religious test also.

No Catholic in Ireland is to-day elected by a Unionist electorate to a seat in Parliament, on a County Council, or even on a District Council.

That Irish Nationalists have no objection to be represented by a Protestant is sufficiently proved by the fact that the Irish Party of eighty-one comprises nine Protestants. Contrast this with Great Britain, which returns only five Catholics among its 567 members.

In certain cases Nationalist bodies in Ireland have agreed to give to Unionists a larger representation than they could secure at the polls ; at Newcastle, in County Down, Nationalists agreed to leave six seats out of twelve, which they could have secured, to the Independent Unionists. At Birr and in Monaghan, a third of the representation is conceded to Unionists by agreement.

Individual Unionists who have shown good will and capacity are welcomed on public bodies. Thus, Lords Dunraven, Monteagle, and Killanin; Colonels Everard and Hutchinson Poë, have been repeatedly either elected or co-opted to local bodies, and have been given prominence on important committees. In Donegal, Captain Stoney, D.L., is vice-chairman of the County Council.

No parallel for these examples of tolerance can be given from Unionist Ireland. It cannot be seriously contended that Nationalists ought to elect Unionists to represent them as a general rule. That they are capably represented, that the Councils do their work economically, is admitted in all reports of the Local Government issued since 1900. Dublin Castle admits the efficiency of the local bodies. So did Mr. Gerald Balfour and Mr. Wyndham.

In 1900 the first report said: "The County and District Councils have, with few exceptions, properly discharged the duties devolving upon them." 1903, "the general administration of the Local Government Act by County and District Councils continues on the whole to be satisfactory, and the manner in which the several local bodies transact their business calls for no special observation. The collection of the rates has been efficiently carried out. Very great and most creditable improvements have taken place in the care of the sick."

Later reports naturally make no general criticism of what is now a well established system; but the report for 1906 acknowledges, *e.g.*, valuable suggestions made "by local bodies as to Rules under the Labourers Act," and there is not a word in it to bear out Mr. Balfour's observations.

But the real question is not one of efficiency, for the efficiency, and more specially the economy, are generally admitted. It is this: Do the minority get fair play?

Wherever Unionists are the majority they do not.

In Armagh there are 68,000 Protestants, 56,000 Catholics. The County Council has twenty-two Protestants and eight Catholics. On the Committees appointed by the Council the majority give themselves the same undue proportion: ten to two on the Finance Committee, *e.g.* But in the matter of salaries they are even less impartial. Out of fifty employees, three are Catholics.

In Tyrone, Catholics are a majority of the population—82,000 against 18,000; but the electoral districts have been so arranged that Unionists return sixteen against thirteen Nationalists (one a Protestant). This Council gives to Unionists a two to one majority on its Committees, and out of fifty-two officials, employees only five Catholics.

In Antrim, which has the largest Protestant majority (196,000 to 40,000), twenty-six Unionists and three Catholics are returned. Sixty officers out of sixty-five are good Unionists and Protestants.

Down and Derry counties exhibit the same features. Wherever Unionists have a majority on the Council, they give themselves, at least, a proportionate majority on the Committees, and a virtual monopoly of all lucrative employment. Only the meanest posts are conceded to Catholics.

Now take the other side. Sectarian bitterness is admittedly most felt on both sides in Ulster. Consider the case of Monaghan. Catholics are 54,000, and Protestants 19,000. Nationalism shows its strength at the ballot box, as a demonstration of principle, returning twenty-five Catholic Nationalists and only two Unionists. But how does this body administer? Of seats on Committees appointed, eighty-three are held by Catholics and thirty-six by Protestants. The paid officers are thirty-four Catholics, and twenty-three Protestants.

It may be said that the County Council of Monaghan did not choose its officials. All the Counties took over the staff appointed by the old Grand Juries, which was Protestant and Unionist almost to a man, even in the most Catholic counties. That was the example which the local bodies found before them. Everyone of these officials could be dismissed by the Councils, if they chose to display intolerance. They do not. On the contrary, in Monaghan, only the other day, a Protestant doctor secured, in competition with Catholics, the valuable headship of the County Asylum.

Everywhere in the Catholic parts of Ireland, Protestants hold a share of the public salaries wholly disproportioned to their numbers. Even at Ballinasloe, where a recent appointment was sharply challenged, Protestants to-day receive £1,003 out of £2,115, spent annually by the Asylum Committee.

We challenge Protestant Ulster to show a single case where a Catholic Nationalist has been elected by a public body controlled by Unionists to a post of over £200 a year.

For a final contrast take two adjacent counties, Cavan and Fermanagh.

In Fermanagh, a Protestant minority has got hold of the representation. A population of 36,000 Catholics and 29,000 Protestants returns ten Catholics and seventeen Protestants. The Unionists give themselves fifty-five to twenty-two seats on the Committees, and fifty-eight to seventeen on the list of officials. They pay £5,071 to Protestants, and £639 to Catholics. The highest salary received by any Catholic is £55.

In Cavan 79,000 Catholics and 18,000 Protestants return a Council exclusively Catholic and Nationalist. Yet this Council employs twenty-six Protestants as against thirty Catholics. A Protestant official gets £600 a year ; no Catholic more than £300.

Municipal Corporations show the same tendencies. In Belfast, Catholics are a third of the population, but the Corporation pays £51,405 in a year in salaries, of which only £640 goes to Catholics.

In Derry, where Catholics are an actual majority of the population, the Corporation pays £6,663 to Protestant employees, and £169 to Catholics.

Nothing of this unfairness can be found in Dublin. Twenty-three times since 1843 has the Lord Mayor been a Protestant. No Catholic has ever held that office in Belfast. In Dublin, at the present moment, a long list of the best paid positions are held by Unionists ; while the North Dublin Union were recently surcharged by the Local Government for insisting upon pensioning a Protestant Chaplain.

To sum up, it can be confidently asserted—

First, that Nationalist Ireland has set to Unionist Ireland a much needed example of religious and political toleration. Secondly, that wherever Protestants are in a minority, however small, they receive their full proportional share of representation on Committees, and more than their full share of salaries ; and that wherever Unionists are in a majority, they use it to exclude the Catholic minority so far as possible from either influence or preferment.

# THE MANUFACTURE OF CRIME IN IRELAND.

Recent occurrences make it desirable to remind the British public that it is no new thing for men to be incited to commit outrages, and even for outrages to be committed by the guardians of law and order, so that rewards may be earned by convictions, and that excuses may be afforded for coercion.

The difficulty of proof in such cases is appalling, for, as all know, the police support each other's testimony everywhere; and in Ireland they are assisted by a judiciary whose object is to convict. But one case, that of Sergeant Sheridan, stands out, in which the facts would appear incredible if they were not undisputed.

Sheridan was a Sergeant in the Royal Irish Constabulary. He was stationed for short periods in numerous parishes in Ireland, and his arrival in any parish was instantly followed by an outbreak of crime, and by the conviction of the supposed law-breakers. Hence his rapid promotion. All the crimes were committed by Sheridan himself, aided by accomplices in the police force, who joined him in swearing away the liberties of innocent men. At last the rogues fell out, and, as a result of the revelations which followed, Sheridan was dismissed from the public service, January 1st, 1901.

Mr. Balfour's Government admitted that Sheridan and his brother policemen committed the crimes, including the mutilation of dumb animals, and that, with a view to securing rewards and promotion, they secured, by perjury, the conviction of absolutely innocent peasants, who were sent to prison for lengthened periods. But the Government refused to prosecute. Why? Because they knew that such a proceeding would demonstrate to the world that these horrible transactions are part of the system of Irish Government. After his dismissal, Sheridan wrote to all the leading newspapers, defying the Government to take action—he even went to the Lobby of the House of Commons, and repeated the challenge to Members of Parliament. When the matter had been publicly avowed, one of the Irish Members ascertained and publicly announced



his whereabouts in America ; but though the Government admitted that they had under International Law the power to obtain his extradition, they declined to apply for it, despite the indignant protests of eminent British lawyers, like Sir William Harcourt, Sir Robert Reid, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Lawson Walton, and others, who demanded the prosecution of all the miscreants.

Let this be remembered when the Tory Party tax Mr. Birrell with failure to use all the resources of the law in order to convict cattle drivers.

But more surprising facts remain. Some of the victims of the police plots were compensated. One of them, Dan M'Goohan, who got two years' imprisonment, received £100. Con Bray was sent to penal servitude for three years, and was released to die before the end of the term, and his aged mother is now receiving 10s. a week. Patrick Murphy, who got six months' hard labour, received from the Government £25 as compensation. But the policemen who committed the crimes, and who swore away the liberties of innocent men, were also rewarded. They received rewards at the time of the convictions ; and even when their infamies were brought home to them, they were not dismissed from the public service : two were " allowed to retire," and the third is still in the police force, and is still drawing his salary. Of the two who were " allowed to retire," Constable Reid actually received from the Government a " compassionate allowance " of £50, and Constable Keegan no less than £200. That is to say, one of the criminals got twice as much as one of the men he sent to penal servitude, and eight times as much as another of his admittedly innocent victims.

Yet even this is not the most serious aspect of the matter. Sheridan had been engaged in many prosecutions in many districts, and no one but himself knows the count of his victims or of his accomplices. His detection began with the failure to convict a tramp named Ryan. Sheridan swore that from a certain place he had seen Ryan post a threatening notice. It was proved that this was physically impossible, and Ryan was acquitted. But Sheridan was not prosecuted for perjury. Contrast this with English usage. In August, 1902, on the day before Sheridan's case was debated in the Commons, a constable charged a labourer with loitering with felonious intent. The English labourer disproved the charge, and the English constable was at once prosecuted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. In Sheridan's case nothing was done till an individual officer in the R.I.C., roused to suspicion by the Ryan case, set on foot enquiries, with the result that three undoubted cases were discovered where men had been convicted on Sheridan's

evidence and that of his accomplices for crimes committed by these very policemen.

And how convicted? M'Goohan, who got two years for the loathsome offence of cutting off cows' tails, was brought before a Sligo jury, selected after sixty Catholic jurors had been ordered to stand aside. Yet, even this packed tribunal was not left to its own sense of the value of evidence. Mr. Justice Gibson exhorted them to remember that they "must convict the prisoner or brand Sergeant Sheridan as a perjurer." They took the judge's admonition, and found M'Goohan guilty of Sheridan's act. A previous jury, less carefully selected, had disagreed, but Government resolutely backed Sheridan. Is it wonderful that Patrick Murphy, accused like M'Goohan of maiming dumb animals, took the advice of his counsel and pleaded guilty in order to secure a lighter sentence from a tribunal which was certain to convict?

This is what is meant in Ireland by the resolute enforcing of law and order.

But juries have also been packed to acquit when a policeman was in the dock.

The letters written to five men at Woodlawn, inciting them to place a bomb under Lord Ashtown's pew, recall another remarkable incident. On April 13th, 1898, a young man at Newport, in County Mayo, received a letter enclosing money, and purporting to be from the local President of the United Irish League. It urged him to attack the house of an unpopular individual on a certain night. On that night Sergeant Sullivan, with a double patrol, lay in ambush for an hour near the house in question. The letter was put into the hands of the League, and the writing was identified positively with that of Sergeant Sullivan by the Treasury expert, Mr. Guerrin. Yet a local bench of landlord magistrates refused to send the case for trial to the Assizes, and a private prosecution had to be undertaken. Government then undertook the prosecution, and again packed a jury of twelve Protestant Unionists in Sligo, where ninety per cent. of the population is Catholic. This jury acquitted the Sergeant without even waiting to hear the whole case. A civil action was then taken by the man whose name had been forged, and was tried in Dublin. The jury were eleven to one for finding Sullivan guilty, but one dissident secured a disagreement, which the Government treated as an acquittal. Sergeant Sullivan is still in the force. The man who left it was his subordinate, a constable who swore to the fact that the patrol record for that night had been tampered with. Government paid all Sullivan's costs.

It may be said that in this case nothing was proved. This, at any

rate, does not apply to the exploit by which Head-Constable Whelahan lost his life. In August, 1887, a man called Callinan came to this officer at Ennis. Callinan had been in the pay of the police for several years, as he admitted in Court, admitting also that he had twice deserted from the army, and had served several years in prison for various offences, including indecent assault on a child. It was arranged between him and Whelahan that an attack should be made on the house of one Sexton, locally obnoxious as a land grabber. Whelahan paid the agent provocateur ten shillings, but had the mortification to see him brought back drunk and incapable. Callinan was cared for at the barrack, and again furnished with money, Whelahan this time seeing him off by train. On the following Sunday night Callinan, with some young men whom he had persuaded to accompany him, entered Sexton's house, where the police lay in wait, and a fierce struggle followed, in which Head Constable Whelahan was killed. But this plan succeeded, as several of the men who, by Whelahan's instigation through the agent Callinan, had attempted the crime, were sentenced to long terms of penal servitude, and only escaped the charge of constructive murder on a technical plea. All this was sworn to in Court, and Government never disavowed or denied Whelahan's methods.

Most Nationalists in Ireland believe that under the present administration private enterprise is taking up the work which has constantly been done by Government; and that the whole police machinery is used to-day as in the days of Sheridan, Sullivan, and Whelahan, if not to support, at least to shelter these zealous promoters of "law and order." Certainly nothing has been done to dispel the heavy cloud of suspicion which hangs over all that is connected with the police force, and its assistants in Ireland.

# THE IRISH POOR-LAW AND THE BLESSINGS OF ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

BY HUGH LAW, M.P.

All Irish grievances are commonly supposed either to have originated in the remote past, or in religious or political differences between various sections of the Irish people. We may ask, therefore, Has the pretension of England to legislate for Ireland been productive of good results even in a matter which would seem remote from party strife—the administration of the relief of the poor ?

The persons affected, whether as recipients of relief, or as ratepayers, belong to no one political party or creed. Let us see then how in dealing with such a problem the application of English ideas has worked out.

For many years before the great famine of 1845, it had become evident that the poverty of great masses in Ireland must sooner or later bring about a catastrophe.

In the year 1833 a Royal Commission was appointed to examine into the question. For three years the Commissioners pursued their inquiries, and then issued a very remarkable report. They came in the first place to the conclusion that the workhouse system which had recently been established in England was radically unsuited to the different conditions obtaining in Ireland. They pointed out that, whereas that system was devised in order to make the lazy and the idle seek employment which could be obtained, in Ireland, on the contrary, able-bodied men, who were willing and anxious to work, even for twopence a day, were unable to obtain any regular employment whatever. This being the case, the Commissioners saw clearly that the great need of the country was for such development of its resources as would at once afford work for the workless, and by creating industries, would tend to raise the whole social economic condition of Ireland. With this object in view, the Commission made the following proposals :—

- (1.) The reclamation of waste land.
- (2.) The enforcing of drainage and fencing of land.
- (3.) Building labourers' cottages.



- (4.) Agricultural Instruction.
- (5.) Land Reform
- (6.) Transfer of powers of grand juries to County Boards, together with what is now known as the "direct labour" system for county works.
- (7.) Development of the country by public works.

It was, however, plain that even after such measures had been taken, there would remain certain classes for whom direct relief would be required. For the physically and mentally infirm, the Commissioners reported that relief and support should be afforded within and without the walls of public institutions. Thus they advised the creation of hospitals and infirmaries, extern attendance, and the supply of food as well as medicine in cases where sick persons were not in a condition to be removed from their homes; the establishment of penitentiaries to which vagrants might be consigned; the maintenance of deserted children; the care of aged and infirm persons, of orphans and helpless widows and young children, of the families of sick persons, and relief of casual destitution—in short, they proposed to deal with the problem exactly on the lines which now approve themselves to most humane persons in our own day. It is worth noticing, in particular, that seventy years ago this Irish Commission recommended that vagrants, instead of being allowed to drift from one casual ward to another, should be remitted to penitentiaries, and, in suitable cases, sent abroad to non-penal colonies to work as labourers upon the land.

But the Commission suffered from one radical defect. It was an Irish Commission. Its chairman, Dr. Whately, it is true, was an Englishman and a well-known economist. All the other Commissioners were Irishmen. Clearly, thought the Government of Lord John Russell, mere Irishmen could not be trusted to know what was good for themselves or their country. Accordingly, a single member of the English Poor Law Commission was sent to Ireland to revise the findings of the Commissioners. Mr. Nicholls, who had not previously been in Ireland, remained in the country for a period of six weeks. These six weeks, however, were more than sufficient to show him (what in any case was from the first taken for granted) that the unanimous findings of the Irish Commission were thoroughly unsound. (Their constructive recommendations above quoted were contemptuously ignored.)

"Many sanguine persons," wrote Mr. Nicholls, "appear to consider it as the purpose of the Poor Law not only to relieve destitution, but to



eradicate poverty." As against such a method of dealing with the problem, Mr. Nicholls lays down very frankly the assumption which guided him during his six weeks' enquiry. "I assume as the governing principle to be observed in dealing with this portion of the subject that the Poor Law of Ireland should assimilate in all respects as nearly as possible to the Poor Law system now established in England." Indeed, so far from wishing to build up the social and economic conditions of the small landholders, and enable them to do without State relief, Mr. Nicholls somewhat oddly avows as a part of his plan the detachment of the Irish peasantry from the soil, which, says he, "is necessary to restore to the landlords the power of doing what they will with their own!"

The views of Mr. Nicholls, with his six weeks' experience of Ireland, were preferred to those of the Irish Royal Commission. In December, 1837, Lord John Russell introduced a Bill drafted by Mr. Nicholls himself. The Bill was opposed by O'Connell, who, for perhaps the first and only time of his life, was supported by the Irish Unionists, headed by Lord Castlereagh.

With one exception, all the Irish Grand Juries petitioned against the Bill. A few Irish representatives in the two Houses voted for it, but, as their speeches show, hesitatingly and with reluctance. Notwithstanding this remarkable unanimity of Irish opinion, the Bill became law six months later.

The system thus established in the teeth of Irish public opinion, broke down hopelessly and disastrously under the shock of the Great Famine. The Government, having treated with contempt proposals of the "sanguine people," who actually were for attempting to "eradicate poverty," and stop the evil at its source, found themselves faced by a truly appalling crisis. In one respect they acted with promptitude and decision. They introduced a new Coercion Bill, and ably seconded the efforts of certain landlords in "clearing" their estates of the starving tenantry. Otherwise, as a recent French writer has said, they did little, and that little stupidly, and in the spirit of pedants and misers.\* "Detached from the soil," and converted into "free labourers," thousands upon thousands died miserably of hunger and famine fever. The workhouses, in which hitherto no one would set foot, were soon overflowing. But the provision did not nearly suffice. Sir Robert Peel therefore sanctioned the establishment of food depots and relief works. His successor, Lord John Russell, suppressed them, then re-established them, prohibiting, however, any works of a reproductive character! Hundreds of thousands of famine-

\* "L'Irlande Contemporaine," par. Paul-Dubois. Paris, 1907.

stricken men were employed at wages of fivepence a day to dig holes and fill them in again, to level mounds which were forthwith re-erected. And this in a country naturally fertile, but undrained, unfenced, unplanted, and undeveloped. Did the pedantry which persuades men that they are entitled by virtue of superior education or the like to override local knowledge and local feeling ever produce any spectacle more ludicrous or more terrible ?

Since 1849, it is true, the peculiar theories of the " Manchester school," which produced this result, have passed out of fashion ; but Ireland has no guarantee that the pretension of English politicians to know (better than we do ourselves) what is good for Ireland may not again produce results which future generations will regard with the same astonishment and regret which Englishmen to-day express with regard to these follies of the past.

In this connection, it is worth noticing that of the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1833, numbers 3, 4, 5 and 6 have been given effect to after the lapse of many years by legislation which has commended itself to both parties ; such as the Housing of Labourers Acts, 1883-1906, the Acts establishing the Congested Districts Board and the Department of Agriculture, 1891-1899, the Land Acts, 1860-1903, and the Local Government Act, 1898.

Number 7 may also be considered to have been partially put into execution in various ways by the building of light railways and the general benevolent activities of the Congested Districts Board.

The reclamation of waste land and the proper drainage of the country still remain to be effected, though admitted to be necessary and frequently recommended since that time by competent authorities, notably by the recent Viceregal Commission on Arterial Drainage.

Irish opinion is thus justified after many years. On the one hand, the improvement of the general welfare of the country by direct measures of development, which Lord John Russell regarded as a " perilous task," is now accepted by both parties as a first object of policy, whilst on the other, all Poor Law reformers now admit that the existing workhouse system, as a method of relieving poverty, is at once stupid, wasteful, and cruel. All that John Bull's interference in this domestic Irish question of the relief of the poor and sick has achieved is to burden the Irish ratepayers with the upkeep of huge and hideous buildings, and with the salaries of an army of officials, whose salaries and emoluments eat up a fifth of the total sum nominally available for Poor Law relief. For every

forty shillings spent upon relief of poor persons in the workhouses, twenty shillings are paid away in official salaries and emoluments.\*

One word more. An Irish Viceregal Commission upon the Irish Poor Law was appointed in 1903; and after three years' careful work, during which the Commissioners visited every Poor Law Union in Ireland, reported in 1906. The report advocates the virtual abolition of the English workhouse system forced upon Ireland in 1837, and a return to the plans of the despised Irish Commission of 1833. Irish opinion, without distinction of creed or party, has expressed approval. But the old distrust of Irish capacity has again manifested itself; and this report is now shelved pending the publication of the Report of an English Commission, which has within the last few months paid a brief visit to Ireland. No one doubts the desire of the members of this Commission (which includes one distinguished Irish Bishop) to do what is best for Ireland. But Irish Poor Law Reformers are anxiously asking—"Is history going to repeat itself; and is the mature judgment of another Irish Commission again to be set on one side, if found to conflict in any degree with the views formed by Englishmen after as brief a visit to Ireland as that of Mr. Nicholls seventy years ago?"

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\* The following is the official statement of the details of poor relief expenditure for the 12 months ending 30th September. The item "other expenses," includes, of course, the cost of maintenance of the fabrics of the workhouses, most of which, in country districts, stand always more than half empty:—

|   |        |    |    |    |            |
|---|--------|----|----|----|------------|
| Cost of indoor relief   | ..     | .. | .. | .. | £456,474   |
| District schools:   |        |    |    |    |            |
| Cost of maintenance   | ..     | .. | .. | .. | 7,918      |
| Boarded-out children:—  |        |    |    |    |            |
| Cost of maintenance   | ..     | .. | .. | .. | 16,600     |
| Cost of outdoor relief  | ..     | .. | .. | .. | 198,337    |
| Salaries and rations of officers, amount of                   | ..     | .. | .. | .. | 204,307    |
| Institutions for the blind, &c., and extern hospitals:—       |        |    |    |    |            |
| Cost of maintenance of persons sent thereto by the guardians, | 21,175 |    |    |    |            |
| Medicines, &c., in workhouses:—                               |        |    |    |    |            |
| Cost  | ..     | .. | .. | .. | 10,863     |
| Other expenses  | ..     | .. | .. | .. | 125,948    |
| Total poor relief expenditure                                 | ..     | .. | .. | .. | £1,041,620 |

# POLICE AND CRIME.

## ENGLAND, WALES, AND IRELAND.

BY E. HAVILAND-BURKE, M.P.

### INTRODUCTION.

Speaking at a great Nationalist demonstration at Drumkeerin, County Leitrim, on October 27th, 1907, Mr. John Redmond drew attention to the immense excess of Irish Police—both as to numbers and cost—when compared with those of Scotland, although there was more serious crime to be dealt with in Scotland than in Ireland.

The report issued by His Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland for the year 1906 states on page 3 that the total authorised strength of the Scotch County and City and Burgh police forces for that year was 5,442,—“Which gives 1 to 857 of the population.” It adds (page 5), that “the Aggregate Cost of the Police Force, excluding the additional Police,” (*i.e.*, police specially employed and paid at private cost), “Together with the Rent, Taxes, Buildings, and all other Expenses amounted to . . . a grand total of £573,348 5s. 6d.”

The Cost of the Irish Police Force for that same year, 1906, when the estimated Irish population was only 4,387,000, as against 4,726,000 for Scotland, reached the enormous total of £1,471,704 !

The following pages will supply a detailed comparison between the military and autocratic police of Ireland and the civilian and popularly controlled police of England and Wales.



## PART I.

CONTROL, NUMBERS, AND COST OF THE POLICE :  
ENGLAND AND WALES—AND IRELAND.

## I.—THE CONTROL.

Of the many inequalities and wrongs inflicted by British rule upon Ireland—at the expense of the British as well as of the Irish taxpayer—there are few more flagrant than those which relate to the cost and control of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police.

To begin with, it must be understood, by all intelligent people honestly willing to understand, that in Ireland there is not so much as a pretence of a shadow of popular control over either of these two forces in town or country. They are under the sole mastery of two nominated officials—an Inspector-General of Constabulary and a Chief Commissioner of Police—who are responsible to Dublin Castle and to Dublin Castle alone. The ratepayers of Dublin, with a population of 378,000 including suburbs served by its police, are set down in the 1907-8 Law and Justice Estimates as paying a Police Tax of £43,000 ; and Dublin Hackney Car and Carriage Licenses, Police Court fines and fees, and Publicans', Pedlars', and Chimney Sweepers' fees makes up a further £10,500 for the local "Appropriations in Aid" of a Police Force over which the local people have no more control than they have over the British Navy or the Government of Japan.

The smallest boroughs of England and Wales, such as the little borough of Louth in Lincolnshire, which only had a population of 9,500 at the last census (1901), have not only the power to determine what the pay of their police shall be, but to dismiss any one of such police, from the Chief Officer to the humblest constable. While the Corporations of Belfast, Londonderry, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, or Dublin, have no power to command so much as an explanation of any misconduct or inefficiency alleged against police officials, high or humble, the smallest Municipal Borough in England and Wales, unless it elects to have its area "watched" by the County Constabulary, is entitled to have its own local police force. If it adopts the latter course it becomes the absolute master of its own police. It can appoint a Watch Committee, and the chief duty of such Committee is to see that the local police discharge their duties honestly and well. On the report of their Watch Committees English and Welsh Corporations can reprimand or cashier their Chief Constable or any member of the force under his command. They have



often exercised this power, and there is no appeal whatever against their decision. Within the past twenty or twenty-five years several such cases have arisen ; but I am content to select one conspicuous and recent case for the purpose of illustration.

In the year 1906 the Watch Committee of Bristol reported to the Corporation that the Chief Constable (holding a post then worth £800 a year), had been guilty of grave inefficiency and misconduct. It was pleaded hard on his behalf that he should be allowed to resign, so that he might be entitled to some pension. But the Corporation dismissed him summarily. Mr. Allbutt, by the way, was an ex-Royal Irish Constabulary man. He should have remained in Ireland. Whatever Mr. Allbutt's faults may have been he had not—in conjunction with subordinates—procured the conviction of several innocent men for crimes (including mutilation of cattle), committed or instigated by himself. This was the horror of which the late Unionist Government admitted that the notorious ruffian, Sergeant Sheridan, R.I.C., together with several brother policemen, had been guilty. Yet the Ministry of "Law and Order"—ex-members of which are now howling about crime in Ireland—refused to put these miscreants in the dock! Sheridan—publicly daring and defying his employers to prosecute him criminally—was dismissed from the force in January, 1901. Two of his confessed accomplices were "allowed to retire," one of them getting a "compassionate allowance" of £200, and the third is still actually on service! Poor Mr. Allbutt was *not* "allowed to retire," nor did he get a "compassionate allowance" of a five-pound note. But then you must understand, that Mr. Allbutt was only the Chief Constable of a great English city, and accountable to the Watch Committee and popularly elected Town Council of that city. If he had committed any criminal offence for which the Corporation thought that he should be prosecuted, no British Government could have choked off the prosecution.

A sergeant in the Royal Irish Constabulary is not under the supervision or control of any local authority, and the English or Welsh Chief Constable is. That makes all the difference.

The London Metropolitan Police are under Imperial instead of local control, for the reason that London is the capital of the whole British Empire ; but outside London, there is not in the whole length and breadth of Great Britain a police force that is not subject to local opinion and authority. Even such Boroughs as elect to be "watched" by the County Constabulary can bring any misconduct or inefficiency of such Constabulary before the County Council.

The facts and figures set forth in the ensuing pages are exclusively drawn from the following official publications:—

A.—“Police (Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales),” 1906.

B.—“Judicial Statistics (Criminal), England and Wales,” 1906.

C.—“Judicial Statistics (Criminal), Ireland,” 1906.

Any other references will be duly authenticated.

## II.—THE NUMBER.

The numbers and cost of the English and Welsh Police are not shown in the Estimates, as are those of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police (which forces will hereafter be referred to jointly as Irish Police). But they appear in an annual report entitled “Police (Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales).” This report is so minute and voluminous that it can only be issued considerably after date, and the latest available issue is for the year 1906. That year must therefore be taken, in the first instance, for the purpose of an exact comparison of the relative numbers and cost of the police of England and Wales with those of the Irish Police, as shown in the “Judicial Statistics (Criminal) Ireland” for 1906. The officially estimated populations in 1906 will be given, as well as those according to the Census of 1901, upon which Census the Blue Book calculations are mainly based.

The following Table (A) shows how England and Wales compared with Ireland in 1906 as regarded police and population:—

TABLE A.  
POPULATION AND POLICE, 1906.

|                      | Population<br>(Census, 1901). | Estimated<br>Population<br>1906. | Authorized<br>Police<br>Strength,<br>1906. |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| England and Wales .. | 32,536,000                    | 34,547,000                       | (a) 46,027                                 |
| Ireland .. ..        | 4,458,000                     | 4,387,000                        | (c) 11,126                                 |

This brings out the startling fact that in the year 1906, the most recent year—as I have already noted—available for exact comparison, Ireland (with an estimated population of 4,387,000) had all but one quarter of the police required for the whole of England and Wales in—

(a) “Police (Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales) Reports,” page 251, Table 6-A.

(c) “Judicial Statistics (Criminal) Ireland,” page 26.

cluding the City of London and London Metropolitan Police Area, with an estimated population of 34,547,000.

In proportion to its estimated population, as compared with England and Wales, the police of Ireland should have numbered not more than six thousand men at the outside, instead of more than eleven thousand.

But the scandalous excess of police in Ireland can only be realised by studying the Reports on "Police (Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales)" for the year 1906.

Exclusive of the City of London and London Metropolitan Police Area, England and Wales are mapped out into three districts, for each of which an independent Inspector of Constabulary issues a yearly report upon the numbers, cost, efficiency, etc., of the borough and county forces under his supervision. These three districts are as follows:—

No. 1.—English Eastern and Midland Counties, and North Wales District.

No. 2.—English Northern District.

No. 3.—South of England and South Wales District.

The following Table is drawn from the figures supplied by the above named reports and the Irish Judicial Statistics.

TABLE B.

showing the Police Forces (in 1906) and the populations (according to 1901 Census) of Ireland and the three English and Welsh Police Districts.

|                           | Population<br>by<br>1901 Census. | Police.    | Number of<br>Police to<br>Population. |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>England and Wales—</b> |                                  |            |                                       |
| District 1. .. ..         | 7,762,000                        | (a) 8,044  | 1 to 965                              |
| District 2. .. ..         | 11,224,000                       | (a) 13,660 | 1 to 822                              |
| District 3. .. ..         | 6,968,000                        | (a) 7,752  | 1 to 898                              |
|                           | 25,954,000                       | 29,456     | 1 to 895                              |
| <b>IRELAND</b> .. ..      | 4,458,000                        | (c) 11,126 | 1 to 400                              |

For purposes of comparison with Ireland, we cannot do better than consider the English and Welsh No. 1 District.

(a) "Police (Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales) Reports," pages 1, 6, and 134.

(c) "Judicial Statistics (Criminal) Ireland," page 26.

It stretches in a broad belt of country from Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex on the North Sea to Cheshire, Flint, Denbigh, Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth on the Irish Sea. It includes eighteen English and six Welsh Counties. It is largely agricultural, six of the counties having no Parliamentary borough, between them, and nine Counties having only one Parliamentary borough apiece.

The Inspector of Constabulary for this district, the Hon. C. G. Legge, calls special attention to the fact that the proportion of its police to the population (1 to 965) is based upon the 1901 Census, which returned its population as 7,762,000. "Most of the Towns have increased," he says, "some very largely, during the last five years, as well as the urban districts in counties; while the population in purely agricultural areas appears on an average to be nearly stationary. So the proportion of police to inhabitants at the present time cannot be as high by a good deal, as shown above."

Why should the numbers of people to police be a good deal larger than 965 to 1 in this district in the year 1906, as against 400 Irish people to each Irish policeman, even on the Census of 1901,—and 394 of them to each policeman on the estimated population of 1906? It may safely be assumed that the English and Welsh No. 1 District has at the present moment a population nearly—if not quite—double that of Ireland. Yet, in the year 1906, it was employing 8,044 policemen as against Ireland's 11,126!

Serious assaults upon the police in the discharge of their ordinary duties are rare in Ireland as compared with those committed in England and Wales.

### III.—THE COST.

Ireland is not only extravagantly over-policed in proportion to its population, as compared with England and Wales, but the cost of its police establishments is equally disproportionate. The following Table (C) shows the situation in 1906 at a glance:—

TABLE C.

Showing the Total Cost and Salaries and Pay of the English and Welsh and Irish Police Forces in 1906.

|  | Population<br>by 1901<br>Census. | Number<br>of Police<br>in 1906. | Total<br>Cost. | Salaries<br>and<br>Pay. |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| English and Welsh<br>Counties & Boroughs } | 25,954,000                       | 29,456                          | 3,370,485      | 2,489,970               |
| London Metropolitan<br>Police Area }       | 6,554,000                        | 15,565                          | 2,196,321      | 1,589,966               |
| City of London ..                          | 26,000                           | 1,006                           | 176,023        | 115,930                 |
| Ireland .. ..                              | 4,458,000                        | 11,126                          | 1,471,704      | 710,243                 |

The English and Welsh figures in this table are drawn from the " Police (Counties and Boroughs), England and Wales " Reports for 1906, pages 251, 252, and 253.

The figures showing the Total Cost and Salaries and Pay of the Irish Police establishments are extracted respectively from the Irish Criminal Statistics (1906) and the Irish (1905-6) Estimates.

They bring out the astounding fact—a fact that might be treated as fiction if it were not staring us in the face from the pages of the Blue Books—that the total cost of the Police Establishments of Ireland is nearly half the total cost of the Police Establishments for the whole of the English and Welsh Counties and boroughs, outside the City of London and the London Metropolitan Police area !

The " Salaries and Pay " column does not include special allowances, travelling expenses, etc. It shows that the Irish Police drew more than a third in pay and salary for watching a population of 4,458,000 on the last Census (a population now seriously diminished) of what was drawn by the whole of the English and Welsh Borough and County Police Forces,



outside the City of London and London Metropolitan Police Area, for watching a population of 25,954,000 on the last Census, and now heavily increased.

In addition to their perfect independence of local control in any shape or form, the Irish Police have a valuable claim upon the pockets of the ratepayers, and one that is little known even among the best informed Englishmen.

If, for instance, a London policeman is mobbed and brutally assaulted by a ruffianly mob—as he very often is—as the result of interfering with a drunken rough, the only consolation he gets is his full pay and free medical attendance while on the sick list. If permanently incapacitated, all he has to look for is an allowance from a pension fund towards which a certain percentage of his pay is stopped every week. An Irish policeman in like case has a claim before a County Court Judge for damages against the ratepayers, and frequently obtains heavy damages, though remaining on active service.

The Irish Police are for all practical purposes a military force under Dublin Castle control, and they are more privileged, better paid, and much less hard worked than are the police of any part of England and Wales.

It has been pleaded—and even some Irishmen are deluded by the plea—that the Royal Irish Constabulary are quartered on the Estimates, while the cost of the English and Welsh Constabulary is heavily contributed to by the English and Welsh local ratepayers. But Irish counties and districts are constantly taxed severely for “extra police” quartered upon them. And moreover, the fallacy of the argument is obvious on the following grounds:—

A.—A Royal Commission has reported that Ireland is heavily over-taxed in proportion to its taxable capacity, and Irish taxes flow into the Imperial Exchequer. Therefore Ireland is not only paying her full share of the cost of Policing the United Kingdom, but she is paying vastly more.

B.—Outside London, the pay and numbers of the local police are settled by the town and county councils. In Ireland they are settled absolutely over the heads of the people. If, for instance, the town council of Cork had any voice in the matter, it would not consider that a population of 76,000 required 176 constables, (the number allotted to Cork city by the authorities in 1906), when Norwich, with 211,000 people, can manage with 124 policemen, and Wolverhampton, with 94,000 people, only has 103.

## PART II.

## CRIME IN ENGLAND AND WALES—AND IRELAND.

Are the Irish such an abnormally criminal people that they are not alone unfit to have the slightest control over their own Police, but that the Royal Irish Constabulary must have every military equipment short of artillery and machine guns ?

To obtain an accurate and convincing reply to the question, we must compare the " Judicial Statistics (Criminal) " for England and Wales and Ireland respectively for 1906, that being the most recent year for which the English and Welsh statistics are available.

It is officially admitted on each side of the Irish Channel that the number of indictable offences known to the police in any given year, and compared with the population, provides us with the best all-round test of the criminal tendencies of that population. Is there or is there not an increase of crime ? " The most trustworthy answer to this question," said the English and Welsh Report for 1905, page 12, " is to be found in the returns as to Indictable offences. They include all the most serious forms of crime. They exclude offences which may not be, from a moral point of view, very reprehensible." And the Irish Report for 1906 states on page 19 that " The number of Indictable Offences may be taken as the more correct standard by which to measure the prevalence of crime in relation to the population, inasmuch as the non-indictable offences include very many which partake of a civil character."

In the year 1906, the Indictable Offences known to the police of England and Wales (with an estimated population of 34,547,000) were 11,665. Those known to the police in Ireland (with an estimated population of 4,387,000) were 9,465.

A simple rule of three sum shows that if Indictable Offences had been committed that year in Ireland in the same proportion to the population as in England and Wales, they would have numbered 11,640 instead of only 9,465.

But when we analyse the figures relating to the more serious kinds of indictable Offences, the result becomes the more striking. It is shown in the following Table, compiled from page 37 of the English and Welsh Criminal Statistics and page 35 of those relating to Ireland.

TABLE D.—SERIOUS INDICTABLE OFFENCES, 1906.

|  | England & Wales | Ireland. |
|--|-----------------|----------|
| Murder .....   | 155             | 19       |
| Attempts to Murder. ....   | 110             | 11       |
| Felonious and Malicious Woundings. ....                                | 1326            | 144      |
| Burglaries, House and Shop Breakings and Robberies with Violence ..... | 10589           | 762      |
| Embezzlements, Frauds, and Larcenies from the Person .....             | 9750            | 587      |
| Sexual Crimes against Women and Girls.....                             | 1335            | 89       |
| Unnatural Offences and attempts to commit them.                        | 246             | 7        |
| Procuring Abortion .....   | 47              | 0        |

A glance at the last three items on this list will prove—if proof, indeed were needed—the immense superiority of Ireland over England and Wales in the matter of public morals. The following observations may be made upon the items which precede them.

As regards the number of murders in Ireland, they were (in proportion to population) nearly equal to those in England and Wales. But not one of them was what is called “agrarian” and four of them at least, must have been committed by the four homicidal lunatics who were committed to the criminal lunatic asylum in 1906. Thirteen of them were infanticides. The terribly numerous English and Welsh murders which go unpunished may be gathered from the following paragraph in the *New of the World*, (June 14th, 1908) a Conservative London weekly paper which devotes much space to criminal reports and statistics.

### “MURDERERS AT LARGE.

#### “ARMY OF CRIMINALS WHO HAVE EVADED JUSTICE.

“Hardly a month passes but some murder is committed and the guilty person escapes. The saying that “murder will out” does not hold nowadays. The contrary is, indeed, more nearly the case. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the police, a murderer more often than not gets the better of them. The following are the official figures relating to murder in England and Wales during the ten years ending December, 1888. Murders reported, 1,766; no trace of criminal, 1,094; persons tried, 672; acquitted, 231; found insane, 142; convicted and sentenced 299. The proportion is about normal. Between 1888 and 1906, inclusive, the

police reported 2,610 murders, of which 1,472 baffled the efforts of Scotland Yard to solve, while of the 1,138 suspected persons sent to trial upwards of one-fourth were acquitted. The figures of the last two years for which there are complete returns are as follows :

|                         |    |    | 1905. | 1906. |
|-------------------------|----|----|-------|-------|
| Murders reported        | .. | .. | 137   | 155   |
| No trace of criminal,   | .. | .. | 74    | 71    |
| Persons tried           | .. | .. | 63    | 63    |
| Acquitted               | .. | .. | 13    | 14    |
| Found insane            | .. | .. | 18    | 22    |
| Convicted and sentenced | .. | .. | 32    | 27 "  |

The paragraph might have added that 21 murderers escaped the law by committing suicide, and I have therefore altered its figure for 1906 from 134 to 155. The *English and Welsh Report* (page 25) states that Coroners' Inquests were held in which "Verdicts of wilful murder were returned in 155 cases. Twenty-one persons against whom verdicts of wilful murder were returned committed suicide at the time of the murder." But making allowance for these 21 murder-suicides, and for the fact that some of them committed more than one murder, the sinister fact remains that for 155 murders there was "No trace of Criminal" in 71 cases! Indeed, the amount of crime in England and Wales that goes scot-free is astonishingly in excess of what many ill-informed anti-Irish speakers and writers would have us imagine. The *England and Wales Report* states for instance (page 32) that "in offences against property with violence, the number of apprehensions amounts to only about two-fifths of the number of crimes." There is much cant as to the difficulty of getting evidence against criminals in Ireland. But it is the constant complaint of the English police, that whole districts are so terrorised by organised bands of ruffians that there is the greatest trouble (often a sheer impossibility) in getting the stabbed or bludgeoned victims to prosecute, or local witnesses of the outrages to come into the witness-box. In this very year (1908) when a man called Wood was tried for the murder of an "unfortunate," the witnesses for the Crown had to have special protection, and had to be smuggled into court and out of it by back ways. A young woman who was mistaken for the chief witness against the prisoner was all but torn off an omnibus by a raging mob outside the Old Bailey; and but for the strenuous efforts of the police she would have been nearly killed, if, indeed, she had escaped with her life.



The officially estimated population of Ireland in the year 1906 having been, roughly speaking one-eighth of the population of England and Wales, the use of the figure 8 will demonstrate that as regards all the most serious Indictable Offences set forth in Table D, Ireland had a far better record than England and Wales. I have not included "Manslaughter" in that table, because "Manslaughter" is a legal term which does not necessarily imply any criminal intent to take life. It covers cases of death caused by a fatal blow in an ordinary fair stand-up fight, and deaths caused by culpable neglect or carelessness—such as the furious driving of a motor car, etc. The introduction to the *England and Wales Criminal Statistics* for the year 1905 remarked on page 21 that "Probably there are few better criteria of the existence of a criminal disposition than the prevalence of the offence of malicious wounding." How did this test apply to Ireland and to England and Wales respectively in the year 1906?

If the Irish population of 4,387,000 had been possessed of the same "malicious wounding" tendencies as the English and Welsh population of 34,547,000, the Irish "Malicious Woundings" would have been 129 instead of only 67. This is cold-blooded Rule-of-Three reasoning that may not be palatable to English partizans, or to those persons who, although living in Ireland, are never happy unless they are throwing mud at the country which provides them with an income; but it is a reasoning that has the merit of being very difficult to refute. In the same way Irish offences against Property, with violence (Indictable Offences, Class II.), should have been 1,376, instead of 783, and Irish offences against Property, without violence (Class III.), should have been 9,247 instead of 7,152.

It may be added that, according to the official statistics, the indictable Offences (taken as a whole) committed in England and Wales in the year 1906 were as follows:—

|                   |    |     |     |         |    |             |
|-------------------|----|-----|-----|---------|----|-------------|
| England and Wales | .. | 265 | per | 100,000 | of | Population. |
|-------------------|----|-----|-----|---------|----|-------------|

|         |    |     |    |    |    |    |
|---------|----|-----|----|----|----|----|
| Ireland | .. | 212 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
|---------|----|-----|----|----|----|----|

But it must be admitted that in one class of Indictable offences Ireland stands very badly as compared with England and Wales, taking the relative populations into account. In the year 1906 the Malicious Injuries to Property in England and Wales were 517. In Ireland they were 533.

Yet it must be remembered, in view of the Unionist clamour for Coercion, that in the years 1901 and 1902—when Mr. Balfour was in power, and his Coercion Act in full swing—the Malicious Injuries to Property in Ireland numbered 733 and 536 respectively. In the year



1904, when Coercion had ceased and the Land Purchase Act had been passed, the Malicious Injuries to Property fell to 465—by far the lowest number since the Unionists came into power in the year 1895. During the years 1896 to 1903 (inclusive) the lowest number of these offences in any one year was 496. In other years they were as many as 690, 733, 823, etc. And this was under a "Law and Order" Unionist Government.

The English and Welsh Report for 1905 made some very sensible comments upon "Malicious Injuries to Property" (page 25) which some of our anti-Irish Irishmen and some of our English opponents might well consider. It remarked that a malicious injury to property "may mean a serious crime, or it may signify no more than breaking the window of a public-house. . . . The cases of arson are to be found much more in the agricultural than in the metropolitan counties. It is peculiarly the crime of rural districts. . . . It is possible that there is some connection between the frequency of such cases and the rate of wages, though *they may be related to the number of vagrants, who are often the offenders.*" Now this raises a very important question. Under the Irish Poor Law there is no such power of detaining the professional tramp or vagrant as the English Unions are armed with. The result is that the Irish vagrant can cover the ground far more quickly than his English or Welsh brethren. There is little or no check upon him, and his malice when refused alms is beyond doubt responsible for a tremendous proportion of the rick-burnings and cattle-maimings that are laid to the charge of political or agrarian agitations. So far as cattle maiming and killing outrages are concerned, they constantly escape detection in England itself. Nobody was brought to justice for the famous and ghastly series of them committed in Staffordshire not long ago—except a man who was sent to penal servitude for them, but was subsequently released on his innocence being absolutely proved. Another series of them have lately terrified whole districts in Essex, and nobody has been made amenable.

As this pamphlet is going to press, the Irish Criminal Statistics for 1907 have been published. And what do they show? They show that the Malicious Injuries to Property in Ireland in that year were 588. The Report states that they were 78 over the average for the five years 1902-6, but 189 *under the average for the five years 1897-1901*—five years during which a Unionist Government reigned supreme.

Does this comparatively small reaction since the year 1904, a reaction confined to a few districts, justify the scream for suspending the operation of the ordinary law, and substituting for it the jurisdiction of Coercion Act Courts composed of a brace of "Resident Magistrates"—most of

them retired Army men, promoted policemen, or landlord " friends of the family " not possessing one real scrap of legal knowledge ?

The deep conviction of many Irish Nationalists is—that the increase in this particular class of offences from 518 in the year 1905 to 588 in the year 1907 is exclusively due to bitter disappointment and indignant agitation caused by the widespread failure in many parts of Ireland of the Land Purchase Act of 1903. It is not within the scope of this pamphlet to discuss the various causes of such failure. The Unionist *Irish Times* (July 17th) tells us that " bargains to the amount of over forty millions are outstanding for settlement." But that is not all. In every county in Ireland there stands the mournful and reproachful figure of the Evicted Tenant—the poor, brave, homeless, ruined man or woman, beggared and beaten to the earth in the Land War that raised the Irish tenant from serfdom. There can be no such thing as a final land question settlement that leaves these gallant people out of account, or that places hard-and-fast rules in the way of their reinstatement—such rules as we are confronted with on every hand when we make appeal for them.

This pamphlet is lengthy. But it was a thing that had to be done thoroughly if done at all. It has been done with a desire to write honestly, understating Ireland's case rather than the reverse, and to vindicate a generous and kindly people against the foul charge that they are conspicuous for crime in the United Kingdom, while the Judicial Statistics prove that even in the matter of temperance they are well superior to England and Wales, and far superior to Scotland. The " Drunken Irish " and the " Criminal Irish " are expressions best left out of any honest Englishman's mouth.

# THE MONEY ARGUMENT FOR HOME RULE.

By T. M. KETTLE, M.P.

It is said that the case for Home Rule rests on merely sentimental grounds. The proper word in this connection would not be sentimental, but moral; and from the moral point of view the Home Rule case is unanswerable. Good government, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has said, is no substitute for self-government. But the government of Ireland is not good.

There is a money argument as well as a moral argument for Home Rule. It will be found in the tables at the end of this pamphlet. In 1901 a similar document was prepared and circulated by the Rt. Hon. T. Lough, M.P. The figures are now brought up to date [1907-8] by reference to the annual returns of revenue and expenditure for Great Britain and Ireland. For facility of reference, Revenue is classified under three heads, direct and indirect taxes, and non-tax revenue, and each head is again subdivided. Details of the two chief indirect taxes are given in a footnote. Expenditure is arranged under six heads. The initial year 1894 is chosen as the date of appointment of the Financial Relations Commission.

The Commission reported that in 1894 Ireland was over-taxed by 2,500,000 annually. Calculated on this basis the conscience-money due by England to Ireland is more than £400,000,000.

Since 1894, so far from any amends having been made, things have become very much worse.

The taxation of Ireland has risen by nearly two millions a year.

Her population has fallen by close on 200,000.

The cost of her home government has increased by £2,062,239, or from £1 4s. 6d. to £1 15s. per head of the population.

The drain on her resources has been so deadly that in spite of greatly increased taxation her Imperial contribution is £150,000 per annum less than it was fourteen years ago. This drain has been continuous. In 1859 Ireland paid more than £5,000,000 to the cost of the Army and Navy. She now pays less than £2,000,000.

Ireland is ruined by the present system. The British Empire does not gain by it. The only class that does profit by it is a horde of officials.

Scotland at present has a larger population than Ireland. But of Government officials assessed for income tax there are in Scotland 938, in Ireland, 4,560. Their salaries are in Scotland, £315,000; in Ireland, £1,435,000. These are the official figures given in the Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for 1908.

Education in Ireland is admitted by all parties to be absolutely starved. The grant for primary education in the present year is in England 7s. 10½d.; in Ireland, only 6s. 5d. per head of the population. The grant in England has increased in the last seven years by 43 per cent., in Scotland by 51 per cent., in Ireland by only 1½ per cent.

Ireland is forced to spend £3 for every £1 spent by Scotland on law and justice, although she has less crime to deal with. The cost of the Law Courts in Scotland was last year £202,608; the cost in Ireland, £368,714. Irish police cost practically £1,500,000, that is to say, more than the whole system of primary education; Scotch police cost about £500,000. The Irish Prisons Board, with only 2,500 convicts under its charge, costs £107,000 per annum; The Scotch Prisons Board, with 2,900 convicts, costs £87,600.

The burden of all this extravagance is borne in Ireland by the poor. Only 50 per cent. of revenue is raised in England by indirect taxation; in Ireland 73 per cent. is raised by taxes on articles of domestic consumption. Food taxes, *i.e.*, taxes on tea, sugar and other necessities, have increased in Ireland since the year of the Financial Relations Commission by more than 140 per cent. Food taxes account for 40 per cent. of the increase of taxation from 1894 to 1908. At the same time the average weekly

wage of an agricultural labourer is in Scotland, 19s. 3d.; in England, 18s. 3d.; in Ireland, 10s. 11d.

The excessive cost of Irish government can be illustrated in another way. Of her national income of £1,800,000,000 a year, England spends less than one-fortieth part on her home government. Of her national income of £70,000,000 a year, Ireland is forced to spend on her home government more than one-tenth.

Mr. Gladstone foresaw this deadly and demoralising growth of Irish expenditure, and he realised that there is only one cure for it. In introducing his Home Rule Bill of 1886, he said:—

“The civil charges *per capita* at this moment are in Great Britain 8s. 2d., and in Ireland 16s. They have increased in Ireland in the last fifteen years by 63 per cent., and my belief is that if the present legislative and administrative systems be maintained, you must make up your minds to a continual, never ending, and never to be limited augmentation.”

Mr. Gladstone's forecast was lamentably correct. The civil charges in Ireland are now not 16s., but 28s. 6d. *per capita*.

The impossibility of founding a just system of taxation on the present unjust political system is shown by Mr. Lloyd George's Budget of 1909. Courageous and full of hope as regards Great Britain, it is cruel and full of menace as regards Ireland. No statesman can budget fairly as between a rich country and a poor country through uniform taxation; and no exemptions or abatements are granted to Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George's Budget increases Irish over-taxation by at least £1,000,000 a year. At the same time it gives no guarantee that the Imperial Contribution will not shortly disappear. England is hurting Ireland without helping herself. It is the *reductio ad absurdum* of government from Westminster.

There is no remedy for these growing evils except Mr. Gladstone's remedy—HOME RULE—which alone can give to Ireland the power and the incentive to economise with prudence, and to spend with judgment her own money.

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[The figures given above are derived from the Annual Returns of Revenue and Expenditure now furnished to Parliament. Those for 1907-8 show little change; and so far as there is any change it reinforces the argument. The total revenue raised from Ireland in 1907-8 was £9,621,000, an increase of £131,000, with a declining population. For details, see *Parliamentary Papers*, No. 215 and No. 216 of Session 1908.]



**TABLE** showing the Population and Revenue of Ireland from 1893—1894 to 1899—1900 under the three heads of Direct and Indirect Taxes, and Non-Tax Revenue.

|                          | 1893—1894. | 1894—1895.       | 1895—1896. | 1896—1897.       | 1897—1898. | 1898—1899.       | 1899—1900. |                  |
|--------------------------|------------|------------------|------------|------------------|------------|------------------|------------|------------------|
| <b>DIRECT TAXES:</b>     |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Income Tax ..            | Rate. —/7  | Yield. £ 653,417 | Rate. —/8  | Yield. £ 664,574 | Rate. —/8  | Yield. £ 682,000 | Rate. —/8  | Yield. £ 711,000 |
| Death Duties ..          |            | 473,927          |            | 503,475          |            | 718,000          |            | 738,000          |
| Stamps ..                |            | 248,600          |            | 262,876          |            | 296,000          |            | 301,000          |
|                          |            | 1,375,944        |            | 1,430,925        |            | 1,696,000        |            | 1,743,000        |
| <b>INDIRECT TAXES:</b>   |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Sugar ..                 |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Tea, &c.* ..             | —/4        | 564,080          | —/4        | 583,282          | —/4        | 615,000          | —/4        | 735,000          |
| Tobacco ..               | 3/2        | 1,174,642        | 3/2        | 1,194,533        | 3/2        | 1,297,000        | 2/8        | 1,177,000        |
| Alcohol† ..              |            | 3,529,053        |            | 3,554,975        |            | 3,631,000        |            | 4,047,000        |
| Corn... ..               |            | —                |            | —                |            | —                |            | —                |
|                          |            | 5,267,775        |            | 5,205,969        |            | 5,473,000        |            | 5,959,000        |
| <b>NON-TAX REVENUE:</b>  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Non-Tax ..               |            | 134,828          |            | 126,485          |            | 132,000          |            | 133,500          |
| Post Office ..           |            | 752,293          |            | 763,647          |            | 809,000          |            | 878,000          |
| Crown Lands ..           |            | 37,809           |            | 36,498           |            | 36,000           |            | 34,000           |
|                          |            | 924,930          |            | 926,450          |            | 977,000          |            | 1,045,500        |
| <b>TOTAL OF TAXES ..</b> |            | <b>7,568,649</b> |            | <b>7,690,345</b> |            | <b>8,145,000</b> |            | <b>8,664,500</b> |
| <b>POPULATION ..</b>     |            | <b>4,600,599</b> |            | <b>4,574,764</b> |            | <b>4,560,378</b> |            | <b>4,550,764</b> |
| <b>DETAILS—TEA*</b>      |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Cocoa ..                 |            | 12,309           |            | 14,149           |            | 17,000           |            | 22,000           |
| Coffee, &c. ..           |            | 12,494           |            | 12,842           |            | 13,000           |            | 14,000           |
| Fruit ..                 |            | 43,775           |            | 46,276           |            | 45,000           |            | 47,000           |
| Tea ..                   |            | 489,033          |            | 502,268          |            | 532,000          |            | 564,000          |
| Sundries ..              |            | 6,469            |            | 6,936            |            | 7,000            |            | 8,000            |
|                          |            | 564,080          |            | 583,282          |            | 615,000          |            | 637,000          |
| <b>ALCOHOL†</b>          |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Foreign Spirits ..       |            | 368,049          |            | 369,095          |            | 378,000          |            | 356,000          |
| Wine ..                  | 1/-        | 96,811           | 1/-        | 100,399          | 1/-        | 106,000          | 1/-        | 112,000          |
| Spirits ..               | 10/6       | 2,234,684        | 10/6       | 2,224,422        | 10/6       | 2,173,000        | 10/6       | 2,151,000        |
| Beer ..                  | 6/3        | 684,278          | 6/9        | 720,088          | 6/9        | 737,000          | 6/9        | 773,000          |
| Licenses ..              |            | 195,251          |            | 196,992          |            | 201,000          |            | 208,000          |
| Other Items ..           |            | —                |            | —                |            | —                |            | —                |
|                          |            | —                |            | —                |            | —                |            | —                |

## EXPENDITURE.

TABLE showing the Irish Expenditure and the Imperial Contribution from 1893—1894 to 1899—1900, giving details of the principal items.

|                       | 1893—1894.     | 1894—1895.          | 1895—1896.     | 1896—1897.     | 1897—1898.     | 1898—1899.     | 1899—1900.     |
|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Law and Police        | £<br>2,235,698 | £<br>2,171,406      | £<br>2,285,279 | £<br>2,192,500 | £<br>2,243,500 | £<br>2,172,500 | £<br>2,255,500 |
| Dublin Castle         | 862,438        | 840,302             | 916,699        | 878,500        | 889,500        | 890,500        | 795,500        |
| Education             | 1,141,966      | 1,165,728           | 1,220,007      | 1,356,000      | 1,275,500      | 1,288,000      | 1,293,000      |
| Local Grants          | 569,643        | 637,364             | 709,050        | 720,000        | 860,000        | 1,183,000      | 1,011,000      |
| Post Office           | 792,810        | 801,561             | 807,720        | 823,000        | 866,000        | 943,000        | 1,025,000      |
| Imperial Contribution | 1,966,094      | 2,075,984           | 2,095,629      | 2,176,000      | 1,930,000      | 1,725,000      | 1,684,500      |
| Total Expenditure     | 7,568,649      | 7,690,345           | 8,034,384      | 8,146,000      | 8,114,500      | 8,202,000      | 8,664,500      |
| DETAILS:—             |                |                     |                |                |                |                |                |
| Pensions              | 17,824         | 17,610              | 17,610         | 19,000         | 17,000         | 15,000         | 16,000         |
| Salary of Judges      | 118,875        | 118,729             | 117,566        | 115,000        | 115,000        | 118,500        | 120,000        |
| Law and Police        | 2,023,439      | 2,006,247           | 2,023,213      | 2,031,000      | 2,037,000      | 2,030,000      | 2,062,500      |
| Class VII.            | 73,500         | 28,820              | 120,890        | 27,500         | 54,500         | 9,000          | 57,000         |
|                       | 2,235,698      | 2,171,406           | 2,285,279      | 2,192,500      | 2,243,500      | 2,172,500      | 2,255,500      |
| Lord Lieutenant, &c.  | 21,808         | 21,804              | 21,804         | 22,000         | 21,500         | 21,500         | 22,000         |
| Board of Works, &c.   | 133,154        | 164,636             | 177,059        | 182,000        | 173,000        | 180,000        | 171,000        |
| L.G.B., &c., Cl. II.  | 293,828        | 297,121             | 306,436        | 297,500        | 305,500        | 305,000        | 205,000        |
| Surveys               | 50,950         | 52,100              | 49,000         | 49,000         | 48,000         | 50,000         | 64,000         |
| Collection of Taxes   | 223,394        | 220,691             | 228,440        | 232,000        | 241,000        | 242,000        | 242,000        |
| Superannuation, &c.   | 79,300         | 83,950              | 83,500         | 81,000         | 79,500         | 80,000         | 73,500         |
| Board of Agriculture  | —              | —                   | 50,000         | 15,000         | 21,000         | 12,000         | 18,000         |
|                       | 862,438        | 840,302             | 916,699        | 878,500        | 889,500        | 890,500        | 795,500        |
| Queen's Colleges      | 21,000         | 21,000              | 21,000         | 21,000         | 21,000         | 21,000         | 21,000         |
| Class IV.             | 1,120,966      | 1,144,728           | 1,109,807      | 1,240,000      | 1,254,500      | 1,267,000      | 1,272,000      |
| Teachers' Superann.   | —              | —                   | —              | 95,000         | —              | —              | —              |
|                       | 1,141,966      | 1,165,728           | 1,220,007      | 1,356,000      | 1,275,500      | 1,288,000      | 1,293,000      |
| Exchequer Grants      | 321,014        | 323,766             | 353,940        | 401,000        | 511,000        | 404,000        | 1,053,000      |
| Contrib.              | 40,000         | 40,000              | 40,900         | 40,000         | 40,000         | 447,000        | 400,000        |
| Railways              | 38,247         | { 62,268 }<br>9,500 | 78,101         | 89,000         | 87,000         | —              | —              |
| Lunatics              | 121,433        | 123,297             | 126,206        | 130,000        | 137,000        | 92,000         | 99,000         |
| Hospitals, &c.        | 18,079         | 17,958              | 17,817         | 18,000         | 18,000         | 143,000        | 17,000         |
| Rates on Gov. Prop.   | 30,870         | 32,575              | 42,186         | 42,000         | 18,000         | 18,000         | 44,000         |
| Class VII.—Relief     | —              | 35,000              | 50,800         | —              | 23,000         | 37,000         | —              |
|                       | 569,643        | 627,364             | 709,050        | 720,000        | 860,000        | 1,183,000      | 1,611,000      |

# REVENUE.

TABLE showing the Population and Revenue of Ireland from 1900—1901 to 1906—1907 under the three heads of Direct and Indirect Taxes, and Non-Tax Revenue.

|                          | 1900—1901. |                  | 1901—1902. |                  | 1902—1903. |                   | 1903—1904. |                  | 1904—1905. |                  | 1905—1906. |                  | 1906—1907. |                  |
|--------------------------|------------|------------------|------------|------------------|------------|-------------------|------------|------------------|------------|------------------|------------|------------------|------------|------------------|
|                          | Rate.      | Yield.<br>£      | Rate.      | Yield.<br>£      | Rate.      | Yield.<br>£       | Rate.      | Yield.<br>£      | Rate.      | Yield.<br>£      | Rate.      | Yield.<br>£      | Rate.      | Yield.<br>£      |
| <b>DIRECT TAXES:</b>     |            |                  |            |                  |            |                   |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Income Tax ..            | 1/-        | 975,000          | 1/2        | 1,176,000        | 1/3        | 1,281,000         | -/11       | 1,137,000        | 1/-        | 1,115,000        |            | 1,085,000        |            | 1,102,000        |
| Death Duties ..          |            | 873,000          |            | 760,000          |            | 642,000           |            | 762,000          |            | 742,000          |            | 611,000          |            | 691,000          |
| Stamps ..                |            | 290,000          |            | 316,000          |            | 284,000           |            | 284,000          |            | 288,000          |            | 293,000          |            | 300,000          |
|                          |            | 2,138,000        |            | 2,252,000        |            | 2,207,000         |            | 2,183,000        |            | 2,145,000        |            | 1,989,000        |            | 2,093,000        |
| <b>INDIRECT TAXES:</b>   |            |                  |            |                  |            |                   |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Sugar ..                 |            | —                | 4/2        | 688,000          | 4/2        | 473,000           | 4/2        | 573,000          |            | 602,000          |            | 602,000          |            | 602,000          |
| Tea, &c.* ..             | -/6        | 964,000          | -/6        | 901,000          | -/6        | 926,000           | -/6        | 770,000          | -/8        | 928,000          |            | 773,000          |            | 642,000          |
| Tobacco ..               | 3/-        | 1,366,000        | 3/-        | 1,098,000        | 3/-        | 1,269,000         | 3/-        | 1,272,000        |            | 1,310,000        |            | 1,313,000        |            | 1,291,000        |
| Alcohol† ..              |            | 3,985,000        |            | 3,773,000        |            | 3,946,000         |            | 3,810,000        |            | 3,616,000        |            | 3,577,000        |            | 3,646,000        |
| Corn ..                  |            | —                |            | —                | 1/-        | 276,000           |            | 14,000           |            | —                |            | —                |            | —                |
|                          |            | 6,315,000        |            | 6,460,000        |            | 6,890,000         |            | 6,439,000        |            | 6,456,000        |            | 6,265,000        |            | 6,181,000        |
| <b>NON-TAX</b>           |            |                  |            |                  |            |                   |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| REVENUE:                 |            |                  |            |                  |            |                   |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Non-Tax ..               |            | 116,000          |            | 116,000          |            | 117,500           |            | 115,500          |            | 120,500          |            | 120,500          |            | 126,000          |
| Post Office ..           |            | 903,000          |            | 923,000          |            | 960,000           |            | 980,000          |            | 1,002,000        |            | 1,043,000        |            | 1,060,000        |
| Crown Lands ..           |            | 33,000           |            | 33,000           |            | 31,000            |            | 31,000           |            | 30,000           |            | 29,500           |            | 30,000           |
|                          |            | 1,052,000        |            | 1,072,000        |            | 1,108,500         |            | 1,126,500        |            | 1,152,500        |            | 1,193,000        |            | 1,216,000        |
| <b>TOTAL OF TAXES ..</b> |            | <b>9,505,000</b> |            | <b>9,784,000</b> |            | <b>10,205,500</b> |            | <b>9,748,500</b> |            | <b>9,753,500</b> |            | <b>9,447,000</b> |            | <b>9,490,000</b> |
| <b>POPULATION ..</b>     |            | <b>4,456,546</b> |            | <b>4,430,028</b> |            | <b>4,432,287</b>  |            | <b>4,414,995</b> |            | <b>4,398,462</b> |            | <b>4,386,035</b> |            | <b>—</b>         |
| <b>DETAILS—TEA*</b>      |            |                  |            |                  |            |                   |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Cocoa ..                 |            | 27,000           |            | 27,000           |            | 24,000            |            | 28,000           |            | 27,000           |            | 27,000           |            | 25,000           |
| ..                       |            | 14,000           |            | 13,000           |            | 13,000            |            | 13,000           |            | 13,000           |            | 13,000           |            | 13,000           |
| ..                       |            | 38,000           |            | 41,000           |            | 44,000            |            | 47,000           |            | 45,000           |            | 48,000           |            | 47,000           |
| ..                       |            | 877,000          |            | 811,000          |            | 837,000           |            | 672,000          |            | 836,000          |            | 680,000          |            | 562,000          |
| ..                       | -/6        | 8,090            |            | 9,000            |            | 8,000             |            | 10,000           |            | 7,000            |            | 5,000            |            | 5,000            |
| ..                       |            | 964,000          |            | 901,000          |            | 926,000           |            | 770,000          |            | 928,000          |            | 773,000          |            | 842,000          |
| <b>ALCOHOL†</b>          |            |                  |            |                  |            |                   |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |            |                  |
| Foreign Spirits ..       |            | 365,000          |            | 349,000          |            | 368,000           |            | 363,000          |            | 343,000          |            | 333,000          |            | 348,000          |
| Wine ..                  | 1/6        | 119,000          | 1/6        | 116,000          | 1/6        | 122,000           | 1/6        | 103,000          | 1/6        | 90,000           |            | 89,000           |            | 92,000           |
| Spirits ..               | 11/-       | 2,324,000        | 11/-       | 2,088,000        | 11/-       | 2,194,000         | 11/-       | 2,154,000        | 11/-       | 2,046,000        |            | 1,982,000        |            | 1,992,000        |
| Beer ..                  | 7/6        | 866,000          | 7/6        | 1,007,000        | 7/6        | 1,048,000         | 7/6        | 976,000          | 7/6        | 923,000          |            | 952,000          |            | 996,000          |
| Licence ..               |            | 211,000          |            | 213,000          |            | 214,000           |            | 214,000          |            | 214,000          |            | 214,000          |            | 216,000          |
| Other Items ..           |            | —                |            | —                |            | —                 |            | —                |            | —                |            | 1,000            |            | 2,000            |

## EXPENDITURE.

TABLE showing the Irish Expenditure and the Imperial Contribution from 1900—1901 to 1906—1907, giving details of the principal items.

|                        | 1900—1901.     | 1901—1902.     | 1902—1903.     | 1903—1904.     | 1904—1905.     | 1905—1906.     | 1906—1907.     |
|------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Law and Police         | £<br>2,247,000 | £<br>2,207,000 | £<br>2,212,500 | £<br>2,229,500 | £<br>2,159,000 | £<br>2,168,500 | £<br>2,239,000 |
| Dublin Castle ..       | 932,000        | 966,000        | 1,004,500      | 1,049,500      | 1,042,000      | 1,063,000      | 1,619,500      |
| Education ..           | 1,434,500      | 1,333,000      | 1,366,000      | 1,409,500      | 1,419,500      | 1,428,000      | 1,428,000      |
| Local Grants ..        | 1,631,000      | 1,621,000      | 1,630,000      | 1,733,500      | 1,774,500      | 1,777,000      | 1,786,000      |
| Post Office ..         | 1,061,000      | 1,087,000      | 1,140,000      | 1,126,000      | 1,172,000      | 1,199,000      | 1,209,000      |
| Imperial Contribution  | 2,199,000      | 2,570,000      | 2,852,000      | 2,200,500      | 2,186,500      | 1,811,500      | 1,811,500      |
| Total Expenditure ..   | 9,505,000      | 9,784,000      | 10,205,000     | 9,748,500      | 9,753,500      | 9,447,000      | 9,490,000      |
| DETAILS:—              |                |                |                |                |                |                |                |
| Pensions ..            | 14,000         | 11,500         | 11,000         | 11,500         | 13,500         | 13,500         | 14,000         |
| Salary of Judges ..    | 115,000        | 115,000        | 115,000        | 115,000        | 110,000        | 108,000        | 108,000        |
| Law and Police ..      | 2,087,500      | 2,070,500      | 2,075,000      | 2,073,000      | 2,024,500      | 2,033,500      | 2,086,000      |
| Class VII. ..          | 51,000         | 10,000         | 11,500         | 29,000         | 11,000         | 10,500         | 31,000         |
| Lord Lieutenant, &c.   | 2,247,500      | 2,207,000      | 2,212,500      | 2,229,500      | 2,159,000      | 2,168,500      | 2,239,000      |
| Board of Works, &c.    | 21,000         | 21,500         | 21,500         | 21,500         | 21,500         | 21,500         | 21,500         |
| L.G.B. &c., Cl. II. .. | 179,000        | 172,000        | 192,000        | 182,000        | 195,000        | 202,000        | 168,000        |
| Surveys ..             | 334,000        | 368,000        | 378,000        | 409,000        | 385,000        | 413,500        | 410,000        |
| Collection of Taxes .. | 73,000         | 81,000         | 83,000         | 94,000         | 94,000         | 92,000         | 90,000         |
| Superannuation, &c. .. | 243,000        | 243,000        | 246,000        | 248,000        | 249,000        | 246,000        | 243,000        |
| Board of Agriculture   | 81,000         | 80,500         | 83,000         | 85,000         | 87,500         | 83,000         | 86,000         |
| Queen's Colleges       | 932,000        | 966,000        | 1,004,500      | 1,049,500      | 1,042,000      | 1,063,000      | 1,019,500      |
| Class IV. ..           | 21,000         | 21,000         | 21,000         | 21,000         | 21,000         | 21,000         | 21,000         |
| Teachers' Superann. .. | 1,413,500      | 1,312,000      | 1,345,000      | 1,388,500      | 1,398,500      | 1,407,000      | 1,404,000      |
| Exchequer Grants       | 1,434,500      | 1,333,000      | 1,366,000      | 1,409,500      | 1,419,500      | 1,428,000      | 1,425,000      |
| Contrib. ..            | { 1,051,000    | { 1,055,000    | { 1,058,000    | { 1,059,000    | { 1,059,000    | { 1,059,000    | { 1,059,000    |
| Railways               | { 402,000      | { 389,000      | { 383,000      | { 376,000      | { 374,000      | { 386,000      | { 406,500      |
| Lunatics ..            | 113,000        | 113,000        | 124,000        | 123,000        | 185,000        | 185,000        | 185,000        |
| Hospitals, &c. ..      | 18,000         | 17,500         | 17,000         | 17,500         | 17,500         | 17,000         | 17,000         |
| Rates on Gov. Prop. .. | 44,000         | 40,500         | 48,000         | 51,000         | 54,000         | 54,000         | 56,000         |
| Class VII.—Relief      | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | 17,000         | —              |
| Total                  | 1,631,000      | 1,621,000      | 1,630,000      | 1,733,500      | 1,774,500      | 1,777,000      | 1,786,000      |



# THE LAND QUESTION IN IRELAND CONSIDERED AS A LABOUR QUESTION.

The land question in Ireland is to-day and has always been essentially a labour question.

In Ireland at least half the population is employed in agriculture in Great Britain only one-tenth is so employed.

This state of things is not of Ireland's choosing ; England imposed it by jealous legislation, restricting and destroying Irish industries. Over the greater part of Ireland, Irishmen have had no choice but to live by the land or leave the country.

Thus the Land League, the National League, and the United Irish League have, in so far as land legislation was concerned, aimed at exactly the same object as trades unions.

No one denies now that trades unions have done a great and necessary work. No one can fairly deny that the Leagues in Ireland have done the same, by banding together labour against capital and privilege.

Before the Land Acts of 1881 and onwards, landlords had the right to confiscate whatever improvement a tenant made on his land. When they raised the rent, he had to pay or go. The result was that the worker was screwed down to a bare minimum of subsistence—just as in the great industries capitalists could always find the unemployed man ready to take on any job at a lower wage.

The conflict was fierce in both cases. Agrarian outrages were the equivalent of rattening. In both cases liberty for the individual was pleaded by the supporters of privilege. Why should not a man be free to let his land at whatever rent he could get, or to take land at whatever rent he chose to pay ? Why should not a man be free to work at whatever wages seemed good to him ? And in each case labour has refused to allow this construction of liberty.



No answer can be made to justify picketing which does not justify boycotting also. In England the public conscience has ratified the right of combination. In Ireland, the law refuses to recognise agrarian combinations, but it has conceded their demand. Courts have been established to fix rents, and the tenant is recognised as owning a saleable interest in his holding.

This principle of dual ownership is being rapidly replaced by that of a peasant proprietary: the State buying out the landlords and selling to the man who works the land. It is universally admitted that where this has taken place the land is better worked than it ever was before. Labour is justified as against capital.

Part of the land question to-day is concerned with difficulties as to this sale of land. This leaflet, however, has to do only with the labour aspect of the problem, and that is taking on a new shape. The question of to-day is the question of the grazier rather than of the landlord.

In Ireland 63 per cent. of the total area is under grass, and this proportion is yearly increasing. That under tillage is only 12 per cent. In every agricultural country (except Switzerland with its mountain pastures) tillage land is more than grass land. Even a townsman knows that land under grass employs no labour, except what is spent in opening and shutting gates for cattle, and, where hay is grown, in mowing and haymaking.

Now, a certain proportion of Irish land is exceptionally good pasture, and in the opinion of many experts, should be kept permanently under grass. But a great deal is land of good quality for tillage but unfit for permanent pasture. That is to say, if tilled it would not only employ more labour but would produce more wealth.

Why, then, is it under pasture? Because under the law as it stands a landlord can charge what rent he pleases on holdings leased for less than a year. No man will take land to farm on these terms, but by far the greater proportion of grazing land in Ireland is let on the eleven months system. No money is spent on the land except to maintain fences; no labour is employed, except that of, perhaps, one herd to every fifty acres. The grazier is sometimes a professional cattle raiser, but in thousands of cases he is a shopkeeper living very often at a considerable distance from the land on to which he causes cattle to be driven. An absentee landlord lets to an absentee farmer.

Meanwhile, in the neighbourhood of these ranches, which occupy the good land, there are always the men who have small holdings of soil so poor that unless continuously tilled it relapses into heather and rushes.

In tens of thousands of cases, the holding is so small in value that a family cannot live on it. The form which the Irish Land Question takes to-day is the demand for the enlargement of "uneconomic holdings," and for the conversion of second-class pasture into tillage.

The Department of Agriculture, founded to improve the industrial condition of Ireland, preaches continually that Ireland's chance lies in extending tillage. The export trade in live cattle is precarious and unsatisfactory, since it means exporting hides, tallow, etc., raw materials which should be worked up in Ireland itself. As for milk and butter, these articles can only secure a proper place in the market if Ireland takes to winter dairying, and this involves tillage, to produce turnips, mangolds and other food for the winter months.

Again, Ireland, we are told, should produce far more poultry, eggs and bacon than at present. But both bacon and poultry imply population; there are no hens kept and no pigs fed on a grazing ranche. The whole interest of the community is on one side; that of the landlord or the other. So long as he keeps his land in grass, law and custom allow him to charge what he pleases for the use of it; and land still commands a famine price in Ireland. Thus we arrive at this strange paradox. Government recommends tillage, while law gives every landlord the strongest inducement to keep all his land in pasture.

Look at it historically. The period of the great extension of grass land was from 1850 onwards. Suppose two landlords, A and B, had adjoining estates. A kept his tenants on their holdings, B effected clearances turning families adrift on the world wholesale, as he could do any time up to 1881. (On the Pollock estate in Roscommon and Galway eleven hundred families were driven out to make room for cattle, not because they had not paid their rent, but because cattle paid better.) Then came the Land Act, which said in effect to B: 'Because you have evicted a whole countryside, your lands are your own to deal with as you like, to let for brief periods to cattle jobbers at the last penny you can extract. But it said to A: 'Because you have left these men in occupation of their holdings, we will send down judges to say what rent they shall pay and they shall have a fixed and saleable interest as occupiers of the land.

Let the same measure be applied to the evictors or the heirs of the evictors as was applied to the best landlords in Ireland. That is to say, let the State fix the value of the landlord's interest in grass land on a fair rent basis, and abolish monopoly. The landlord who let his land at a reasonable rate, or even who farmed it himself, employing labour, was not wholly a monopolist. But the man who reserves to

his own use, or that of some other individual, the whole productive power of a great tract of country, cashing the natural growth of grass by turning in cattle to fatten on it, and then selling them, is a monopolist in the strictest sense, and he is the main source to-day of whatever agrarian trouble exists in Ireland.

Most of the cattle driving, and the boycotting which arises in connection with it, are mere expressions of the fierce anger of men who see beasts ranging where the plough should be at work; the good land destitute of habitation, the bog and the mountain thick with houses. These men are contending for a practical application of conclusions which we find embodied in the Report of the Royal Commission presided over by Lord Dudley—more than half of whose members were either Englishmen or Scotchmen. Here are the paragraphs which bear specially on this point:

“147. It may be that the holder of 1,000 acres of land in the congested areas derives a higher rate of profit on his expenditure by grazing and meadowing his land than if, while retaining the whole of it in his own hands, he puts it under a system of mixed farming. His wages bill is much lower, he is comparatively little affected by bad seasons, and the floating capital required for stocking the land is less than that necessary for the cultivation of the holding as an agricultural farm. But this is not the whole question. Under the system of mixed farming not only would employment be found for far more labourers and their families, but the total value of the land's output would, as we believe, be larger, and the land would, therefore, contribute more to the general wealth of the country.

“149. To sum up; the result of a change from one system to the other would, in our opinion, be—and this bears directly on the relief of congestion—that:—

“(1.) Many families, now in a state of poverty, bordering on destitution, would be raised to a standard which, if not ideal, is at least tolerable, and would become a source of strength to the country, rather than as now, an element of weakness, cost, and disturbance.

“(2.) The 1,000 acres of land, taken above as an illustration, would produce a larger output than at present, and would thus contribute more to the national wealth. Such larger output would in time have a beneficial effect on the artisan class and the general prosperity of provincial towns.

“(3.) The profit—and, as we are told, more than the profit—now received by the landlord and the grazier would be distributed in a much more productive form, among the small holders and their families.”

The whole pith of the land question of to-day is centred in these lines. It is a problem of employment. England wants to see men going "back to the land." In Ireland we have people, on the land, made to the work of the land, only asking to get land and pay for land upon conditions which will allow to them and to their families a living wage. It is a proposal, not to destroy the cattle trade, but rather to change from a wasteful and precarious system to one which will put—on land which now produces only cattle :—(a), human workers ; (b), more cattle than at present ; (c), pigs and poultry as well.



# THE IRISH COUNTY COUNCILS.

## SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BEING.

One of the chief complaints that Ireland makes, and has always made, against government from Westminster is its intolerable extravagance. Previous to the Union of 1801 Irish finance was most creditably managed. Before 1798 there had been practically no National Debt, and strict economy, appropriate to the circumstances of a poor country, was observed in every department of public expenditure. But ever since the Union reckless charges, possibly not inappropriate to the infinitely greater resources of the island of Great Britain, have been flung on the country, with such ruinous effect, that most Irish industries have been destroyed and a large proportion of the population driven into exile.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF COUNTY COUNCILS.

Until 1898, when a local council was set up in every County, there had been no opportunity of testing, under modern conditions, the justice of this complaint. Then financial autonomy was granted to each local council; they might be wasteful and extravagant, in accordance with the example which has always been set by Great Britain; or they might return to the natural instincts of the Irish people in favour of careful management of the proceeds of taxation. It is, therefore, of supreme interest to consider, now that eight years have elapsed since the new system was set up, what the course of events as regards expenditure and taxation has been.

## DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF ECONOMY.

Since 1839 a cumbrous, unsuitable, and costly imitation of the British Poor Law (set up on the opinion of an Englishman, in direct opposition to the findings of an Irish Commission) had to be maintained. Under Acts to build Labourers' Cottages, a rate ranging up to a shilling (now 1s. 3d.) in the £, and under Railway Guarantees, rates which frequently range up to several shillings, might have to be levied; and in other branches of County expenditure there was great extravagance, so that for many years before 1898 there had been a steady growth in the amount of local charges. Moreover, during the last eight years since they came into being, the new authorities had to cope with circumstances which made economy extremely difficult. Heavy pensions to former officials and other burdensome initial charges of the new system, had to be paid. During the period, also, a new rate of a penny in the £ was levied for Technical Instruction. *In the same period the rural rates in England and Wales had increased on the average by over 1s. in the £.*

## RATES IN IRELAND.

It will be remembered that the concession of County Government in 1898 was accompanied by a grant from the Treasury to correspond with the Agricultural Rates grant made to Great Britain in 1896. Under this grant a sum equal to half the rates in the standard years 1898-99 was granted in respect of Agricultural Land, but not on Buildings, to each county. In the following tables the rates are shown from the first year after this allowance was made, and this accounts for the fact that two rates are levied in each county, and for the difference between the two.

Only one County (Mayo) shows any considerable rise in the rates levied—1s. 4d. in the £ on Agricultural Land and 2s. 3d. in the £ on other hereditaments—during the eight years. This great rise is due, no doubt to the fact that in Mayo the rate for 1899-1900 was abnormally low

In eight Counties there were small increases from 2d. to 5d. in the £; in three Counties there was no change; and in twenty Counties there were such considerable reductions that, notwithstanding the large increases in certain Counties just mentioned, *the average total County Rates for the whole country in the eight years show a reduction of 3d. in the £.* The attached tables give the rates that were levied each year in every county and in the whole of Ireland, and a column is added which shows the average rate paid over the eight years. By comparing the latter with the first year, the general reduction becomes apparent.

#### IMPERIAL TAXATION.

During the same eight years there was an increase of £825,000 in imperial taxation, or nearly ten per cent. of the whole amount levied. Thus, in the face of extraordinary difficulties, the portion of the nation's burdens which was entrusted reluctantly to the control of the Irish people was reduced, while that part controlled from Westminster is increased in about the same proportion as had been maintained in every decade since the Union. Not only has this notable reduction in County rates been effected, but a great improvement in efficiency has been secured. The roads have been better kept; greater local interest has been aroused in county institutions; the business part of the work has been better done; and none of the gloomy anticipations with which the new system was at first regarded by the enemies of Ireland has been realised.

Could any better argument be adduced for extending to the Irish people full control over all their national affairs?

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NOTE.—The calculations are based on the rates given in the Local Taxation returns for each year.

Rates for special expenses incurred under the Public Health Act, etc., known as "separate charges," which are levied on specially prescribed areas, cannot be given in the Local Taxation returns except in cases where the Rural District has been prescribed as the special area.

**TABLE I.**—Showing the average Rate levied on **AGRICULTURAL LAND** in each County, and in the whole of Ireland, during each year from 1899-1900 to 1906-7, and the average of the Annual Levy for the Eight Years.

| Counties. | Counties. |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | Aver-<br>age<br>rate<br>for<br>eight<br>years. | Counties.  |
|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|------------|
|           | 1899      | 1900  | 1901  | 1902  | 1903  | 1904  | 1905  | 1906  |  |            |
|           | TO        | TO    | TO    | TO    | TO    | TO    | TO    | TO    |  |            |
|           | s. d.     | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d.  |            |
| Antrim    | 2 9       | 1 6   | 2 2   | 2 3   | 2 3   | 2 5   | 2 4   | 2 3   | 2 3  | Antrim.    |
| Armagh    | 1 7       | 1 1   | 1 5   | 2 2   | 1 10  | 2 3   | 2 1   | 2 2   | 1 11   | Armagh.    |
| Carlow    | 1 11      | 2 4   | 2 4   | 2 1   | 1 11  | 2 1   | 1 9   | 2 1   | 2 1  | Carlow.    |
| Cavan     | 2 4       | 2 8   | 1 9   | 2 1   | 1 7   | 1 8   | 1 1   | 2 0   | 1 11   | Cavan.     |
| Clare     | 4 4       | 2 11  | 2 11  | 3 1   | 3 7   | 3 1   | 2 11  | 2 9   | 3 2  | Clare.     |
| Cork      | 3 10      | 2 9   | 2 9   | 2 10  | 3 0   | 2 5   | 2 1   | 2 8   | 2 9  | Cork.      |
| Donegal   | 3 7       | 3 3   | 2 5   | 3 3   | 3 3   | 3 1   | 3 6   | 3 6   | 3 3  | Donegal.   |
| Down      | 1 8       | 2 2   | 1 9   | 1 8   | 1 10  | 2 0   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 1 11   | Down.      |
| Dublin    | 3 0       | 3 1   | 3 2   | 3 3   | 2 11  | 2 9   | 2 9   | 3 0   | 3 0  | Dublin.    |
| Fermanagh | 1 11      | 2 3   | 1 8   | 1 11  | 2 0   | 1 10  | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 0  | Fermanagh. |
| Galway    | 3 4       | 2 6   | 2 8   | 2 4   | 3 1   | 1 10  | 2 1   | 3 2   | 2 7  | Galway.    |
| Kerry     | 5 3       | 3 10  | 3 2   | 3 8   | 3 8   | 3 7   | 3 7   | 3 9   | 3 10   | Kerry.     |



|   |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |                 |
|---|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|-----------------|
| Kildare.  | 1 | 11 | 1 | 9  | 1 | 9  | 2 | 0  | 1 | 9  | 1 | 11 | 1 | 11 | Kildare.        |
| Kilkenny.   | 2 | 6  | 2 | 8  | 2 | 8  | 2 | 4  | 2 | 8  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 6  | Kilkenny.       |
| King's Co.  | 2 | 1  | 1 | 8  | 1 | 8  | 2 | 0  | 2 | 0  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 1  | King's Co.      |
| Leitrim.  | 2 | 8  | 2 | 4  | 3 | 0  | 2 | 8  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 8  | Leitrim.        |
| Limerick.   | 3 | 0  | 3 | 4  | 3 | 0  | 2 | 7  | 3 | 1  | 2 | 3  | 3 | 0  | Limerick.       |
| Londonderry                                       | 2 | 3  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 1  | 2 | 4  | 2 | 7  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 3  | Londonderry     |
| Longford.   | 2 | 6  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 10 | 2 | 3  | 2 | 1  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 6  | Longford.       |
| Louth.  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 4  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 9  | 1 | 2  | 2 | 3  | Louth.          |
| Mayo  | 2 | 10 | 2 | 5  | 3 | 2  | 2 | 11 | 3 | 2  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 10 | Mayo            |
| Meath.  | 1 | 8  | 1 | 6  | 1 | 10 | 1 | 9  | 1 | 11 | 1 | 7  | 1 | 8  | Meath.          |
| Monaghan.   | 1 | 10 | 1 | 8  | 1 | 6  | 2 | 1  | 1 | 10 | 2 | 4  | 2 | 10 | Monaghan.       |
| Queen's Co.                                       | 2 | 1  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 0  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 1  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 1  | Queen's Co.     |
| Roscommon.  | 2 | 1  | 2 | 2  | 1 | 2  | 2 | 11 | 2 | 2  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 1  | Roscommon.      |
| Sligo.  | 2 | 8  | 2 | 4  | 2 | 9  | 3 | 4  | 3 | 4  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 8  | Sligo.          |
| Tipperary, N.R.                                   | 2 | 0  | 2 | 0  | 2 | 0  | 1 | 11 | 1 | 10 | 2 | 2  | 2 | 0  | Tipperary, N.R. |
| „ South Riding.                                   | 2 | 2  | 2 | 4  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 2  | 1 | 8  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 2  | „ South Riding. |
| Tyrone.   | 2 | 6  | 2 | 7  | 2 | 9  | 2 | 6  | 2 | 10 | 2 | 2  | 2 | 6  | Tyrone.         |
| Waterford.  | 2 | 7  | 2 | 9  | 2 | 7  | 2 | 8  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 7  | Waterford.      |
| Westmeath.  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 7  | 2 | 8  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 6  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 3  | Westmeath.      |
| Wexford.  | 2 | 4  | 2 | 11 | 2 | 2  | 2 | 5  | 2 | 5  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 4  | Wexford.        |
| Wicklow.  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 6  | 2 | 1  | 2 | 6  | 2 | 6  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 3  | Wicklow.        |
| Average rate in each year for all the Counties .. | 2 | 5  | 2 | 5  | 2 | 4  | 2 | 4  | 2 | 4  | 2 | 2  | 2 | 5  |                 |

Average rate in each year  
for all the Counties . . .

**TABLE II.,** showing the average rate levied on **other hereditaments** in each County and in the whole of Ireland during each year from 1899-1900 to 1906-7, with the average of the Annual Levy for the Eight Years.

| Counties. |    | 1899<br>TO<br>1900 | 1900<br>TO<br>1901 | 1901<br>TO<br>1902 | 1902<br>TO<br>1903 | 1903<br>TO<br>1904 | 1904<br>TO<br>1905 | 1905<br>TO<br>1906 | 1906<br>TO<br>1907 | Aver-<br>age<br>rate<br>for<br>eight<br>years. | Counties.  |
|-----------|----|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--|------------|
|           |    | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.  |            |
| Antrim    | .. | 4 2                | 2 11               | 3 7                | 3 9                | 3 8                | 3 10               | 3 10               | 3 8                | 3 8  | Antrim.    |
| Armagh    | .. | 3 1                | 3 7                | 2 11               | 3 8                | 3 4                | 3 9                | 3 7                | 3 8                | 3 5  | Armagh     |
| Carlow    | .. | 3 8                | 4 1                | 4 0                | 3 10               | 3 8                | 3 10               | 3 6                | 3 10               | 3 10   | Carlow.    |
| Cavan     | .. | 3 9                | 4 2                | 3 1                | 3 6                | 3 0                | 3 1                | 2 5                | 3 5                | 3 4  | Cavan.     |
| Clare     | .. | 6 6                | 5 1                | 5 1                | 5 3                | 5 9                | 5 3                | 5 1                | 4 11               | 5 4  | Clare.     |
| Cork      | .. | 5 8                | 4 11               | 4 9                | 4 10               | 5 0                | 4 5                | 4 1                | 4 8                | 4 9  | Cork.      |
| Donegal   | .. | 5 7                | 5 2                | 4 4                | 5 2                | 5 2                | 5 1                | 5 5                | 5 6                | 5 2  | Donegal.   |
| Down ..   | .. | 3 0                | 3 6                | 3 0                | 2 11               | 3 1                | 3 3                | 3 5                | 3 5                | 3 2  | Down.      |
| Dublin    | .. | 4 9                | 4 11               | 5 0                | 5 1                | 4 9                | 4 7                | 4 7                | 4 10               | 4 10   | Dublin.    |
| Fermanagh | .. | 3 2                | 3 5                | 2 11               | 3 2                | 3 3                | 3 1                | 3 3                | 3 3                | 3 2  | Fermanagh. |
| Galway    | .. | 5 1                | 4 4                | 4 5                | 4 2                | 4 11               | 3 6                | 3 10               | 5 0                | 4 5  | Galway.    |
| Kerry ..  | .. | 7 9                | 6 4                | 5 8                | 6 4                | 6 3                | 6 2                | 6 2                | 6 4                | 6 4  | Kerry.     |

|                 |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |   |   |    |                 |
|-----------------|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|---|---|----|-----------------|
| Kilkenny        | .. | 3 | 4  | 3 | 0  | 3 | 3  | 3 | 1  | 3 | 3  | 3 | 0  | 3 | 0 | 3 | 2  | Kildare.        |
| King's Co.      | .. | 4 | 7  | 4 | 5  | 3 | 10 | 4 | 0  | 4 | 0  | 4 | 5  | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3  | Kilkenny        |
| Leitrim         | .. | 3 | 9  | 4 | 0  | 3 | 8  | 3 | 8  | 3 | 6  | 3 | 3  | 3 | 3 | 3 | 7  | King's Co.      |
| Limerick        | .. | 4 | 4  | 3 | 10 | 4 | 9  | 3 | 9  | 3 | 11 | 4 | 4  | 4 | 8 | 5 | 4  | Leitrim.        |
| Londonderry     | .. | 4 | 9  | 5 | 4  | 5 | 3  | 4 | 11 | 5 | 2  | 4 | 8  | 5 | 0 | 5 | 1  | Limerick.       |
| Longford        | .. | 4 | 3  | 3 | 11 | 3 | 7  | 3 | 2  | 4 | 1  | 4 | 0  | 3 | 9 | 3 | 10 | Londonderry.    |
| Louth ..        | .. | 4 | 7  | 4 | 3  | 4 | 0  | 4 | 4  | 3 | 8  | 3 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1  | Longford.       |
| Mayo ..         | .. | 4 | 3  | 4 | 5  | 4 | 1  | 3 | 6  | 3 | 4  | 3 | 7  | 4 | 0 | 3 | 11 | Louth.          |
| Meath           | .. | 2 | 5  | 7 | 11 | 3 | 9  | 4 | 2  | 4 | 0  | 4 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 4  | Mayo.           |
| Monaghan        | .. | 3 | 4  | 2 | 9  | 2 | 3  | 2 | 10 | 3 | 2  | 3 | 0  | 3 | 0 | 2 | 11 | Meath.          |
| Queen's Co.     | .. | 3 | 5  | 3 | 1  | 3 | 7  | 2 | 5  | 3 | 4  | 3 | 2  | 2 | 9 | 2 | 1  | Monaghan.       |
| Roscommon       | .. | 3 | 3  | 3 | 11 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 9  | 3 | 5  | 3 | 6  | 3 | 6 | 3 | 7  | Queen's Co.     |
| Sligo ..        | .. | 3 | 11 | 3 | 6  | 3 | 9  | 3 | 4  | 3 | 6  | 3 | 6  | 3 | 5 | 3 | 6  | Roscommon.      |
| Tipperary, N.R. | .. | 4 | 7  | 3 | 11 | 4 | 2  | 5 | 0  | 4 | 5  | 4 | 4  | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4  | Sligo.          |
| Tipperary, S.R. | .. | 4 | 1  | 3 | 9  | 3 | 8  | 3 | 6  | 3 | 5  | 3 | 6  | 3 | 7 | 3 | 8  | Tipperary, N.R. |
| Tyrone ..       | .. | 4 | 3  | 4 | 0  | 3 | 11 | 3 | 8  | 3 | 5  | 3 | 11 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 11 | Tipperary, S.R. |
| Waterford       | .. | 3 | 8  | 3 | 10 | 4 | 0  | 4 | 1  | 4 | 4  | 4 | 0  | 4 | 3 | 4 | 0  | Tyrone.         |
| Westmeath       | .. | 5 | 2  | 4 | 1  | 4 | 7  | 4 | 4  | 4 | 1  | 4 | 6  | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5  | Waterford.      |
| Wexford         | .. | 3 | 7  | 3 | 5  | 3 | 9  | 3 | 10 | 3 | 10 | 3 | 7  | 3 | 7 | 3 | 7  | Westmeath.      |
| Wicklow         | .. | 3 | 8  | 4 | 7  | 3 | 11 | 3 | 9  | 4 | 1  | 4 | 1  | 3 | 8 | 3 | 11 | Wexford.        |
|                 | .. | 4 | 7  | 3 | 9  | 3 | 8  | 3 | 8  | 3 | 1  | 3 | 7  | 3 | 5 | 3 | 8  | Wicklow.        |

|  |   |   |   |   |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |    |   |   |  |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|---|--|
| Average rate in each year<br>for all the Counties .. | 4 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 0 | Average rate in each year<br>for all the Counties. |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|---|--|

# IRELAND, SCOTLAND, AND ULSTER.

Why has the Union with Scotland been a success, the Union with Ireland a failure? The question was put by that eminent Unionist, Professor A. V. Dicey, in an article written for the *Fortnightly Review*, as long ago as August, 1881.

"To the average Englishman's conception," says Professor Dicey, "the difference of results lies in the difference between Scotch and Irish character." Yet this view, so popular and so plausible, is dismissed by him as "a gross misrepresentation of past events which can be confuted by a simple reference to facts which lie on the very surface of history."

Why did the Scotch Union succeed? "First, because the Act of Union embodied what was, not in name only, but in reality, a treaty or contract freely made between two independent states." Scotland accepted a bargain, made for her by ministers of her own choosing, after full deliberation, in which her material interests were richly secured. She gave up her independence; she secured full participation in the advantages of English trade. Her violent discontent and dislike to the loss of independence was worn away by a prosperity steadily growing. Before the Union, Scotland was excluded from the English colonial trade. After the Union she enjoyed and profited to the full by all its vast opportunities.

But (again in Professor Dicey's words), "The Union with Ireland lacked all that element of free consent between independent contracting parties which lies at the basis of every genuine contract. Of the deliberate negotiation, of the calm, satisfactory, business-like haggling for national advantages, which marked the negotiations between the Scotch and the English Commissioners—of the close consideration of minute details by competent representatives of both countries—there is not a trace in the negotiations, if negotiations they can be called, between England and Ireland."

There was plenty of haggling over the details of individual bribes; none over the interests of the country. What were the driving forces?

"One or two facts are patent—the Irish Protestants were dazed with horror at the massacres of the Rebellion; the Irish Catholics were lulled into acquiescence by promises which were made only to be broken; no appeal was made to the Irish constituencies; and the members of both Houses of Parliament were corrupted. The Act of Union was, in short, an agreement which, could it have been referred to a court of law, must at once have been cancelled as a contract hopelessly tainted with fraud and corruption."

That is the first cause. Secondly, the Union with Scotland was carried out in a wholly different spirit. "Favour was shown throughout to the weaker nation; the Scotch, from a merely mercantile point of view, got by far the best of the bargain."

In Ireland the case was far different. After a century of legislation directed expressly against every industry that competed with any English interest, Ireland had, in 1782, achieved at once commercial and legislative freedom. In gaining independence, Ireland gained also those very privileges of free participation in oversea trade which Scotland sacrificed her independence to acquire. The corrupt aristocracy which sold Ireland's freedom sold also the charter of that right to protect and foster her own industrial life, under which the growth of manufacturing industry had been so swift.

"Thirdly," says Professor Dicey, "the institutions for which Scotchmen seriously cared were maintained or secured by the Union. . . . The one great national institution—The Church of Scotland—derived new security and greatly increased power from the means which politically amalgamated Scotland and England." More generally, he adds, "the result of the respect paid to Scotch institutions was that, while Scotland became an inseparable part of Great Britain, Scotch affairs remained after, even more than before, the Union, under the control of Scotland."

Contrast this with Ireland. The Church of Ireland, indeed, was secured, but it was not the Church of the Irish people. Godolphin ensured to the Scotch a cherished institution. Pitt buttressed up in Ireland an alien anomaly. More significant still: "The destruction of the Parliament which met in College Green was a more difficult thing at bottom than the destruction of the Parliament which met in Edinburgh. The assembly which sat in Dublin had what the Scotch Parliament had not, strong aims on the sentimental interests of the people whom it represented; it had vindicated national independence; it had freed Irish commerce; it had produced within the twenty years preceding its death a brilliant body of statesmen and orators; it had become, in short, a centre of national life."



“Nor was political amalgamation with the United Kingdom compensated for by local independence. Ireland since, as before, the Union has been governed in the main in accordance with English notions, applied in many cases, or misapplied, by English officials.”

Hear now the summing up :—

“Neither Scotch nor Irish history can, except by the misreading of past events, be forced into teaching the lesson that the failure of the policy in Ireland is due to the peculiarities of Irish character. It is vain to attribute to the characteristics of any people consequences which can be explained by the neglect on the part of statesmen to make their policy conform to the nature of things.”

Professor Dicey advocates closer Union ; he would desire to abolish the Viceroyalty as a symbol of separation. Does he think, does any man think, that such measures would lead to peace and prosperity in Ireland ? The fruitful analogy is to be found, not in the Scotch Union, but in the free colonial relation within the Empire.

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## II.

It has already been shown (on excellent Unionist authority) that those are mistaken who declare that if Ireland does not prosper under the Union, Ireland is to blame, since Scotland under a similar Union enjoys prosperity. The comparison so often made between Ulster and the rest of Ireland is equally fallacious. The industrial success of the Protestant north-east is held to prove that industrial backwardness elsewhere in Ireland is due to racial or religious shortcomings. The answer must be given again by reference to historic facts ; and the critics who now reproach Irishmen with continually seeking in ancient history for the cause of present evils may be asked in their turn, how far back must one go to trace the foundations of England's commercial prosperity. Will anyone deny that the work of statesmen during the eighteenth century was potent in laying those foundations deep and broad ? This at least, cannot be denied, that legislation can ruin, if it cannot create ; and in that century enactment after enactment was directed against the growth of Industries in Ireland which might compete with those of the ruling country. The first condition of success for the establishment of manufactures is the existence of the industrial habit in a population. That habit is distinct from the virtue of industry ; farmers will not readily adapt themselves to the conditions of factory life, though they may be far more industrious than artisans who add Monday to the Saturday and Sunday off. The reason why there is a strong industrial population in

north-east Ulster and nowhere else in Ireland is that here, and here only, the industrial habit was fostered through generations by the very causes which elsewhere killed it out. Jealousy of Irish trade as a possible rival, jealousy of Irish Roman Catholicism as a possible danger, account or restrictive trade legislation and for the penal laws. But the linen trade, conceded as the one department in which England did not claim exclusively to herself, and deliberately planted among Protestants, was exempt from both these jealousies.

Ireland's natural industry was the woollen manufacture, as the raw material could be produced in all parts, and specially in the West; and in all parts this industry flourished so as to compete successfully with that of England. The result was a menacing agitation, and William II. promised to do his best to suppress the Irish woollen trade and to encourage the linen trade. The first pledge was the better kept; and the linen trade, even when helped, could not replace the other. It only existed in embryo. "England," says Miss Murray, in her work on the *Commercial Relations between England and Ireland*, "substituted a possible trade in the place of an established and flourishing one." Moreover, and here is the important point, where encouragement was given, it was given locally and sectionally.

In 1698 a French Protestant, Crommelin, was brought over and established at Lisburn, ten miles from Belfast, in a Protestant-settled district. Here the linen industry was started under State patronage and subsidy. It was not absolutely confined to the North. Huguenot weavers and spinners were allowed to settle in Waterford. But when Crommelin, on return for an extension of his patent, proposed to extend the industry to Leinster, a "fierce opposition arose," says Miss Murray, "because it was feared that Irish linen would replace Dutch in the English market, and, consequently, that Holland would no longer buy English woollens." In Cork, the manufacture of hemp into sailcloth developed, fostered by a bounty from the Irish Parliament. England, herself giving bounties on sailcloth, forced the withdrawal of the Irish bounty, so that the hempen manufacture of Southern Ireland was killed out by bounty-fed competition.

If it be asked why the linen trade did not spread south and west, the answer is, that it naturally grew, radiating round the centre where State aid had established it, in the Protestant north. Moreover, special immunities were conferred by the Irish Parliament (representing only Protestants) on Protestant weavers; while the Penal laws, which prohibited Catholics from purchasing land, from taking long and beneficial

leases, or from lending money on real securities, prohibited them by consequence from embarking in manufacture. Thus the one industry which England permitted to develop in the country was virtually confined to Protestant enterprise ; while, as for the artisans, Catholic weavers would have had to force their way into employment under Protestant masters and in competition with Protestant workers at a time when the whole strength of the Government was devoted to fostering the Protestant interest.

Thus, for three-quarters of a century, industrial capital, industrial enterprise, and the industrial habit among workers were concentrated in the north, from directly assignable legislative causes. The wealthier Catholics turned their energies into retail trade ; the poorer had no resource but work on the land. Yet the desire for a more varied industrial life was active ; and when Ireland obtained for a few years the free control of her own resources, manufactures sprang up all over the country. Exports, which between 1704 and 1782 had risen from one to thirty-two index figures, rose, between 1782 and 1796, from thirty-two to eighty-eight. But then came the Union, and the infant industries were exposed in the white war of commerce, to the unrestricted opposition of those powerful and jealous English trade interests which had been fed for a hundred years with the sacrifice of every competing Irish interest. For the linen trade only the change was no disadvantage. It had grown, under the relatively favourable circumstances, strong enough to care for itself ; and it successfully surmounted the change to modern conditions of machinery just as did the cotton trade in Lancashire. But the newly-established industries had not the stamina to resist, and they disappeared rapidly leaving the country bare of industrial resources over those parts of its extent.

Nor need it be denied that the machinery of the Penal Laws, so well fitted, in Burke's phrase, " to enslave and degrade a people," had produced its effect. The bent towards large productive ventures had been neutralised in Catholics during the century in which the accumulation of property and the investment of money had been rendered so difficult for them ; and for the poorer classes, they had been plunged in that morass of destitution where the faculties become paralysed and atrophied. At the period of the suppression of the woollen trade and the imposition of the Penal Laws—simultaneous causes—Ulster was in no way industrially superior to the rest of Ireland. After the Union, this province alone was in possession of an industry which the State had fostered in its borders for a century and possessed also all the habits and temper in employers and employed

which arise from a long hereditary experience of manufacturing business. It is not to be wondered that the natural lead thus given has been retained ; and those who taunt the rest of Ireland with its inferiority might as well blame a man tied up for years because he fails to overtake a trained and hardy runner.

Every decade in its passage has only increased the superiority, which rests really in the possession of a trained population. Ship-building, for instance, has grown as a kind of complement to the linen-industry, which, employing a disproportionate number of women, has made it specially easy to get men workers. But if Protestant Ulster had been obliged to face the competition which followed the Union, under such conditions as existed for the rest of Ireland, there is not the least reason to believe that manufactures could or would have been established in that province more easily than in any other.



# WHAT IS CATTLE DRIVING?

In the English Press cattle driving is frequently spoken of as a form of violent crime, and many estimable persons imagine that when cattle are driven off a farm the purpose is theft and the cattle are lost to the owner. The plain facts of the subject are given in a private letter (printed in the *Bristol Mercury*, Sept., 12th, 1908) from Mr. Michael Comyn who is a barrister, and the professional adviser of the Clare County Council. All claims for compensation brought against the county must come before him. He says:—

“In order to understand a cattle drive you must imagine a large farm of, say, 500 or 1,000 acres of good land under permanent grass, with one herdsman's cabin; and around this large farm, on the inferior land or bog, thirty or forty small holdings, of ten to twenty acres, peasants and their families, always large. The peasants' sons are growing up. America is no longer the land of plenty it used to be for the Irish emigrant, and he is thinking of finding a home in Ireland. He looks to the large farm near at hand, unoccupied, save by cattle, and untilled, and he says that the bullock must go to make room for the man.

“The question is, how can this be done on fair terms to all? The owner of the grazing ranch often asks too much for his interest, or point blank refuses to treat for a sale, even at the high prices now current. Then a number of young men, not always the most in need of land, make a gap in the boundary fence, and twenty or thirty bullocks are driven along the road. The herdsman in going his round discovers that the bullocks are missing. He sees the gap, follows the tracks of the cattle and finds them a mile or two away, none the worse for the adventure. The grazier is naturally annoyed at the driving of his cattle, but much more so at the publicity which it gives him. He hates to be talked about. This is the real sting of the cattle drive, and the real object which the cattle drivers have in view. They want the world to know the ranch is there untilled.

“As representing the County Council, I have to deal with every cattle drive in Clare, and I have never had a case in which the cattle were overdriven or injured except one, and in this case some injury was caused to the cattle by their being driven over rough ground at night, apparently by people who did not know the land. Cattle driving is absurd, but it is not so criminal as other forms of agrarian crime, and moreover is rapidly going out.



"Whatever the Tory papers may publish, the area of disturbance in Ireland is diminishing week by week; and the character of the disturbances, such as cattle driving, are more in the nature of demonstrations. So you see the Tory journalists, finding no serious crime in the West of Ireland, must resort to their own imagination, or the equally fertile imaginations of certain Unionist politicians."

It may be added that the witnesses in support of claims for compensation repeatedly state that the cattle, when recovered, "look as if they had been to a long fair," in other words, the beasts are no more harmed than if they had been taken to the market.

Whether cattle driving increases or decreases will depend upon whether the disease of which it is a symptom is remedied by legislation or no. The connection of cause and effect was plainly set forth by the *Sydney Bulletin*, Australia's leading paper, in an article published July 6th, 1908:—

"In the most fertile parts of Ireland it has been discovered that cows pay better than men, women, and children; so men have been driven off to make room for cows. Over large districts practically the only places where land can now be hired at all for agricultural purposes are in the bogs—regions which were regarded as uninhabitable till this crisis arrived. The situation of the dispossessed Irish agriculturist has become incredible. He used to find a refuge in the United States, but the United States has now the most rigid laws on earth for the exclusion of pauper immigrants. There is no surplus work in the Irish towns. The English towns are already swarming with unemployed. The Irish immigrant cannot take up a farm in England for want of money, and there is no demand for extra agricultural labour in England, where thousands of unemployed labourers, thrown out of work because Free Trade is killing the export industry, are crying for assistance, and making protest by processions and demonstrations. The Continent of Europe and South America are closed to him through lack of knowledge of any foreign language. His world has shut in upon him, and, for want of other resources, he rents twenty acres of bog, at a hideously high price, considering the quality of the land, and tries to wrest a living out of what is not much better than a quicksand. He is allowed to live on the bog (at a price) because Cow would die there; in a great part of his own country there is nothing for him save the leavings of Cow. Naturally enough he makes occasional protest. According to the English law of property, endless Man has no rights. If the landlord orders him to move off one-half the earth, he must move on to the other half; and if some more landlord orders him off the other half also, he must move into the sea—he can't stay on the highroad, because that would be 'loitering,' and in the public parks there are signs ordering him to keep off the grass. It is a wonderful theory, but the victims of it fail to see the point. They hold at somewhere and somehow Man, as apart from Landlord, must have the same right of existence on the globe, and they assert this theory by cattle driving. The great aggregate Cow, to make room for which Man

has been harried into the bogs, is driven away by night to remote place of concealment, and the squatter weeps in the morning because beef has ' riz ' in England, and he has no longer any beef to sell. It is a very mild and patient protest—the French, with less provocation, drove Louis XVI. to the scaffold, instead of merely chasing a few beeves along a lane. But the ruling class alludes to those parts of the country where man has got tired of starving in a bog as the ' disturbed districts,' and speak regretfully about ' lawlessness ' and such things. The wrong is so gigantic and so shameful that some perfectly humane and orderly people are half inclined to wish that there was a lot more lawlessness than there is."

It will be seen that the Sydney journalist conceives of the " squatter," that is, in our phrase, the landlord, as suffering not only inconvenience but actual loss. Yet, speaking the mind of a democratic community this famous paper regards such " lawlessness " as an inevitable protest against an indefensible state of affairs.

# POLITICAL REFLECTIONS BY AN IRISH QUAKER.

[The following aphorisms are taken from a small pamphlet called *Thoughts in Retirement*, by the late Mr. Alfred Webb, which was privately circulated only a few weeks before his death in July, 1908.

Mr. Webb was bred a Quaker, and though he departed somewhat from the Society's views, maintained through life its tradition of simplicity, gentleness, and moral courage. As a boy he laboured for Ireland, helping to minister to the victims of the Great Famine; sixty years later, death found him still busy with public work as honorary treasurer of the United Irish League. After retirement from his prosperous business as a printer, he was elected in 1890 to represent West Waterford, an overwhelmingly Catholic constituency, for which he sat during several years unopposed. It is probable that, even in the bitterness of Irish party strife, no one ever attributed to him an unworthy act or a mean motive. Such was the man whose thoughts concerning his country are here set down for the consideration of English and Irish readers.]

Where else but in Ireland do men plume themselves on esteeming their fellow-countrymen unfit for the management of their own affairs?

. . .

Time has belied every evil prognostication regarding the character and capacity of the Irish people.

. . .

Is there any other record of a political agitation so long and persistently maintained as that for the restitution of Irish self-government?

. . .

The difference between Ireland and other countries invaded by the Anglo-Saxon is that in Ireland the natives have withstood the effort to annihilate or assimilate them, or make them in thought part of the conquering state; their own traditions, and not those of the conquerors, still animate and inspire them.

Until Great Britain restores to us that of which she has robbed us—self-government—her desire that we should forget the past is an insult to our intelligence.

. . .

Under present conditions, in each generation in Ireland as much national devotion and statesmanlike ability are lost to the United Kingdom as would run an empire.

. . .

Irish Nationalists are the only members who as a body enter Parliament without hopes of gain or personal advancement.

. . .

Ireland's great fault is forgetfulness of past wrong and too great easiness of temper towards those who stand between her and her rights.

. . .

Ireland's record in the matter of religious intolerance is perhaps the best of any country. I know of but one case of *auto-da-fé* in her history.

. . .

If there were not a single Protestant in a position of trust in the government of Ireland it would be less unfair, considering the relative proportion of religions in the country, than was the condition of things in the old days of complete Protestant ascendancy.

. . .

If the majority in Ireland knew as well how to boycott as do the minority they would long ago have obtained all they ask.

. . .

How can it be feared that a Catholic majority would persecute the Protestant minority in Ireland, when Catholic minorities are anxious to live undisturbed amid Protestant majorities in other parts of the world?

. . .

The parties that oppose Home Rule in Ireland at the present day opposed every previous great reform which has promoted the peace and happiness of the country.

So long as the centre of power lies in a people, parties and interests learn to accommodate themselves to each other. Otherwise they seek to gain their ends, not by mutual agreement and accommodation, but by working on the feelings, the fears, and the prejudices of those amongst whom is the centre of power.

. . .

In a dependent state, where a grievance is felt against the over-power, it is the natural tendency of the majority to sympathise with and exaggerate local and sectional discontents. In a self-governing state, it is the general interest to minimise them.

. . .

The anger and lawlessness of the wronged, often realised to be the only effective expression of their feelings, are no ground for denying them justice.

. . .

Breaking the law may become the highest duty of the citizen.

. . .

The claims put forward by the leaders in a political movement are generally beyond what would satisfy the general body of their supporters.

. . .

Divisions are certain to arise in proportion as there is earnestness in efforts for reform.

. . .

It is only in cases that have immediate fruition that divisions do not arise.

. . .

In states where vital questions are unsettled, "non-political" associations are a dead weight against change.

. . .

Those who "do not take any part in politics" are generally at heart silent Conservatives.



One of the main disabilities the citizens of a subject country labour under is that they cannot as they would denounce evils and expose abuses without the risk of additional outside interference in their affairs.

. . .

Take from a people the right and power of managing their own affairs and then complain of their want of initiative and self-reliance !

. . .

No great change proves as beneficial as was hoped or as bad as was feared.

. . .

True statesmanship does not consist in only following those courses against which no arguments can be used, but in foreseeing through difficulties, and perhaps unanswerable arguments, that which will lead to good.

. . .

Ireland has as good friends amongst English and Scotch men and women as amongst her own sons and daughters.

. . .

The less neighbouring countries interfere with each other's local affairs the readier will they be to unite for affairs of common interest.

# THE CRIMINALITY OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

*(A Speech upon the Address delivered by Mr. John Redmond,  
February, 1909).*

I have risen not to defend the Government, but to defend Ireland. Now, what is the accusation?

The resolution which has been moved is a demand for the abrogation of the ordinary law in Ireland, the suspension of trial by jury, and of the most cherished portions of the British Constitution, and the revival of coercion. The terms of the amendment which have actually been moved by the noble lord are mild as milk compared to the accusation in the terms in which it was made on hundreds of platforms within the last few months in the country.

I would like to put before the House the accusation which has been made in the country, and I propose to quote from two speeches, one made by the right hon. gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin, who spoke to-night, and the other from the other Member for the University of Dublin, the ex-Solicitor-General for England, who spoke upon this subject several times recently.

What was the accusation made by the right hon. gentleman in the country? It was not that there was boycotting here and there in Ireland, that there was an increase of cattle driving, or that there was an increase in some isolated portions of the country of offences of firing arms. Nothing of the kind. His speech was an indictment of the whole of the Irish nation. Here is what he said, as reported in the *Manchester Guardian* of 29th June last—because the agitation has been going on for some months—

Speaking with every sense of responsibility, he (Mr. Campbell) said that at least three out of the four Provinces of Ireland the law of the King was dead. The only law that was enforced was the law of the United Irish League, whose only decrees were merciless and cruel boycotting and intimidation, varied in many cases by murder and attempted murder, and by night shooting and mutilations of cattle and every conceivable form of crime and outrage.

He did not dare make that accusation to-day, when he was face to face with the representatives of Ireland and with the House of Commons. His accusation was of a very different kind; and I ask hon. members who heard the report from the police in Ireland read by the Chief Secretary, who heard the best and the worst that could be said with reference to the state of crime in Ireland, to judge of what sense of responsibility this ex-Attorney-General has when he goes down to the country and makes a speech like that I have just quoted.

But the ex-Solicitor-General for England was not to be outdone. What does he (Sir Edward Carson) say? Speaking at Maidstone, only the other day, the 19th February, he describes the condition of Ireland as

a disgrace and a scandal. The King's Speech mentioned the Balkans, but not a word about Ireland. While they were talking about affairs in the Balkans the most disgraceful crimes and outrages were going on at their own doors, and speaking with full responsibility he did not believe that a parallel to the condition of affairs in Ireland was to be found at the present moment in any part of the world.

Neither of the right hon. gentlemen whom I am quoting dared to make those assertions to-day in the House of Commons. But in the country they draw this picture, and represent, among other things, that the disturbance and lawlessness extend over twenty-two counties in Ireland—twenty-two counties.

Now the representation is that murders, attempts at murder mutilation of cattle, and—mark the phrase—"every conceivable form of crime and outrage" are rife over three out of the four provinces in Ireland.

The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Campbell), more than once during his speech said that history repeats itself. Well, indeed it does in Ireland. Almost this very day seventy years ago—just think of what your Union has meant for Ireland, for seventy years you have been discussing the same subject, this question of coercion and crime—almost to the very day this time seventy years ago, there was a great debate initiated in this House, at the commencement of the Session, on the question of Irish crime and coercion. Mr. Thomas Drummond was Under-Secretary then at Dublin Castle. He was attacked, as the Chief Secretary has been attacked here to-night, not because there was an increase of serious crime, because, as I will show in a few minutes, there has been a decrease of crime in Ireland; and in Drummond's time when that debate took place, there was also a decrease.

Why, then ? Because Drummond, like the right hon. gentleman, dis-  
arded coercion and insisted on governing Ireland by the ordinary law.

Yes, and that debate was inaugurated by the Member for Trinity  
College of the day. Mr. Shaw, Recorder of Dublin, was Member  
for Trinity College at that time, and he initiated the debate.  
and I assure you, if you read that debate, as I have read it  
within the last couple of days, you will find, from beginning to end,  
exactly the same tone, the same character of talk, and all manifestly  
animated by the same motive—to attack the man who dares try and  
govern Ireland by the ordinary law.

In that debate there was a remarkable speech made by Daniel  
O'Connell. Daniel O'Connell did not mince his words ; and I can quote  
from him words addressed to the Members for Trinity College in that  
day which I am afraid you would not allow me to address to the Member  
for Trinity College at this moment.

[AN HON. MEMBER—" Although they deserve it just the same."]

Here are his words. Mr. O'Connell said :—

There was one feature in this debate that would be remembered. Speeches  
had been made by four gentlemen, natives of Ireland who, it would appear,  
came here for the sole purpose of vilifying their native land and endeavouring  
to prove that it was the worst and most criminal country on the face of  
the earth. Yes, you came here to calumniate the country that gave you  
birth. It is said, Mr. Speaker, that there are some soils which produce  
venomous and crawling creatures, things odious and disgusting. Oh yes,  
you may hiss, but you cannot sting. For my part your calumnies cannot  
diminish my regard for my country ; your malevolence cannot blacken it in  
my estimation, although it is your vices and crimes, or the vices and crimes  
of men such as you, that have produced the results in Ireland to-day.

History, I agree with the right hon. Member for Dublin University,  
does repeat itself. The picture the right hon. gentleman has drawn—  
because, of course, he is the accuser, and not the noble lord who moved  
the amendment, whose speech was mild as milk compared with that of  
the right hon. Member for Dublin University—that picture is an  
absolutely false one. He has made a serious charge against Ireland ;  
to make a counter charge against him and his confederates. There is a  
deliberate conspiracy on foot in this country to libel a nation to serve the  
ends of the disunited and distracted Tory party.

By comparison with England, Ireland at this moment is in a state  
of almost absolute crimelessness.

We are asked to say that coercion should be applied to Ireland,  
because she is seething with crime in three out of four provinces. I will

show that if the present state of Ireland is a reason for applying coercion there is ten times greater reason for applying coercion to England. I hope hon. members representing English constituencies will not accuse me of doing anything wrong in calling attention to the state of crime in England; but we are the people attacked. We are not attacking England; we are only defending ourselves.

Let me institute a comparison in all classes of serious crime. I shall quote no figures except those taken from the official criminal statistics which I have personally verified.

Take murder first. During the last twenty years there have been 3,000 cases of murder in England. In those cases only 1,309 persons were brought to justice, and of those only 551 were convicted.

Is there anything like that to be found in the criminal statistics of Ireland? Take the last four or five years in particular. (I ought to state that the criminal statistics for England do not come out so soon as those for Ireland; they are a year later.)

In the last four years in England we find that, not including infanticides, there were 389 murders; in the last four years in Ireland there were 51. There has been no agrarian murder in Ireland for years—for three or four years, at least—until the unfortunate occurrence the other day in Craughwell, to which I shall allude in a moment. In London alone—which I know is not a fair comparison, but I have given the figures for the whole of England—there were during the last three years 92 murders and 2,094 attempted murders.

I am prepared to prove from the official statistics, which I have in my possession, that for several years past there has been a serious increase in all forms of serious crime in England.

If you take the annual average of the various classes of crime to be found in the latest published judicial statistics for England, and compare the annual average for the period 1902-06 with any preceding period you will find an increase in the average of cases of murder, attempted murder, intimidation, cruelty to children, attempts to commit unnatural offences, offences against girls under sixteen, burglaries, house and shop-breaking, larcenies of horses and cattle, killing and maiming of cattle, and other malicious injuries to property.

Taking offences against the person, the principal increases have been in the following offences, namely, felonious wounding, malicious wounding, intimidation, procuring abortion, and so forth; and also in all classes of sexual offences there has been a large increase.



[AN HON. MEMBER—"Is that for London alone?"]

No; these figures are for all England. It would not be fair to take London alone. London could be compared only with great cities such as Belfast or Dublin. I will take one class of crime which is not a pleasant thing to talk about; but when an attempt is made to blacken the moral character of Ireland by representing it as seething with crime, we are bound to defend her.

Take sexual offences, a class of crime which is on the increase in England. If you turn to the corresponding tables in the Irish statistics, you find in many cases an absolute blank under these headings, notwithstanding the great populations congregated together in Belfast, Dublin, and other cities.

Take, for instance, unnatural offences. The annual average in England from 1902 to the latest statistics available was 58; in Ireland for the same period it was 2.6. The average number of attempts to commit unnatural offences in England during the same period was 165, and in Ireland 6.2. The Commissioners who prepared these statistics make the following statement in their report:—

Indictable offences show that there was a fall (in England) from 1893 to 1895, that crime was stationary from 1895 to 1899, with the exception of slight temporary movement upwards in 1898, and that there has been a continuous rise, with one exception (1902), since 1900.

Taking the same classification of crimes, let us see what has been going on in Ireland, that country whose rapidly increasing criminality demands a Coercion Act.

Taking the annual average for the years 1903-07, as compared with any of the preceding periods, there is a great decrease in every class of serious crime. The numbers, which have gone up in England, have gone down in Ireland, of cases of murder, manslaughter, felonious wounding, malicious wounding, intimidation and molestation, arson, killing and maiming of cattle, malicious injuries, assaults on constables, and ordinary assaults and drunkenness.

I have quoted the years 1903 to 1907 inclusive, year by year, during the same period of years they have gone up in England. I might also go through England by counties. It may seem invidious to English Members to do this, but I do not apologise at all.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY—Let us have a Crimes Act for England. Here is one consistent man who says, "Let us have a Crimes Act for England." I look forward to the day when

he proposes it. I look forward to the day when any English Government proposes it. England would make shorter work with that Government than in any political crisis in the past.

Let me take one or two counties ; and, lest I should be accused of unfair comparisons, I shall take an English county which is purely agricultural, and where there are no great cities—the county of Norfolk.

We have no official statistics for 1908 ; but I have a letter written on 1st February, 1909, to the local newspapers by a gentleman in Norwich, Mr. Theo. P. Starke, College Road, Norwich, in which he gives a list which he has carefully collected from all the public law reports of the offences committed in the county of Norfolk during 1908.

It is a long list, and I will not read them all. There was only one case of murder. There were 60 cases of assaults on the police, 35 cases of beating and kicking of wives, 127 cases of violent personal assault and injury, and 52 cases of malicious damage to property. There was a total indictable offence list for that one county of 1,762.

AN HON. MEMBER—It is a Radical county.

I really was not aware that it was a Radical county. London is not a Radical county, and there is more serious crime in London in one month than in Ireland in a year.

The indictable offences for the whole of Ireland, including the cities of Belfast, Dublin, and Cork, were only 9,000. The total of indictable offences for the whole of England was 94,654, as against 9,000 for Ireland.

Let me take a couple of Irish counties—and I shall not be accused of taking one of those counties which, according to the police, are altogether free from disturbance and offence of any sort. Let me take the county of Clare. At last Quarter Sessions in that county the Judge, speaking in Ennis, said—

AN HON. MEMBER—Name.

Are you attacking the judges now ? If the hon. gentleman is ignorant that he does not know the names of the judges, he had better go to the library and find out. It does not matter whether the judge is a Liberal or a Conservative. The judge was probably telling the truth when he was speaking about the number of cases he was going to try. He said :—

There was only one case of assault to go before the grand jury. It was a matter for congratulation that in that wide district there was but a single offence for trial—that there was not a single offence against property. The only offence before them was in the nature of an assault. He thought

is a matter of congratulation that, so far as ordinary crime was concerned, are—and he believed the same remark applied to all Ireland—compared favourably with any district or country in the world.

At the same Quarter Sessions in Limerick there was an interesting ceremony, where the High Sheriff said:—

It was his very pleasant duty, the first in connection with his official capacity as High Sheriff, to ask his Honor to accept a pair of white gloves emblematic of the peaceful condition of the city and its immunity from crime. The pleasure was all the more enhanced when they recollected that this presentation was not of an isolated character, but was of very frequent occurrence. His Honor had been pleased to accept on three different occasions already similar testimonies of the peaceful condition of the city, and his predecessor had very frequently been the recipient of similar presentations. The pleasure was further enhanced when they considered that the learned judge who presided at the recent Connacht Assizes also referred to the immunity of the city from crime.

I do not wish to burke the case which has been made, such as it is. It will be said, "Oh! it is true, although Ireland is seething in crime, still it is true that in all those serious offences, murder and attempted murder, arson, attacks on the person and property, and cattle maiming, there is no increase, but, on the contrary, a diminution; still there has been an increase in two offences, known as cattle driving and offences with firearms."

Now I would ask, in regard to this indictment of Ireland, what right have you to take out two particular offences, which, you say, are not familiar in England, and to say that because these two offences have shown an increase in Ireland, therefore there is such a state of lawlessness and crime as to necessitate a Coercion Act? Is cattle driving more criminal or inhuman than murder, or wife beating, or cattle maiming? No coercion is asked for England, except by the hon. member, by reason of the steady increase for years past in all those offences.

Let me examine those two particular offences in Ireland a little more closely.

What is cattle driving?

The Chief Secretary rightly said it was a new offence. What is its origin? I have no hesitation in stating my opinion what its origin is. It would be most unjust and untruthful to say that it is the result, intended or contemplated, of the Land Act of 1903. No; it is, in my opinion, the direct result of the failure in certain parts of Ireland of the working of the Act.

We were promised when that Act was introduced that it would deal with congestion.

We were promised that it would deal with the breaking up of grass lands.

When we wanted to move amendments in Committee giving compulsory powers to deal with this question, we were put off by the right hon. gentleman the Member for Dover, who assured us that the power in his Bill, in his judgment, would be sufficient to deal with these congested communities in the West, and the breaking up of the grass-land and we did not present our amendments. The promise made in the speeches during the debates on the Bill of 1903 raised to the highest pitch the expectation of the people in certain parts of Ireland.

We know that in those particular parts of Ireland where the land question was not nearly so pressing as in the West it worked smoothly and rapidly ; but not so in the congested districts. That was admitted by everyone ; and when the Government appointed a Royal Commission under Lord Dudley to inquire into the reason why the promises made under the Act of 1903 had not been fulfilled, the people of Ireland remained patient and quiescent. There was no disturbance or cattle driving until year by year passed over without any working of the Act or without any hope of getting any amendment by legislation.

I honestly believe that if the Dudley Commission had issued their report a year before they did, cattle driving would probably not have come into existence, or, at all events, it would not have caused serious anxiety.

That is my account of the origin of cattle driving, and it is borne out by the Chief Secretary, who says that within the last few months, since the new Land Bill was introduced, cattle driving has so diminished that last week there was practically none. This proves my point that cattle driving was owing to the disappointment of these people in getting no remedy for the grievances, which they were promised when the 1903 Bill was passed.

I have never advocated cattle driving ; but if anybody says it is to be mentioned in the same breath with the crimes committed in England, I say it is a slander. These men may be misguided, and they may break the law, but criminals in the ordinary sense of the word they are not.

With regard to the offence of firing arms into houses, I have myself the strongest possible objection to the indiscriminate carrying of concealed arms. I believe this ought not to be allowed in any county, except under extreme regulations. I will not tolerate the insult which

s offered to my nation in forbidding Ireland to bear arms, when arms may be borne in England with impunity. But so far, I say, as the indiscriminate carrying of concealed arms is concerned, I am entirely against it, in Ireland or in England.

With regard to this offence connected with arms, I admit there has been an increase, and I deplore it. I agree with the Chief Secretary that firing into houses is a cowardly offence, and there is no step I would not take to stop it. It is a most cowardly offence. I am glad to think that it is not widespread, or that it has not resulted in the loss of life or in serious injury to limb. These firings have, after all, not caused any deaths, or any serious woundings, and the number for the whole of Ireland is ridiculously small. There are  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions of people in Ireland, and there are 148 of these offences. Well, 148 is not a great deal for the whole of Ireland. There was a total for the last five years in London of 331 offences committed with firearms. You will find that in Ireland the number is insignificant compared with the number in England.

As to cattle maiming, it is not possible for any man to mention that offence without exciting abhorrence. It is absolutely abhorrent to the feelings of any human being. It is abhorrent to the universal sentiment of the people of Ireland. There were twenty-two cases last year. That, in the whole of Ireland. Those twenty-two cases were a great reproach to Ireland.

But when we are told that because of those twenty-two cases in the whole of Ireland the ordinary law should be suspended and Coercion substituted, I reply by pointing to the parallel cases in England. There was all over England, in 1908, an epidemic of cattle maiming. Let me give some of the cases.

In February, at Chatham, a horse was brutally ill-treated, and the affair was aggravated by the fact that a number of horses in an adjoining stable had suffered in a similar manner. Yet no one was brought to justice.

In the same month, at Jarring Neville, in Sussex, there were three maiming outrages. The local paper says:—"The investigations of the police have brought to light the fact that a strange man was seen along the river bank close to the field in which the maimed cattle were grazing," and it goes on to say that this was the same district in which another outrage of the kind took place previously.

Again no one was made amenable.

In February, in Grimsby, there commenced a series of cattle maiming outrages, which went on intermittently from February to September,



and I make the statement here that in that district of Grimsby alone there were as many cattle-maiming outrages as in the whole of Ireland that year.

The *South Wales Echo* of 3rd February, 1908, says:—

The Grimsby police are investigating another mysterious outrage which has been perpetrated at the slaughter-house of Mr. J. Bushe.

A few months ago Mr. Bushe's slaughter-house in Bridge-street was broken into and a beast killed. Its body was hacked and slashed in such way as to make it unsaleable.

While the police were hunting for the offenders, the killing-house was broken into and a bull, value £50, was killed by the visitors, and the carcass rendered useless.

On Saturday two pigs were found dead in the same house, having been beaten to death with a pole-axe. Their bodies were bruised and slashed horribly, and had to be destroyed.

No one has been made amenable.

The *Daily News* of 23rd March, 1908, says:—

In March two extraordinary maiming outrages occurred in Norfolk. The first took place on the farm of Mr. Larwood, at Swaffham, where he discovered one of his sheep dead, and mutilated in a fiendish fashion, portions on some adjacent hurdles. A second case was reported from Sporle in the same district, where a sheep owned by Mr. Thomas S. Matthews had been partly skinned and the carcass dragged about a field immediately next to the main road, and then flung under a hedge. The owners have offered substantial reward likely to lead to the detection of the perpetrators of the outrage.

No one has been made amenable.

Then, I have an article here from the *News of the World*, 19th April 1908, describing some extraordinary brutal mutilations of dumb animal cattle and horses, at Bidston Golf Links, Bidston Moss, near Liverpool.

The article commences by referring to the Great Wyrley outrage in Staffordshire of the year before:—

Everyone will remember the succession of maiming that occurred in 1907, when animal after animal was mutilated.

It then describes how a number of lambs, owned by Mr. Evans, Bidston Hall, were grazing on the Moss, where the shepherd, on his rounds in the morning, found some of their bodies mutilated and lying on the grass; and then there is a description of the brutality practised on those animals.

In May, the next month, I have an article from the *Daily News*, 30th May, 1908, which says:—

A series of cattle-maiming outrages at Eye Green, near Peterborough.

are causing alarm and indignation amongst the farmers of the district. They are similar to those at Great Wyrley. The latest case is that of a young bullock found on Mrs. Fowler's farm with its head nearly hacked off, both sides of the neck having been slashed, apparently by a strong arm, with a long knife.

The one case of cattle maiming in Ireland we were referred to to-day was where a bullock's head was hacked off. Here is a case at your own door. Why do you not say that there should be coercion for Peterborough?

In the same district sheep belonging to Mr. T. Roberts and Mr. Little have also been found ripped up, and within two years Mr. Little had another sheep so mutilated that it had to be slaughtered. Mr. F. W. Griffin, the fire horse breeder, had a sheep barbarously killed upon his farm. The police have no clue to the perpetrators of the outrages.

Then I come on to September:—

The Staffordshire police report yet another maiming outrage. An aged mare belonging to Thomas Springthorp, Darlaston, was found shockingly mutilated in a field adjoining the main road, where it had been put to graze the previous night. The animal was alive, bleeding from a frightful gash in the flank, extending ten inches in length, inflicted with some sharp instrument. The animal was so badly mutilated that it has since been killed.

No one was brought to justice.

Then the record goes back to Grimsby, to the 10th of August, 1908:

The fifth case of cattle maiming within a few months has occurred at the slaughter-house of Mr. Bush, a Grimsby butcher. On four previous occasions cows and pigs were horribly mutilated and killed. A reward was offered by the Grimsby Butchers' Association, and the police were very active, but the culprit has never been discovered. On Saturday night another visit was paid to the slaughter-house, but there were no cows there. In an adjacent stable, however, was a valuable horse belonging to Mr. Logood, corn factor. The animal was found this morning cut in nine distinct places on the flanks, each wound being about five inches long. The rimers left no clue, and no arrests have been made.

I do not want to prolong this thing. I might continue it indefinitely. Let me give one case more, a mixed case of both arson and cattle maiming. On 16th August last there commenced in the neighbourhood of Dunstable a series of malicious burnings, which went on night after night for nearly a fortnight. Here is the list as published in the *Sunday Chronicle*, 4th October, 1908:—

August 26th, Mr. Barton's farm, 2 ricks burned, damage £60.

August 25th, Mr. P. J. Lautz's grocer's shop burned down, damage £200.

September 13th, Wesleyan Church, Dunstable, burnt, damage £10,000.

September 22nd, Mr. Henry Brown's Kingsbury Farm, Church Street, eleven ricks burnt, damage £1,000.

September 22nd, Mr. Barton's farm (second time), two ricks burnt, damage £80.

September 30th, Mr. Fossey's Buttercup Farm, eleven ricks, pigs and one heifer burnt, damage £1,000.

September 30th, Mr. Thomas J. Cook's farm, Brewer's Hill, three ricks burnt, damage £60.

October 1st, Mr. A. A. Allison's farm, Little Gaddesden.

And so on, day after day, in the same small neighbourhood, and not one single person was ever brought to justice for one of those crimes.

And there you have a record, only an imperfect record, compiled simply from the newspapers, of cattle-maiming outrages of the most cruel and barbarous character, infinitely more numerous than the twenty-two cases in Ireland; and yet you are asked, because these twenty-two cases occurred in Ireland in 1908, to say that we are practically a nation of savages, and unfit for the exercise of the ordinary law.

I hope that English members who have been listening to me, perhaps members for those very constituencies, will not imagine I have risen for the purpose of throwing mud upon their constituents. I am not saying that those outrages, horrible as they are, are possible of avoidance in a great country like this. I do not know. They are regrettable, at any rate; but I found no charge upon them. I do not say that the people of England should have their liberty taken away from them and coercion imposed upon them as a result. We have been attacked, and in our defence I quote them; but I say, when you have at your own doors a worse state of things than exist in Ireland, it is a monstrous insult to say that the ordinary law should be taken away from us and coercion used in its place.

Let me deal for one moment with the particular case mentioned—that of Craughwell.

The Craughwell murder was a horrible offence, but happily it was an isolated case. As I pointed out, for three or four years there were no agrarian murders in Ireland at all. Speaking in the House of Lords the other day, Lord Lansdowne, who, one would have thought from his experience and from his position, would feel the responsibility attaching to his words, said:—

And finally we have a murder in broad daylight of a wretched constable in discharge of his duties, a murder which apparently was regarded with enthusiastic approbation by the people of the neighbourhood.

I stigmatise that as a cruel and reckless libel upon the people of that neighbourhood.

Nothing could by any possibility be more untrue. From the day on which that murder was committed to this moment the people, through every organ they possess, have expressed their horror and indignation. I read that—

Very strong denunciations of the murder were delivered at the Masses yesterday in Craughwell and Ballymonagh. Speaking with much feeling in Craughwell Church, Father Quinn denounced all outrages, and said the recent one involving the loss of the life of an innocent policeman was the worst of all that had happened during his connection with the parish. The perpetrators of the outrage, he pointed out, had nothing to gain by taking away the life of an innocent man; Father Quinn warned parents to guard their children from the dangers of secret societies.

The Rev. Father Davoren spoke at other Masses in Craughwell and Ballymonagh, and denounced this murder in the most vigorous terms. The Member for the district, Mr. Wm. Duffy, M.P., also spoke of the murder.

He expressed disgust and horror at the awful occurrence. The officials of the United Irish League in the district equally deplore the outrage, and I cannot be too strongly emphasised that the shooting has no political significance whatever. The fact that Mrs. Ryan's right to the farm was acknowledged at the meeting of the Executive of the League, is sufficient to show that the present trouble is confined to a small radius, and acts of violence command no sympathy from the vast majority of the people.

In the face of these facts, which ought to have been known to Lord Lansdowne, I stigmatise again as a wicked and reckless libel his statement that this murder was received with approbation by the people of the district.

Murders of this kind are of rare occurrence in Ireland. In the last ten years I wonder if the House will be surprised to hear seventeen policemen were killed on duty in the streets of London, and that the annual average of constables assaulted in the discharge of their duty in England, for the period 1902-6, was 10,577.

In Ireland occurrences of this kind are most rare. Let me quote an authority which will be listened to with respect on these Benches. The late Colonel Howard Vincent went over to Ireland with a small commission to inquire into the conditions of the Police Constabulary, and a case was made before him that they ought to get largely increased



pay because of the excessive risk they ran in the discharge of their duty And what does he say in his Report ?—

Some of the witnesses asserted that the duties of the Irish Constabulary are more dangerous than those of the Police in England. We are not in possession of statistics showing the retirements from the English forces caused by injuries received in the execution of duty. In the Royal Irish Constabulary during the last ten years only seven men have retired from the Force owing to injuries so received : that is not one per cent. out of a Force varying from 12,000 to 10,000 men.

It would appear that the proportion in England is much higher. The Chief Constable of West Yorkshire stated in evidence that the duties of the police in his county are very arduous and involve great risks, that he has had several men murdered during his twenty-five years' connection with the force.

In Birmingham, which has a force of 700 men, pensions are being paid to five men, who retired during the last ten years, owing to injuries received on duty. In 1897, a constable was killed on duty in that city. The crime of burglary, which is so common in England, also adds considerably to the danger attached to the discharge of police duties in the country. It is a well-known fact that on many occasions policemen in England, in encounters often single handed, with armed burglars, have either lost their lives or have been so injured as to become permanently disabled.

Then the Commissioners go on to declare that the risk run by constables in discharge of their duty in Ireland is far less than in England, and the Report winds up with the significant statement of the reason :

Because it may be said, practically speaking, that there are no criminal classes in Ireland.

I claim respectfully to have proved first of all that crime generally in England is greater in proportion to population than it is in Ireland, and that that is especially true of the more serious classes of crime.

I profess to have proved from the official statistics that crime in England is increasing, and has been for several years past, and especially increasing in the serious classes of crime ; that in Ireland, in the same years, crime generally has been decreasing in the serious classes.

And I say seriously that if increases in cattle driving or increases in offences committed with firearms not leading to maiming, wounding, or murder, or if increases in boycotting are to be held as a justification for coercion in Ireland, where generally there is a state of crimelessness, surely an increase in attempts to murder, in cattle maiming, in wife-beating, and other horrible offences of that kind in this country should



make a conclusive case in favour of the abolition of trial by jury and the creation of tribunals of two resident magistrates here in England.

I assert that the attempt to hold up Ireland as seething with "every form of crime and outrage," which is the phrase used—to hold up Ireland in the throes of "a saturnalia of crime," as the noble lord said who moved this amendment, is in itself a dastardly outrage to the whole Irish nation.

The truth is that the whole of this campaign is a mere political dodge. These distinguished statesmen here have got to try to find some issue upon which confederates and others can unite, and it seemed to their great minds that a campaign of calumny and slander against Ireland was the easiest.

But the campaign of slander will not succeed. They may go down the country and tell these falsehoods for English platforms; but we will follow them, and wherever they go and repeat those slanders, I am sure one of my colleagues will ask the hospitality of some English platform to answer them.

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL—You will have a busy time.

I thank the right hon. gentleman for his admission that if we are to answer all their calumnies we shall have a busy time.—Let me put one other consideration before the House. There is something more to be said about the administration of the law in Ireland than has ever been touched upon by any speaker in this debate.

The most serious feature in the Ireland of to-day is the absence of respect for the law and of confidence in the administration of justice. The right hon. gentleman has said "Hear, hear." That is the monument to your hundred years of rule from this country. At the end of a hundred years of the Union there is an absence of respect for the law and a deep-rooted disgust at the administration of justice in Ireland. We heard nothing about this in the debate this afternoon.

For my part, I know of no greater condemnation for any Government than the statement that under its rule law is held in disesteem and the administration of justice is suspected and distrusted. That is the case in Ireland.

Yes; I admit it. It has been the case ever since you commenced your rule in Ireland. And what is the cause?

I do not think anybody will repeat the reasons we used to hear twenty years ago, which were summed up by Mr. Gladstone in his remark that some people imagined that the Irish had a double dose of original sin. No one to-day will say that the law is disrespected and

the administration of justice is suspected in Ireland because the Irish are by nature a law-breaking race, incapable of being law-abiding citizens. You cannot say that, because the whole history of your Empire proves the contrary. In every portion of this Empire, outside Ireland Irishmen show respect for the law, and have confidence in the administration of justice.

And go outside your Empire, and follow them into other lands. We are the most law-abiding citizens in the United States of America to-day I say freely, and I would say the same on any American platform, to Irish emigrants.

It is not because the Irish are by nature incapable of being law-abiding citizens. No. The reason is that the law for them in their own land has not only always come to them in a foreign garb—to use Mr. Gladstone's phrase—but has been to them all through the century a weapon of oppression and injustice. The administration of the law in Ireland has been polluted at its very source. To this hour I admit it is deeply distrusted by the people of Ireland.

Does this House remember the history of that young man who was put upon his trial on a charge of maiming a cow—a horrible charge and who pleaded guilty in the dock, and was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, and who was found out in about two years afterwards by the right hon. Member for Dover (Mr. Wyndham) to have been an innocent man?

There was a certain Sergeant Sheridan, a police sergeant, who arrested two or three men on a charge of cattle maiming. It was on his evidence that they were convicted, one of them after a trial, and the second or as I said, pleading guilty. Sheridan's conduct came under the suspicion of the Castle, and, let me say, to the credit of the right hon. gentleman the Member for Dover, if he never did anything else in connection with Ireland, his action in this matter was a credit and an honour to him. He did not cloak Sheridan. He investigated the case, and proved conclusively that Sheridan himself was the man who committed the outrage and that his oath, on which these men were convicted, was false. One of the poor men died, but the others were released.

Why do I recall that story to your mind? Not to emphasise the iniquity of this police constable at all, but to make this point. Here you find a respectable young man charged with one of the most horrible offences possible, and when he is in the dock such profound mistrust has he in the administration of justice that he actually pleads guilty, thinking that he would get a lesser sentence than if he protested

s innocence. That throws an awful light upon the state of things in Ireland ; and, believe me, that is the serious aspect of Irish crime and the administration of the law which the House of Commons ought to turn its attention to instead of talking this pestilent nonsense about coercion.

Then there is the system of promotion to the Bench for partisan political service, the system of jury packing, the everlasting exceptional coercion law, and the use of the famous Statute of Edward III. for political offences. Here I blame the Chief Secretary, because he spoke this afternoon of this Statute of Edward III. as if it were part of the ordinary law of the country. I would remind him that the law is used in this country solely for dealing with tramps and vagabonds ; and I would like to see any Minister attempt to put that same law in force against a newspaper editor or a political opponent in England. These things prevent the law in Ireland from being respected and the Administration from being trusted.

That is the real problem, and not this question of coercion. How all that to be changed ?

I agree that there never can be real safety, freedom, and happiness in Ireland until the law is respected and the administration of justice trusted ? How can that be brought about ?

It cannot be brought about by coercion, because you have been trying that for a whole century. I admire the hardihood of the noble Lord when he referred to " twenty years of resolute government." I cannot conceive how he was so hardy as to mention it. But his twenty years of resolute government are over, and yet to-night you are carrying on a debate precisely similar to that which you carried on seventy years ago.

There is only one way of changing all this, and that is by adopting the same methods as you have applied elsewhere throughout your Empire.

This is not a new situation. When Lord Durham was sent to Canada he found precisely the same state of things as that which existed in Ireland to-day. Perhaps the House will allow me to read a few words from the Report sent to Lord Gosport, in October, 1837, by the Attorney-General of the day :—

A system of proscription, based upon national distinctions and political prejudices, was adopted and pursued. The British inhabitants and those loyal Canadians who adhered to the political principles of their British fellow-subjects perceived on a sudden that all intercourse between them and those of their neighbours who professed a different political opinion was seditiously denied ; all interchange of the ordinary offices or the common

necessaries of life had abruptly terminated : they had incurred the penalty of social excommunication.

Then there is the question of firing into houses and cattle driving, and on this the Report says :—

Mobs assembled by night, and with shouts of intimidation and threat of personal violence endeavoured to terrify the loyal inhabitants into an adoption of their principles. The house of one, Jean Baptiste Cleval, captain of Militia, and a man distinguished for his loyalty, was fired into by the imminent danger of the lives of his family. The British subjects (settlers) were also subjected to a series of harassing annoyances, their fences were broken down, their cattle driven astray, their horses cropped and otherwise disfigured, and a variety of petty injuries inflicted.

With regard to want of confidence in the law, here is what was said in an Address by what is called the Confederation of the Six Counties :—the people of Canada, on the 24th of October, 1837 :—

Our citizens are deprived of the benefits of impartially chosen juries and are arbitrarily persecuted by Crown officers, who, to suit the purposes of the vindictive Government of which they are the creatures, have revived proceedings of an obsolete character precedents for which are to be found only in the darkest pages of British history ; thus our judiciary being filled by the combined conspiracies of a wicked executive, slavish judges, partisan law officers, and political sheriffs, the innocent and patriotic are exposed to be sacrificed, whilst the enemies of the country and the violators of all laws are patronised. The trial by jury, which we had been taught to look upon as the palladium of our liberties, is made a vain illusion or instrument of despotism, inasmuch as Sheriffs, creatures of the Executive . . . can select and summon such persons as they please, and thereby become themselves the arbiters in State prosecutions instituted against the people by their oppressors.

Let me read what Lord Durham said :—

The public have no security for any fairness in the selection of juries. There was no check on the Sheriff. The public knew he could pack a jury whenever he pleased, and supposed that an officer holding a lucrative appointment at the pleasure of the Government would be ready to carry into effect their designs.

There is the actual phrase, “ the packing of juries,” so far back, any rate, as Lord Durham’s Report in 1837. That is not all.

MR. F. W. LAMBERTON—He maintained the law.

Yes ; he maintained the law. No one would dream of saying a word against that. I have the greatest admiration for him. I only wish his able and distinguished relative in this house would offer



Ireland the same settlement that Lord Durham offered. All honour to Lord Durham. There was a state of things found in Canada—boycotting, firing into houses, injury to cattle, cattle driving; no confidence in the law nor in the administration of justice. What did he do?

He ended it by practically a stroke of the pen; by simply insisting that the people should be trusted. From the day that Lord Durham's policy of trust in the Canadian people has been carried out to this present moment there is no more peaceable or more law-abiding people in the Empire.

It was quite true, before the final offer of Home Rule was given, coercion was tried; and it is my case that because coercion failed and self-government succeeded, that, therefore, I say that the only remedy you can apply to Ireland with any hope of success is a remedy based upon similar principles.

As it happened in Canada, so it will happen in Ireland—when you throw responsibility on the shoulders of the people, and not till then. When respect for law will arise in Ireland; then confidence in the administration of justice will arise; and when that day comes, I am perfectly convinced that Ireland will become the most peaceable and most law-abiding, as she is to-day the most crimeless, part of your Empire.



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# Canada and Home Rule.

*(Abridged from Mr. John Redmond's Speech to the Young Scots' Society in Glasgow, November 29th, 1907.)*



When Queen Victoria ascended the Throne Canadians were in armed rebellion against England. When the British Government of that day ordered "Te Deums" to be sung in Canadian Churches, to celebrate her accession, the congregations rose en masse and left the buildings.

Fifty years later, at Queen Victoria's Jubilee, Englishmen would hardly believe that Canada was ever disaffected.

**What caused the change?**

**The grant of Home Rule to Canada, while Canada was still seething with unrest.**

There is nothing exceptional in this. In Australia and Cape Colony, as in Canada, self-government was conceded after great and menacing movements, breaking into rebellion and bloodshed. But the case of Canada is that which offers the completest resemblance to the symptoms which prevail in Ireland, and, therefore, the completest argument for applying the same cure.

**In Canada, as in Ireland, there were two races, and two religions.** The British, settlers of a more recent date, exercised a political ascendancy in favour of their own race, and the Protestant religion. The minority claimed, as it claims in Ireland, to make its will prevail over that of the majority. Lord Durham, in his famous report, says :—"The English look upon the French with contempt. . . . The French look upon the English with alarm, with jealousy, and, finally, with hatred."

Supporters of ascendancy in Canada used precisely the same arguments against Canadian Home Rule as are used in the case of Ireland. **The Duke of Wellington said that—"Local responsible government and the sovereignty of Great Britain were completely incompatible." History has confuted the Duke.**

Lord Stanley said in the House of Lords :—

"What would be the consequences (of granting the Canadian demand)? The establishment of a republic—the concession would remove the only check to the tyrannical power of the dominant majority—a majority in numbers only, while in wealth, education, and enterprise they are greatly inferior to the minority. The minority of the settlers are of British descent, and one thing is certain, if these settlers find themselves deprived of British protection they will protect themselves."

Canada has not moved a step towards separation, nor towards republican institutions. Yet Canada is divided only by an imaginary line from the greatest Republic in the world, and could, if it rebelled, only be conquered with the utmost difficulty. **The tie of free association within the Empire has held in the face of the strongest natural and political attraction.**

In the case of Ireland, what did Grattan say? "The sea denies us union, but the ocean forbids separation."

In Canada there has been no hint of civil war, nor has the Catholic majority oppressed the Protestant minority. Sir Wilfred Laurier, the French Catholic Premier, is trusted by the Protestants of Ontario no less than by the Catholics of Quebec. **The cause of sectarian bitterness was not theological difference, but the unfair predominance given to one creed identified with one political party.**

Lord Durham said:—"The Bench, the magistracy, the high places in the Episcopal Church, and a great part of the legal profession, are filled by this party; by grant or purchase, they have acquired nearly the whole of the unoccupied lands of the province; they are all-powerful in the chartered banks, and, till lately, they share among themselves exclusively all offices of trust and profit. The principal members of this party belong to the Church of England, and maintenance of the claims of that Church has always been one of their distinguishing characteristics."

This applies literally to Ireland.

Again, with regard to the administration of justice, Lord Durham wrote:—"The public have no security for any fairness in the selection of juries. There was no check on the sheriff. The public knew he could pack a jury whenever he pleased, and supposed that an officer holding a lucrative appointment at the pleasure of the Government would be ready to carry into effect their designs."

**Jury-packing in Canada, as in Ireland, was caused by refusal of the juries to convict.** In September, 1837, the Governor-General, Lord Gosford, wrote:—

"In two recent instances, where the Attorney-General preferred bills of indictment in the Court of King's Bench at Montreal, one against a Dr. Duchesnois, for publicly tearing, and treating with contempt, the proclamation issued by me on the 15th June last, and another against a certain individual in the county of the Two Mountains, for a conspiracy to drive out of the county, by means of threats, and acts of violence, several inhabitants, because they held opposite political opinions, the bills have been ignored by the Grand Jury, in the face of the strongest evidence."

Lord Gosford was a Coercionist, and **his picture of Canada in 1837 is the Tory picture of Ireland to-day.**

"The Papineau faction are not to be satisfied with any concession that does not place them in a more favourable position to carry into effect their

terior objects, namely, the separation of this country from England, and the establishment of a Republican form of Government."

**His Attorney-General describes boycotting :—**

"A system of proscription, based upon national distinctions and political prejudices, was adopted and pursued. The British inhabitants, and those of the Canadian subjects who adhered to the political principles of their British subjects, perceived on a sudden that all intercourse between them and those of their neighbours who professed a different political opinion, was suddenly denied, all interchange of the ordinary offices or the common necessities of life had abruptly terminated; they had incurred the penalty of social excommunication."

**Also intimidation, and even cattle-driving :**

"Mobs assembled by night, and with shouts of intimidation and threats of personal violence endeavoured to terrify the loyal inhabitants into an adoption of their principles. The house of one, Jean Baptiste Cleval, was fired upon. . . . The British subjects (settlers) were also subjected to a series of harassing annoyances—their fences were broken down, their cattle driven away, their horses cropped and otherwise disfigured, and a variety of petty injuries inflicted."

He attributes these symptoms, as the Irish Tories do, to "the artful and unscrupulous misrepresentation with which they (the agitators) delude and mislead their more ignorant countrymen."

**Yet in the face of all this, Canada's demand was conceded.** Her demand was for full Home Rule—a legislature with an executive responsible to it. **She tried a half-measure**, a Parliament without power to choose and control its own ministry, and from this disintegration and disloyalty had arisen.

**The complete concession of freedom was followed by complete loyalty.** Nor is that all. **Prosperity replaced misery.** Lord Durham wrote :—"The present state is not merely that improvement is stayed, and that the wealth and population of these Colonies do not increase according to the rapid scale of American progress. No accession of population takes place by immigration, and no capital is brought into the country. On the contrary, both the people and the capital seem to be quitting these distracted provinces."

To-day, Canada is united, harmonious, peaceful, and prosperous. **Canada now asks Home Rule for Ireland** (by repeated resolutions of her Parliament) in the interests of the Empire. Australia does the same.

**EVERY SELF-GOVERNING COLONY IS IN FAVOUR OF HOME RULE FOR IRELAND BECAUSE EACH KNOWS THAT IF IT WERE GOVERNED AS IRELAND IS, IT WOULD BE, AS IRELAND IS, UNCONTENTED AND MISERABLE, AND THAT, IF IRELAND WERE FREE WITHIN THE EMPIRE, AS THE SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES ARE, FREE, IRELAND WOULD BE, AS THEY ARE, PROSPEROUS AND CONTENTED.**



The whole case that this leaflet is written to state cannot be better concluded than by an extract from the speech which Sir Edward Grey delivered on Friday, April 19th, 1907, in the presence of the Colonial Premiers, with reference to the grant of Home Rule to the Transvaal :—

"The history of our relations with our self-governing colonies had been a chapter in the history of freedom. Freedom gave to self-governing colonies the power to develop their countries, and what was more important, the special excellencies of their race and character, in the environment of the country which they lived. *That was a great gift—the power to develop—which freedom gave. But it had another gift—namely, that of healing.* In the history of one of our colonies, we had already seen how it could heal wounds and strife, and bring men together, and we were confident, in our latest self-governing colony, the healing power of freedom would be equally potent, and we all felt that the tie between the mother country and the Colonies was now one which combined the advantages of union with the privileges of independence."

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## LEAFLETS ISSUED BY THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY.

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No. 1.—Canada and Home Rule.

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# The Record of Irish Local Bodies

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Mr. Balfour recently gave it as his opinion that—

"The Local Government Act is being used in every county in Ireland where the Nationalist Party have a majority . . . as a great electoral machine for promoting the party interests of a particular section, even though the really essential local interests are fatally sacrificed thereby."

Mr. Long repeated the charge, and drew the same conclusion, that **it would not be safe or fair to the minority to extend in any way the power already possessed by the majority in Ireland.**

Let us examine this contention in the light of facts.

It is quite true that wherever Nationalists are in an electoral majority they return Nationalists to the County and District Councils.

Why not? Do Liberals elect Tariff Reformers to represent their views? Had Unionists been chosen as popular candidates, the fact would undoubtedly have been used as an argument to prove that the Irish Party does not represent the mind of Ireland.

Mr. Balfour's accusation applies with more than equal force to the Irish Unionists. **Elections are everywhere in Ireland conducted on political issues: the difference between the parties lies in this, that the Unionists impose a religious test also.**

**No Catholic in Ireland is to-day elected by a Unionist electorate to a seat in Parliament, on a County Council, or even on a District Council.**

That Irish Nationalists have no objection to be represented by a Protestant is sufficiently proved by the fact that the Irish Party of eighty-one comprises nine Protestants. Contrast this with Great Britain, which returns only five Catholics among its 567 members.

In certain cases Nationalist bodies in Ireland have agreed to give to Unionists a larger representation than they could secure at the polls; at Newcastle in County Down, Nationalists agreed to leave six seats out of

twelve, which they could have secured, to the Independent Unionists. At Birr, where Nationalists are eight to one, seven seats out of twenty-one are conceded to Unionists by agreement.

**Individual Unionists who have shown good will and capacity are welcome on public bodies.** Thus, Lords Dunraven, Monteaule, and Killanin, Colonel Everard and Hutchinson Poë, have been repeatedly either elected or co-opted to local bodies, and have been given prominence on important committees. In Donegal Captain Stoney, D.L., is vice-chairman of the County Council.

No parallel for these examples of tolerance can be given from Unionist Ireland. It cannot be seriously contended that Nationalists ought to elect Unionists to represent them as a general rule. That they are capable of being represented, that the Councils do their work economically, is admitted in the reports of the Local Government issued since 1900. **Dublin Castle admits the efficiency of the local bodies.** So did Mr. Gerald Balfour and Mr. Wyndham.

In 1900 the first report said: "The County and District Councils have with few exceptions, properly discharged the duties devolving upon them. In 1903, "the general administration of the Local Government Act by County and District Councils continues on the whole to be satisfactory, and the manner in which the several local bodies transact their business calls for no special observation. The collection of the rates has been efficiently carried out. Very great and most creditable improvements have taken place in the care of the sick."

Later reports naturally make no general criticism of what is now a well-established system, but the report for 1906 acknowledges, *e.g.*, valuable suggestions made "by local bodies as to Rules under the Labourers Act, and there is **not a word in it to bear out Mr. Balfour's observations.**

But the real question is not one of efficiency, for the efficiency, and more specially the economy, are generally admitted. It is this: **Do the minorities get fair play?**

**Wherever Unionists are the majority they do not.**

In Armagh there are 68,000 Protestants, 56,000 Catholics. The County Council has twenty-two Protestants, and eight Catholics. On the Committee appointed by the Council the majority give themselves the same undue proportion: ten to two on the Finance Committee, *e.g.* But in the matter of salaries, they are even less impartial. Out of fifty employees, three are Catholics.

In Tyrone, Catholics are a majority of the population, 82,000 against 68,000 but the electoral districts have been so arranged that Unionists return sixteen

against thirteen Nationalists (one a Protestant). This Council gives to the Unionists a two to one majority on its Committees, and out of fifty-two officials employs only five Catholics.

In Antrim, which has the largest Protestant majority (196,000 to 40,000), twenty-six Unionists and three Catholics are returned. Sixty officers out of fifty-five are good Unionists and Protestants.

Down and Derry counties exhibit the same features. **Wherever Unionists have a majority on the Council, they give themselves, at least, a proportionate majority on the Committees, and a virtual monopoly of all lucrative employment. Only the meanest posts are conceded to Catholics.**

Now take the other side. Sectarian bitterness is admittedly most felt on both sides in Ulster. Consider the case of Monaghan. Catholics are 54,000, and Protestants 19,000. Nationalism shows its strength at the ballot box, as a demonstration of principle, returning **twenty-five Catholic Nationalists, and only two Unionists.** But how does this body administer? Of seats on Committees appointed, eighty-three are held by Catholics and thirty-six by Protestants. **The elected officers are thirty-four Catholics, and twenty-three Protestants.**

It may be said that the County Council of Monaghan did not choose its officials. All the Counties took over **the staff appointed by the old Grand Juries, which was Protestant and Unionist almost to a man, even in the most Catholic counties.** That was the example which the local bodies found before them. Everyone of these officials could be dismissed by the Councils, if they choose to display intolerance. They do not. On the contrary, in Monaghan, only the other day a Protestant doctor secured, in competition with Catholics, the valuable headship of the County Asylum.

Everywhere in the Catholic parts of Ireland, Protestants hold a share of the public salaries wholly disproportioned to their numbers. Even at Balinasloe, where a recent appointment was sharply challenged, Protestants only receive £1,003 out of £2,115, spent annually by the Asylum Committee.

**We challenge Protestant Ulster to show a single case where a Catholic Nationalist has been elected by a public body controlled by Unionists to a post for over £200 a year.**

For a final contrast take two adjacent counties, Cavan and Fermanagh.

In Fermanagh, a Protestant minority has got hold of the representation. A population of 36,000 Catholics and 29,000 Protestants returns ten Catholics and seventeen Protestants. The Unionists give themselves fifty-five to twenty-

two seats on the Committees : and fifty-eight to seventeen on the list of officers. They pay £5,071 to Protestants, and £639 to Catholics. The highest salary received by any Catholic is £55.

In Cavan 79,000 Catholics, and 18,000 Protestants return a Council exclusively Catholic and Nationalist. Yet this Council employs twentyix Protestants as against thirty Catholics. A Protestant official gets £60 a year ; no Catholic more than £300.

Municipal Corporations show the same tendencies. **In Belfast, Catholics are a third of the population, but the Corporation pays £51,405 in a year in salaries, of which only £640 goes to Catholics.**

In Derry, where Catholics are an actual majority of the population, the Corporation pays £6,663 to Protestant employees, and £169 to Catholics.

Nothing of this unfairness can be found in Dublin. Twenty-three times since 1843 has the Lord Mayor been a Protestant. No Catholic has ever held that office in Belfast. In Dublin, at the present moment, a long list of the best paid positions are held by Unionists ; while the North Dublin Union are actually being surcharged by the Local Government for insisting on pensioning a Protestant Chaplain.

To sum up, it can be confidently asserted—

**First, that Nationalist Ireland has set to Unionist Ireland a much needed example of religious and political toleration. Secondly, that wherever Protestants are in a minority, however small, they receive their full proportional share of representation on Committees, and more than their full share of salaries ; and that wherever Unionists are in a majority, they use it to exclude the Catholic minority so far as possible from either influence or preferment.**



# THE RECORD OF LOCAL BODIES IN IRELAND.

## WHERE IS THE RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE?

COMPILED BY JEREMIAH MACVEAGH, M.P.

Unionist speakers and writers never weary of dilating upon the dangers to which Protestants in Ireland will be subjected under Home Rule. The political student who wishes to ascertain the facts should, in the first instance, read the pamphlet issued by the Irish Press Agency, 2, Great Smith Street, Westminster, entitled "*RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE UNDER HOME RULE: THE OPINIONS OF IRISH PROTESTANTS*," in which he will find set forth the personal declarations of large numbers of the leading Protestants of Ireland. A perusal of that document will leave no room to doubt (1) that *Religious Intolerance is practically unknown in the South and West and East of Ireland, where the Catholics are in an overwhelming majority*; and (2) that *Religious Intolerance is only to be found in the North-East of Ulster, where the Orange element holds sway*. Yet, it is the spokesmen and champions of that Orange element who, with magnificent audacity, prate of the dangers of intolerance. Let us examine some further facts by way of supplement to the Pamphlet referred to.

## PROTESTANT LEADERS IN CATHOLIC IRELAND.

Irish Catholics have actually chosen from the Protestant minority of their countrymen their most trusted leaders, and no names are more venerated amongst the Catholics of Ireland to-day than those of Robert Emmet, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Theobald Wolfe Tone, Henry Joy M'Cracken, Thomas Davis, Henry Grattan, Isaac Butt, Charles Stewart Parnell, and dozens of others.

Catholic constituencies in Ireland never concern themselves about the religious opinions of any candidate; if he is a reliable supporter of the national demand, the electors ask no more. The following Protestant Home Rulers now sit in Parliament as the representatives of overwhelmingly Catholic constituencies :—Mr.



WILLIAM ABRAHAM (who defeated a Catholic opponent); Professor SWIFT MACNEILL (who defeated a Catholic opponent); Mr. SAMUEL YOUNG; Mr. RICHARD M'GHEE; Captain DONELAN; Mr. HAVILAND-BURKE; Mr. HUGH LAW, and Mr. STEPHEN GWYNN.

*But no Unionist constituency in Ulster has ever elected a Catholic Unionist to Parliament.*

## DUBLIN AND BELFAST—A COMPARISON.

The contrast is equally striking in Local Administration. Compare, for example, Dublin with Belfast.

Catholics form nearly a third of the population of BELFAST, but no Catholic has ever been allowed to become Mayor, or in later years Lord Mayor; and until Parliament stepped in and compelled a redistribution of the City Wards, *not one Catholic was allowed to be a Member of the Corporation, or the Harbour Board, or the Poor Law Board, or the Water Board.* The CORPORATION pays over £50,000 a year in salaries, but until after the interference of Parliament there were no Catholic officials, and even to-day the salaries paid to Catholics amount to only £1,598.

The BELFAST HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS have a salary list of over £11,000; but *there is not one Catholic on the Board*, and there is *only one Catholic employee*, his salary being £200.

The BELFAST POOR LAW BOARD spends over £10,000 a year in salaries, including salaries under Medical Charities, Registration Allowances, and Superannuation charges; and on the list of "Officers Required to Give Security" (that is to say, the higher-class appointments) there appears the name of *only one Catholic*, who receives £45 a year. Catholics hold some subordinate posts under this Board, but their total salaries amount to less than £1,000.

In DUBLIN, however, where there is an overwhelming Catholic majority, *Protestants have held the Lord Mayoralty on no less than 23 occasions, and the Shrievalty 38 times, since 1843*; while amongst the most responsible posts under the CORPORATION, the following are held by Protestants: City Marshal, City Engineer and Borough Surveyor, Assistant Engineer, Inspector of Buildings, Clerk of Works, Superintendent Electrical Engineer, Chief Assistant Electrical Engineer, three Assistant Electrical Engineers, Resident Drainage Engineer, two Assistant Drainage Engineers, Clerk of Drainage, Superintending Medical Officer of Health, Veterinary Inspector, Superintendent of Disinfection, Superintendent of Sanitation, Collector of Market Dues. First and Second Legal Assistants, and dozens of subsidiary positions.

The RICHMOND DISTRICT ASYLUM (Dublin) is the largest in Ireland, and is governed by a Catholic majority; and amongst recent appointments conferred on Protestants are those of the Chief Engineer, the Storekeeper, the Head Nurse, and two Deputy Head Attendants; whilst amongst honorary offices, the Chairman of the Joint Committee, the Chairman of the Finance Committee, and the Deputy-Chairman of the Portrane Asylum are also Protestants. Of the total salaries paid, £3,380 goes to Catholics and £2,200 to Protestants.

In the SOUTH DUBLIN POOR LAW UNION, eight of the sixteen Medical Dispensary Officers, three of the four Visiting Medical Officers, and one of the two Resident Medical Officers are Protestants, the total salary list being divided thus: Catholics, £12,023; Protestants, £5,213; whilst the members of the NORTH DUBLIN POOR LAW UNION have been surcharged for insisting on voting a pension to a Protestant chaplain!

Comment on such a contrast would be superfluous.

### IN ORANGE NORTH-EAST ULSTER.

Unionists predominate in only four of the nine Ulster counties. In the other five counties there is a big Nationalist majority; and even in the four Unionist counties there is only one county which returns a united representation of Unionists. Unionists, therefore, speak, not for Ulster, but for *a majority in the North-East corner of Ulster.*

Wherever the Unionist majority holds sway, it follows Belfast's bad example of Religious Intolerance. In the city of LONDON-DERRY, for example, there is a large Catholic majority in the population, but the Municipal Wards are so jerrymandered that the Catholics hold only 13 of the 30 seats on the CORPORATION. How does this majority use its power? £6,663 is paid in salaries to Protestant employes, and £169 to Catholics—*who form, let it not be forgotten, a majority of the population!*

The DERRY POOR LAW UNION, not to be outdone by the Corporation, has Protestant employees who receive £2,115 a year, whilst £245 goes to Catholics, including the Chaplain; and if the Local Government Board would only consent to an Orangeman being appointed as Catholic chaplain, the £245 would shrink to insignificance.

There is *not one Catholic employee* under the BALLYMONEY URBAN COUNCIL, BALLYMONEY RURAL COUNCIL, ANTRIM DISTRICT COUNCIL, ANTRIM TOWN COMMISSIONERS, PORTRUSH TOWN COMMISSIONERS, COOKSTOWN URBAN COUNCIL, AUGHNACLOY TOWN COMMISSIONERS, DROMORE TOWN COMMISSIONERS, COLERAINE

DISTRICT COUNCIL, BANGOR URBAN COUNCIL, and many other local authorities of whose achievements the details are not available.

Now and then, a Catholic finds employment under other Orange Boards—as a street scavenger. In DUNGANNON, for example, where the Nationalists and Unionists are about equal in population, there are two Catholic employees—both scavengers, and in a salary and wages list of £575 a year, £36 goes to Catholics, who form half the population! LISBURN DISTRICT COUNCIL (represented by Mr. Craig, M.P.) has two Catholic scavengers at 15s. each a week, the annual expenditure in salaries, wages, and fees being over £2,000; and the PORTADOWN URBAN COUNCIL (represented in Parliament by Mr. William Moore) gives “occasional employment” to two Catholics as street-sweepers. In LURGAN (also in Mr. Moore’s constituency of North Armagh) Catholics are a third of the population, but the local Council disburse to Catholics only about £100 of the £2,000 which they pay in salaries and wages; and the Poor Law Union in the same town pays to Catholic servants £81 out of £2,897.

It is the same story all over the Orange corner of Ulster. In BANBRIDGE UNION, which is supposed to be exceptionally broadminded, there are 42 Protestant employees and only two Catholics, the receipts of the latter being £60 out of £1,601. In BALLYMENA UNION, the Catholic servants get £63 out of £1,031, the recipients being assistant caretakers for imbeciles and a Chaplain. In ANTRIM Workhouse it is £60 to a Chaplain and a Nurse, out of £1,200. In NEWTOWNARDS they have a cook and a nurse who get £61 of the £2,043 that is disbursed; in LISBURN UNION, £191 out of £1,898; in ARMAGH UNION, £158 out of £2,018; in BALLYMONEY UNION, £80 out of £1,202; and in COLERAINE UNION, £58 out of £1,898. IRVINESTOWN UNION has Catholic employees who draw £36 as contrasted with £936 to adherents of the creed professed by the majority of the Board; and in LARNE UNION the figures are £166 as compared with £1,303.

DUNGANNON (Co. Tyrone) deserves a paragraph to itself. The Catholic inhabitants have a majority in the population of over 400, but the Wards were jerrymandered when the boundaries were being fixed, with the result that the Unionists have matters all their own way. In the Dungannon Union the only Catholic employees are three Nurses and four Wardsmaids; whilst the DUNGANNON URBAN COUNCIL has gone “one better.” This enlightened body acquired this year the local Markets, as a result of which some fourteen minor positions were vacant; and at a meeting of the Council on August 9th, 1911, the majority of the Council appointed fourteen Tories to the posts, although the

Nationalists have a large majority in population. They would not allow even one Nationalist to be appointed!

The Unionist County Councils might be expected to show more enlightenment than the local and parochial authorities, but do they? The ANTRIM COUNTY COUNCIL has five Catholic employees out of sixty-five; the ARMAGH COUNTY COUNCIL, three out of fifty; TYRONE COUNTY COUNCIL, five out of fifty-two; and DOWN COUNTY COUNCIL gives £185 to Catholics out of £5,520 in salaries. Yet in Tyrone, the Catholics are in a large majority in population, and in the other counties they form from 30 to 40 per cent. of the whole!

**Clearly, Ulster Unionists and their political allies should be the last men in the world to talk about Religious Intolerance.**

#### IN NATIONALIST ULSTER.

Not only is this example of Intolerance not followed in Leinster, Munster, or Connaught, but it is not followed even in the Nationalist parts of Ulster.

Take, for example, the Nationalist part of County Down. In NEWRY BOROUGH, Protestant officials under the Town Commissioners draw £628 out of a total of £1,580. In NEWRY UNION, NEWRY (No. 1) COUNCIL, and NEWRY (No. 2) COUNCIL—under each of these authorities there is actually a majority of Protestant officials. KILKEEL POOR LAW UNION and DOWNPATRICK POOR LAW UNION have also Nationalist majorities, but Protestants hold appointments which absorb more than half of the Salary Lists. When NEWCASTLE became a township, the Nationalist electors had a majority, and could have carried the twelve seats; but they left six of them open for Protestants, and the new Board elected a Protestant Chairman and a Catholic Vice-Chairman.

Here are the figures concerning salaries under other Local Authorities in Ulster in which the Nationalists have a majority:—ARMAGH DISTRICT COUNCIL, Catholics, £470, Protestants, £278; ARMAGH DISTRICT COUNCIL, Catholics, £888, Protestants, £616; DUNFANAGHY UNION, Catholics, £614, Protestants, £122; STRANABLAR UNION, Catholics, £558, Protestants, £364; COOTEHILL UNION, Catholics, £556, Protestants, £620; MONAGHAN ASYLUM, Catholics, £1,947, Protestants, £1,934; DONEGAL ASYLUM, Catholics, £3,325, Protestants, £2,617; and so on.

**But one may safely challenge the Unionist corner of Ulster to point to a single case in which a Catholic Nationalist has been elected by a Unionist Local Authority to a post of over £200 a year.**



## SOUTH, EAST, AND WEST.

In the other three Provinces, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, the Protestants are numerically insignificant, and persecution of such a minority would be the easiest thing in the world. Yet, wherever a Protestant candidate presents himself for popular election, he is—provided, of course, that he be a Nationalist—practically certain of election; and *in every county in Ireland where there is a Catholic majority, the Protestant minority holds more of the posts, whether of honour or of emolument, than they could possibly be entitled to by any merely arithmetical calculation.*

In LISTOWEL, County Kerry, the Catholics are 98 per cent. of the population, but the salaries paid in the Union are £420 to Protestants and £1,004 to Catholics. There is one Protestant inmate in the Workhouse, to minister to whose religious needs the Catholic Board pays a Protestant Chaplain £10 a year. This amount was increased the other day to £15, without any request from the Chaplain. The same Board appointed a Protestant doctor notwithstanding the candidature of a local Catholic practitioner, and further persecuted the Protestant applicant by raising the salary from £100 to £145. The solicitor to the Board, Mr. Creagh, is also a Protestant, and was elected by a 3 to 1 majority over a Catholic candidate.

In the Borough of CLONMEL, where the Protestants form 10 per cent. of the population, they form generally twenty per cent. of the Council. In 1902 a Protestant and Unionist headed the poll in the West Ward, and in 1903 the same thing happened in the East Ward. In 1904 the Catholic Sub-Sheriff was opposed in one Ward, where he only got second place, whilst a Protestant was returned unopposed in the other Ward; and in that year there were six Unionists amongst the 24 members who composed the Council. Last year a Protestant was elected head of the poll, receiving the largest number of votes ever given to a candidate in the Ward; and when he subsequently contested the Mayoralty with Alderman Condon, M.P., who enjoys great and well-deserved local popularity, the Protestant was defeated by only one vote, all his supporters being Catholics.

In the KINSALE URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL, where the Protestants are in an insignificant minority, they constitute one-fourth of the District Council, and in the KINSALE UNION, out of a total of £1,385 in salaries no less than £630 goes to the minority.

In KENMARE UNION and DISTRICT COUNCIL the Protestant officials include the Workhouse Medical Officer, the Consulting Sanitary Officer, Analyst, Clerk of Works, and three Sub-Sanitary Officers.



In CAVAN WORKHOUSE the Rev. Benjamin Senior gets £10 a year as chaplain to one Protestant pauper, and in MALLOW the Protestant chaplain gets a salary of £30 a year for ministering to a congregation of exactly similar dimensions; whilst in the EGLINGTON ASYLUM, which is attached to the Mallow Union, the Clerk, Matron, Clerk of Works, Storekeeper, one of the Doctors, the Painter, and six of the Attendants are Protestants, who draw £1,090 a year out of a total of £2,479.

In the OUGHTERARD UNION, where there are only 301 Protestants in a population of nearly 18,000, the salaries paid to Catholics amount to £785 and to Protestants £150, and in EDENDERRY and RATHDOWN UNIONS Catholics and non-Catholics draw equal amounts.

At a gathering in Belfast in June, 1911, in connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the REV. THOMAS BROWN, Bandon, Co. Cork, spoke of the goodwill shown to Presbyterian Ministers and those of other Protestant denominations by their Roman Catholic neighbours. And he added:—"Last week at the Poor Law elections in Cork, Miss Day, a Protestant, was returned at the head of the poll; in Bandon, the Earl of Bandon, a Protestant, is Chairman of the Town Commissioners; in Kinsale, Mr. David Acton is Chairman, and he is also a Protestant; whilst in Skibbereen the same pleasant conditions exist, the Chairman there, Mr. William W. Wolfe, being another Protestant."

The examples of, not merely Religious Toleration, but Religious Generosity, on the part of Irish Catholics might be extended almost indefinitely; and little wonder that a Presbyterian clergyman in Sligo, REV. W. ARMOUR, should appeal to his coreligionists in Ulster to muzzle their Parliamentary representatives, and allow the Protestants of the South and West to speak for themselves.

### MORE FACTS AND FIGURES.

The following figures are taken from a publication of speeches of Mr. John Redmond in Ireland, 1907, edited by Mr. Swift MacNeill (a Protestant Nationalist). They can tell their own tale.

[Statistics compiled for 21 counties in Ireland, and printed in *Freeman's Journal*, 1907.]

#### ULSTER—PROTESTANT PORTION.

|           |     | Population. |         | Per cent. |    |     | Paid Officials. |    |      |    |
|-----------|-----|-------------|---------|-----------|----|-----|-----------------|----|------|----|
|           |     | R.C.        | Prot.   | R.C.      | P. |     | R.C.            | P. | R.C. | P. |
| Armagh    | ... | 56,000      | 68,000  | 45        | 55 | ... | 3               | 47 | 6    | 94 |
| Tyrone    | ... | 82,000      | 68,000  | 55        | 45 | ... | 5               | 47 | 10   | 90 |
| Fermanagh | ... | 36,000      | 29,000  | 55        | 45 | ... | 17              | 58 | 23   | 77 |
| Antrim    | ... | 40,000      | 156,000 | 26        | 74 | ... | 5               | 60 | 8    | 92 |

## CATHOLIC PORTION OF IRELAND.

|             | Population. |        | Per cent. |    |     | Paid Officials. |    | Per cent. |    |
|-------------|-------------|--------|-----------|----|-----|-----------------|----|-----------|----|
|             | R.C.        | Prot.  | R.C.      | P. |     | R.C.            | P. | R.C.      | P. |
| Galway      | ... 180,000 | 12,000 | 94        | 6  | ... | 50              | 11 | 81        | 19 |
| Cork        | ... 365,000 | 38,000 | 90        | 10 | ... | 151             | 40 | 79        | 21 |
| Cavan       | ... 79,000  | 18,000 | 80        | 20 | ... | 30              | 26 | 53        | 47 |
| W. Meath    | ... 57,000  | 5,000  | 91        | 9  | ... | 37              | 17 | 68        | 32 |
| King's Co.  | ... 54,000  | 6,000  | 89        | 11 | ... | 21              | 19 | 52        | 48 |
| Monaghan    | ... 55,000  | 20,000 | 66        | 34 | ... | 34              | 23 | 59        | 41 |
| Kildare     | ... 55,000  | 9,000  | 85        | 15 | ... | 31              | 9  | 77        | 23 |
| Clare       | ... 110,000 | 2,000  | 98        | 2  | ... | 62              | 6  | 90        | 10 |
| Roscommon   | ... 160,000 | 2,500  | 95        | 5  | ... | 48              | 8  | 84        | 16 |
| Sligo       | ... 76,000  | 8,000  | 90        | 10 | ... | 58              | 14 | 80        | 20 |
| Mayo        | ... 195,000 | 4,500  | 98        | 2  | ... | 69              | 8  | 89        | 11 |
| Queen's Co. | ... 50,000  | 6,000  | 88        | 12 | ... | 25              | 11 | 70        | 30 |
| Tipperary   | ... 151,000 | 9,500  | 94        | 6  | ... | 43              | 17 | 71        | 29 |
| Leitrim     | ... 63,000  | 7,000  | 89        | 11 | ... | 22              | 10 | 69        | 31 |
| Carlow      | ... 33,000  | 4,000  | 89        | 11 | ... | 27              | 18 | 60        | 40 |
| Kerry       | ... 160,000 | 5,000  | 97        | 3  | ... | 93              | 19 | 83        | 17 |
| Meath       | ... 62,000  | 5,000  | 92        | 8  | ... | 38              | 14 | 73        | 27 |

**Therefore, do not be misled by politicians who seek to appeal, for political purposes, to one of the basest of passions—sectarian bigotry. The only Religious Intolerance in Ireland is to be found in the Orange corner of Ulster.**

**It is Nationalist Ireland that has set to Unionist Ireland a much needed example of religious and political toleration. Wherever Protestants are in a minority, however small, they receive their full proportional share of representation on Committees, and more than their full share of salaries; and wherever Unionists are in a majority, they use it to exclude the Catholic minority as far as possible from either influence or preferment.**

## **The Manufacture of Crime in Ireland.**

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Recent occurrences make it desirable to remind the British public that it is no new thing for men to be incited to commit outrages, and even for outrages to be committed, by the guardians of law and order, so that rewards may be earned by convictions, and that excuses may be afforded for coercion.

The difficulty of proof in such cases is appalling, for, as all know, the police support each other's testimony everywhere; and in Ireland they are assisted by a judiciary whose object is to convict. But one case, that of Sergeant Sheridan, stands out, in which the facts would appear incredible if they were not undisputed.

Sheridan was a Sergeant in the Royal Irish Constabulary. He was stationed for short periods in numerous parishes in Ireland, and his arrival in any parish was instantly followed by an outbreak of crime, and by the conviction of the supposed law-breakers. Hence his rapid promotion. All the crimes were committed by Sheridan himself, aided by accomplices in the police force, who joined him in swearing away the liberties of innocent men. At last the rogues fell out, and, as a result of the revelations which followed, Sheridan was dismissed from the public service, January 1st., 1901.

Mr. Balfour's Government admitted that Sheridan and his brother police-men committed the crimes, including the mutilation of dumb animals, and they, with a view to securing rewards and promotion, they secured, by perjury, the conviction of absolutely innocent peasants, who were sent to prison for lengthened periods. But the Government refused to prosecute. Why? Because they knew that such a proceeding would demonstrate to the world that these horrible transactions are part of the system of Irish Government. After his dismissal, Sheridan wrote to all the leading newspapers, urging the Government to take action—he even went to the Lobby of the House of Commons, and repeated the challenge to Members of Parliament. When the matter had been publicly avowed, one of the Irish Members ascertained and publicly announced his whereabouts in America; but though the Government admitted that they had under International Law the power

to obtain his extradition, they declined to apply for it, **despite the indignant protests of eminent British lawyers**, like Sir William Harcourt, Sir Robert Reid, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Lawson Walton, and others, who demanded the prosecution of all the miscreants.

**Let this be remembered when the Tory Party tax Mr. Birrell with failure to use all the resources of the law in order to convict cattle drivers.**

But more surprising facts remain. Some of the victims of the police process were compensated. One of them, Dan. M'Goohan, who got two years' imprisonment, received £100. Con. Bray was sent to penal servitude for three years, and was released to die before the end of the term, and his aged mother is now receiving 10s. a week. Patrick Murphy, who got six months' hard labour, received from the Government £25 as compensation. **But the policemen who committed the crimes, and who swore away the liberties of innocent men, were also rewarded.** They received rewards at the time of their convictions; and even when their infamies were brought home to them, they were not dismissed from the public service: two were "allowed to retire," and the third is still in the police force, and is still drawing his salary. Of the two who were "allowed to retire," Constable Reid actually received from the Government a "compassionate allowance" of £50, and Constable Keegan no less than £200. That is to say, one of the criminals got twice as much as one of the men he sent to penal servitude, and eight times as much as another of his admittedly innocent victims.

Yet even this is not the most serious aspect of the matter. Sheridan had been engaged in many prosecutions in many districts, and **no one at himself knows the count of his victims or of his accomplices.** His detection began with the failure to convict a tramp named Ryan. Sheridan swore that from a certain place he had seen Ryan post a threatening notice. It was proved that this was physically impossible, and Ryan was acquitted. **But Sheridan was not prosecuted for perjury.** Contrast this with English usage. In August, 1902, on the day before Sheridan's case was debated in the Commons, a constable charged a labourer with loitering with felonious intent. **The English labourer disproved the charge, and the English constable was at once prosecuted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.** In Sheridan's case nothing was done till an individual officer in the R.I.C., roused to suspicion by the Ryan case, set on foot enquiries, with the result that three undoubted cases were discovered where men had been convicted on Sheridan's evidence and that of his accomplices for crimes committed by these very policemen.



**And how convicted?** M'Goohan, who got two years for the loathsome offence of cutting off cows' tails, was brought before a Sligo jury, selected after **sixty Catholic jurors had been ordered to stand aside.** Yet, even this packed tribunal was not left to its own sense of the value of evidence. Mr. Justice Gibson exhorted them to remember that they "**must convict the prisoner or brand Sergeant Sheridan as a perjurer.**" They took the judge's admonition, and found M'Goohan guilty of Sheridan's act. A previous jury, less carefully selected, had disagreed, but **Government resolutely backed Sheridan.** Is it wonderful that Patrick Murphy, accused like M'Goohan of maiming dumb animals, took the advice of his counsel and **pleaded guilty in order to secure a lighter sentence from a tribunal which was certain to convict?**

This is what is meant in Ireland by the resolute enforcing of law and order.

But **juries have also been packed to acquit when a policeman was in the dock.**

The letters written to five men at Woodlawn, inciting them to place a bomb under Lord Ashtown's pew, recall another remarkable incident. On April 13th, 1898, **a young man at Newport in County Mayo received a letter enclosing money, and purporting to be from the local President of the United Irish League.** It urged him to attack the house of an unpopular individual on a certain night. On that night Sergeant Sullivan, with a double patrol, lay in ambush for an hour near the house in question. The letter was put into the hands of the League, and the writing was identified positively with that of Sergeant Sullivan by the Treasury Expert, Mr. Guerrin. Yet a local bench of landlord magistrates refused to send the case for trial to the assizes, and a private prosecution had to be undertaken. Government then undertook the prosecution, and **again packed a jury of twelve Protestant Unionists in Sligo, where ninety per cent. of the population is Catholic.** This jury acquitted the Sergeant without even waiting to hear the whole case. A civil action was then taken by the man whose name had been forged, and was tried in Dublin. The jury were eleven to one for finding Sullivan guilty, but one dissident secured a disagreement, which the Government treated as an acquittal. **Sergeant Sullivan is still in the force. The man who left it was his subordinate, a constable who swore to the fact that the patrol record for that night had been tampered with.** Government paid all Sullivan's costs.

It may be said that in this case nothing was proved. This at any rate does not apply to the exploit by which **Head Constable Whelehan** lost his life. In August, 1887, a man called Callinan came to this officer at Ennis. **Callinan had been in the pay of the police for several years**, as he admitted in court, admitting also that he had twice deserted from the army, **and had served several years in prison for various offences, including indecent assault on a child.** It was arranged between him and Whelehan that an attack should be made on the house of one Sexton, locally obnoxious as a land grabber. Whelehan paid the agent provocateur ten shillings, but had the mortification to see him brought back drunk and incapable. Callinan was cared for at the barrack, and again furnished with money, Whelehan this time seeing him off by train. On the following Sunday night Callinan, with some young men whom he had persuaded to accompany him, entered Sexton's house, where the police lay in wait, and a fierce struggle followed, in which Head Constable Whelehan was killed. But this plan succeeded, as **several of the men who, by Whelehan's instigation through the agent Callinan had attempted the crime, were sentenced to long terms of penal servitude**, and only escaped the charge of constructive murder on a technical plea. All this was sworn to in Court, and **Government never disavowed or denied Whelehan's methods.**

Most Nationalists in Ireland believe that under the present administration **private enterprise is taking up the work** which has constantly been done by Government; and that the **whole police machinery is used to-day as in the days of Sheridan, Sullivan, and Whelehan**, if not to support at least, to shelter these zealous promoters of "law and order." Certainly nothing has been done to dispel the heavy cloud of suspicion which hangs over all that is connected with the police force, and its assistants in Ireland.

# THE FACTS ABOUT CRIME IN IRELAND.

BY RICHARD HAZLETON, M.P.

(The figures and quotations contained in this leaflet are **official**. They are taken from the Blue Books giving the Criminal Statistics for England and Wales, and Ireland, respectively, for the year 1907, the latest year for which the figures are available, or for which they will be available till about March, 1910. Unfortunately, Scotland cannot be included in the comparisons with the other countries, as Scotch law does not distinguish between indictable and non-indictable offences.)

## The True Test of Crime.

“The number of ‘Indictable Offences’ may be fairly taken as the standard by which to measure the prevalence of crime in relation to the population, as the non-indictable offences include many which partake of a civil character.” (Judicial Statistics, Ireland, 1907, Part I, page 10). Taking, therefore, indictable offences, the following table shows the amount and proportion of crime in England and Wales and Ireland:—

### Indictable Offences for 1907.

| COUNTRY              | (1)<br>Number of<br>Crimes known<br>to the Police | (2)<br>Number<br>of Crimes<br>per 100,000<br>of the<br>Population | (3)<br>Number<br>of Persons<br>Convicted | (4)<br>Number of<br>Convictions for<br>every 100 Crimes<br>known to the<br>Police |
|----------------------|---|---|--|---|
| England and<br>Wales | 98,822  | 283   | 50,305                                   | 51  |
| Ireland              | 9,418   | 220   | 4,156                                    | 44  |

The above table shows that for every 100,000 persons in Ireland there

are 63 crimes less than for every similar number of persons in England and Wales. In other words, **crime in Ireland**, on a strict ratio of population, **would have to increase by slightly over 30 per cent. to reach, proportionately, as high a level as crime in England and Wales.** Thus, if Ireland's population were as large as that of England and Wales, the number of crimes in Ireland (provided the present ratio of crime there were maintained) would be only 75,344—or 23,478 less than the total of 98,822 actually committed in England and Wales. As to crime in Ireland going “unpunished”—a favourite charge of Ireland's enemies—column 4 of the above table shows that the percentage of convictions to the total crimes is in Ireland only seven below that in England and Wales.

Irish people bring no charges of criminality against the people of England and Wales, but when charges of criminality are brought for political purposes against them by their political opponents they are entitled to appeal to the facts as testified to by the above **official figures.**

### A Few Details of the above Figures.

| Nature of Crimes.                                       | England<br>and<br>Wales. | Ireland.   |
|---|--------------------------|------------|
| 1. Murder .. .. .                                       | 132                      | <b>23</b>  |
| 2. Manslaughter .. .. .                                 | 141                      | <b>41</b>  |
| 3. Felonious and Malicious Wounding ..                  | 1,372                    | <b>167</b> |
| 4. Burglary, Robbery, and House and<br>Shop Breaking .. | 10,616                   | <b>732</b> |
| 5. Larceny of Horses and Cattle ..                      | 457                      | <b>93</b>  |
| 6. Crimes against Morals * ..                           | 1,724                    | <b>118</b> |

From the above table it will be seen that Ireland's proportion of crime under heads 1 and 2 is, unfortunately, rather high. Drink was the direct cause of most of the 23 murders and 41 cases of manslaughter—

\* In addition to these crimes the number of persons proceeded against for **non-indictable** offences against morals, such as prostitution, etc., was—England and Wales, 13,202; Ireland, 1,247.



not one case of either having any agrarian complexion. Ireland shines under the other heads. Her superiority in Morals is most marked, for with a population practically **one-eighth** that of England and Wales she has only **one-sixteenth** the amount of crimes against morals.

### Official Comments.

Compare these two extracts from the latest Official Reports :—

#### England and Wales.

“ Crimes proper (*i.e.*, indictable offences) have shown a **marked increase**, the number of indictable offences reported to the police being **greater than in any year since 1882.**” (Judicial Statistics, England and Wales, 1907, Part 1, page 1).

#### Ireland.

“ In the year 1907 the indictable offences for the whole of Ireland, which had fallen from 9,728 in 1905 to 9,465 in 1906, **declined** to 9,418 in the period under notice . . . The number of persons proceeded against for non-indictable offences was 1,138 less than in the year 1906, and **28,529 under the average for the ten years 1897-1906.**” (Judicial Statistics, Ireland, 1907, Part 1, page 10).

In the face of these facts could anything be more monstrous than the Tory cry (raised as strongly in 1907 as in 1908 and 1909) for Coercion and the suspension of the ordinary law in Ireland on the ground of Irish crime ?

### The False Test of Crime.

As has been shown, the true test of crime, according to all official authorities, is the number of indictable offences. Under that test Ireland's superiority over England and Wales is so pronounced that her accusers shift their ground, and, instead of applying the true test, contend that it is by the number of **agrarian offences** Ireland's condition must be judged. The reason they do this is simple. It is that owing to the unhappy economic conditions prevailing there, **agrarian offences are peculiar to Ireland.** They, therefore, select from the general total (which is so satisfactory) particular figures which are not so satisfactory,

Sending "threatening letters," for instance, is in Ireland, according to law, an "outrage." There were 182 such letters in 1907, none of which led to any crime; but for party purposes these are paraded as "**182 outrages.**" In 1907 there were altogether 390 cases of cattle-driving. In only fifteen of these cases were claims for compensation made, and only ten of such claims were granted by the courts, proving that only in 2 per cent. of the entire 390 cases was there any loss or deterioration in the value of the cattle through their having been driven. In England and Wales, where cattle-driving is unknown, there were in 1907 457 cases of larceny of horses and cattle—in Ireland 93 cases! Agrarian crime in Ireland, such as it is, is due to economic causes. Remove these causes and it will instantly disappear. **That is what the Irish people are striving to do, by a just and speedy settlement of the land question.**

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# POLICE AND CRIME.

ENGLAND, WALES, AND IRELAND.

BY E. HAVILAND-BURKE, M.P.

## INTRODUCTION.

Speaking at a great Nationalist demonstration at Drumkeerin, County Leitrim, on October 27th, Mr. John Redmond drew attention to the immense excess of Irish Police—both as to numbers and cost—when compared with those of Scotland, although there was more serious crime to be dealt with in Scotland than in Ireland.

The report issued by His Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland for the year 1906 states on page 3 that the total authorised strength of the Scotch County and City and Burgh police forces for that year was 5,442,—“Which gives 1 to 857 of the population.” It adds (page 5), that “the Aggregate Cost of the Police Force, excluding the additional Police,” (*i.e.*, police specially employed and paid at private cost), “Together with the Rent, Taxes, Buildings, and all other Expenses, amounted to . . . a grand total of £573,348 5s. 6d.”

**The Cost of the Irish Police for that same year, 1906, when the estimated Irish population was only 4,387,000, as against 4,726,000 for Scotland, reached the enormous total of £1,471,704 !**

The following pages will supply a detailed comparison between the military and autocratic police of Ireland and the civilian and popularly controlled police of England and Wales.

## PART I.

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**CONTROL, NUMBERS, AND COST OF THE POLICE:  
ENGLAND AND WALES—AND IRELAND.**


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**I.—THE CONTROL.**

Of the many inequalities and wrongs inflicted by British rule upon Ireland—at the expense of the British as well as of the Irish taxpayer—there are few more flagrant than those which relate to the cost and control of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police.

To begin with, it must be understood by all intelligent people honestly willing to understand that in Ireland there is not so much as a pretence of a shadow of popular control over either of these two forces in town or country. They are under the sole mastery of two nominated officials—an Inspector-General of Constabulary and a Chief Commissioner of Police—who are responsible to Dublin Castle and to Dublin Castle alone. The ratepayers of Dublin, with a population of 378,000 including suburbs served by its police, are set down in the 1907-8 Law and Justice Estimates as paying a Police Tax of £43,000; and Dublin Hackney Car and Carriage Licenses, Police Court fines and fees, and Publicans', Pedlars', and Chimney Sweepers' fees make up a further £10,500 for the local "Appropriations in Aid" of a Police Force over which the local people have no more control than they have over the British Navy or the Government of Japan.

The smallest boroughs of England and Wales, such as the little borough of Louth in Lincolnshire, which only had a population of 9,500 at the last census (1901), have not only the power to determine what the pay of their police shall be, but to dismiss any one of such police, from the Chief Officer to the humblest constable. While the Corporations of Belfast, Londonderry, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, or Dublin, have no power to command so much as an explanation of any misconduct or inefficiency alleged against police officials, high or humble, the smallest Municipal Borough in England and Wales, unless it elects to have its area "watched" by the County Constabulary, is entitled to have its own local police force. If it adopts the latter course it becomes the absolute master of its own police. It can appoint a Watch Committee, and the chief duty of such Committee is to see that the local police discharge their duties honestly and well. On the report of their Watch Committees, English and Welsh Corporations can reprimand or cashier their Chief Constable or any member of the force under his command. They have often exercised this power, and there is no appeal whatever against their decision. Within the past twenty or twenty-five years several such cases have arisen; but I am content to select one conspicuous and recent case for the purpose of illustration.

In the year 1906 the Watch Committee of Bristol reported to the Corporation that the Chief Constable (holding a post then worth £800 a year), had been guilty of grave inefficiency and misconduct. It was pleaded hard on his behalf that he should be allowed to resign, so that



he might be entitled to some pension. But the Corporation dismissed him summarily. Mr. Allbutt, by the way, was an ex-Royal Irish Constabulary man. He should have remained in Ireland. Whatever Mr. Allbutt's faults may have been he had not—in conjunction with subordinates—procured the conviction of several innocent men for crimes (including mutilation of cattle), committed or instigated by himself. This was the horror of which the late Unionist Government admitted that the notorious ruffian, Sergeant Sheridan, R.I.C., together with several brother policemen, had been guilty. Yet the Ministry of "Law and Order"—ex-members of which are now howling about crime in Ireland—refused to put these miscreants in the dock! Sheridan—publicly daring and defying his employers to prosecute him criminally—was dismissed from the force in January, 1901. Two of his confessed accomplices were "allowed to retire," one of them getting a "compassionate allowance" of £200, and the third is still actually on service! Poor Mr. Allbutt was *not* "allowed to retire," nor did he get a "compassionate allowance" of a five-pound note. But then you must understand, that Mr. Allbutt was only the Chief Constable of a great English City, and accountable to the Watch Committee and popularly elected Town Council of that city. If he had committed any criminal offence for which the Corporation thought that he should be prosecuted, no British Government could have choked off the prosecution,

A sergeant in the Royal Irish Constabulary is not under the supervision or control of any local authority, and the English or Welsh Chief Constable is. That makes all the difference.

The London Metropolitan Police are under Imperial instead of local control, for the reason that London is the capital of the whole British Empire; but outside London, there is not in the whole length and breadth of Great Britain a police force that is not subject to local opinion and authority. Even such Boroughs as elect to be "watched" by the County Constabulary can bring any misconduct or inefficiency of such Constabulary before the County Council.

The facts and figures set forth in the ensuing pages are exclusively drawn from the following official publications:—

A.—"Police (Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales)" 1906.

B.—"Judicial Statistics (Criminal), England and Wales," 1906.

C.—"Judicial Statistics (Criminal) Ireland," 1906.

Any other references will be duly authenticated.

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## II. THE NUMBER.

The numbers and cost of the English and Welsh Police are not shown in the Estimates, as are those of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police (which forces will hereafter be referred to jointly as Irish Police). But they appear in an annual report entitled "Police (Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales)." This report is so minute and voluminous that it can only be issued considerably after date, and the latest available issue is for the year 1906. That year must

therefore be taken, in the first instance, for the purpose of an exact comparison of the relative numbers and cost of the police of England and Wales with those of the Irish Police, as shown in the "Judicial Statistics (Criminal) Ireland" for 1906. The officially estimated populations in 1906 will be given, as well as those according to the Census of 1901, upon which Census the Blue Book calculations are mainly based.

The following Table (A) shows how England and Wales compared with Ireland in 1906 as regarded police and population :—

TABLE A.  
POPULATION AND POLICE, 1906.

|                      | Population<br>(Census, 1901). | Estimated<br>Population<br>1906. | Authorized<br>Police<br>Strength,<br>1906. |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| England and Wales .. | 32,536,000                    | 34,547,000                       | (a) 46,027                                 |
| Ireland .. ..        | 4,458,000                     | 4,387,000                        | (c) 11,126                                 |

This brings out the startling fact that in the year 1906, the most recent year—as I have already noted—available for exact comparison, Ireland (with an estimated population of 4,387,000) had **all but one quarter of the police required for the whole of England and Wales, including the City of London and London Metropolitan Police Area**, with an estimated population of 34,547,000.

**In proportion to its estimated population, as compared with England and Wales, the police of Ireland should have numbered not more than six thousand men at the outside, instead of more than eleven thousand.**

But the scandalous excess of police in Ireland can only be realised by studying the Reports on "Police (Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales)" for the year 1906.

Exclusive of the City of London and London Metropolitan Police Area, England and Wales are mapped out into three districts, for each of which an independent Inspector of Constabulary issues a yearly report upon the numbers, cost, efficiency, etc., of the borough and county forces under his supervision. These three districts are as follows :—

No. 1.—English Eastern and Midland Counties, and North Wales District.

No. 2.—English Northern District.

No. 3.—South of England and South Wales District.

(a) "Police (Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales) Reports," page 251 Table 6-A.

(c) "Judicial Statistics (Criminal) Ireland," page 26.

The following Table is drawn from the figures supplied by the above-named reports and the Irish Judicial-Statistics.

TABLE B.

Showing the Police Forces (in 1906) and the populations (according to 1901 Census) of Ireland and the Three English and Welsh Police Districts.

|                           | Population<br>by<br>1901 Census. | Police.    | Number of<br>Police to<br>Population. |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>England and Wales—</b> |                                  |            |                                       |
| District 1. .. ..         | 7,762,000                        | (a) 8,044  | 1 to 965                              |
| District 2. .. ..         | 11,224,000                       | (a) 13,660 | 1 to 822                              |
| District 3. .. ..         | 6,968,000                        | (a) 7,752  | 1 to 898                              |
|                           | 25,954,000                       | 29,456     | 1 to 895                              |
| <b>IRELAND</b> .. ..      | 4,458,000                        | (c) 11,126 | 1 to 400                              |

For purposes of comparison with Ireland, we cannot do better than consider the English and Welsh No. 1 District.

It stretches in a broad belt of country from Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex on the North Sea to Cheshire, Flint, Denbigh, Anglesey, Carnarvon and Merioneth on the Irish Sea. It includes eighteen English and six Welsh Counties. It is largely agricultural, six of the Counties having no Parliamentary borough between them, and nine Counties having only one Parliamentary borough apiece.

The Inspector of Constabulary for this District, the Hon. C. G. Legge, calls special attention to the fact that the proportion of its police to the population (1 to 965) is based upon the 1901 Census, which returned its population as 7,762,000. "Most of the towns have increased," he says, "some, very largely, during the last five years, as well as the urban districts in counties; while the population in purely agricultural areas appears on an average to be nearly stationary. So the proportion of police to inhabitants at the present time cannot be as high by a good deal, as shown above."

(a) "Police (Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales) Reports," pages 1, 69, and 134.

(c) "Judicial Statistics (Criminal) Ireland," page 26.

Why should the numbers of people to police be a good deal larger than 965 to 1 in this district in the year 1906, as against 400 Irish people to each Irish policeman, even on the Census of 1901,—and 394 of them to each policeman on the estimated population of 1906? It may safely be assumed that the English and Welsh No. 1 District has at the present moment a population nearly—if not quite—double that of Ireland. Yet, in the year 1906, it was employing 8,044 policemen as against Ireland's 11,126!

Serious assaults upon the police in the discharge of their ordinary duties are rare in Ireland as compared with those committed in England and Wales.

### III.—THE COST.

Ireland is not only extravagantly over-policed in proportion to its population, as compared with England and Wales, but the cost of its police establishments is equally disproportionate. The following Table (C) shows the situation in 1906 at a glance:—

TABLE C.

Showing the Total Cost and Salaries and Pay of the English and Welsh and Irish Police Forces in 1906.

|  | Population<br>by 1901<br>Census. | Number<br>of Police<br>in 1906. | Total<br>Cost. | Salaries<br>and<br>Pay. |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| English and Welsh<br>Counties & Boroughs } | 25,954,000                       | 29,456                          | 3,370,485      | 2,489,970               |
| London Metropolitan<br>Police Area }       | 6,554,000                        | 15,565                          | 2,196,321      | 1,589,966               |
| City of London ..                          | 26,000                           | 1,006                           | 176,023        | 115,930                 |
| Ireland .. ..                              | 4,458,000                        | 11,126                          | 1,471,704      | 710,243                 |

The English and Welsh figures in this table are drawn from the "Police (Counties and Boroughs), England and Wales" Reports for 1906, pages 251 252, and 253.

The figures showing the Total Cost and Salaries and Pay of the Irish Police establishments are extracted respectively from the Irish Criminal Statistics (1906) and the Irish (1905-6) Estimates.



They bring out the astounding fact—a fact that might be treated as fiction if it were not staring us in the face from the pages of the Blue-Books—that—**the total cost of the Police Establishments of Ireland is nearly half the total cost of the Police Establishments for the whole of the English and Welsh Counties and boroughs**, outside the City of London and the London Metropolitan Police area!

The “Salaries and Pay” column does not include special allowances, travelling expenses, etc. It shows that **the Irish Police drew more than a third in pay and salary for watching a population of 4,458,000 on the last Census (a population now seriously diminished) of what was drawn by the whole of the English and Welsh Borough and County Police Forces**, outside the City of London and London Metropolitan Police Area, **for watching a population of 25,954,000 on the last Census, and now heavily increased.**

In addition to their perfect independence of local control in any shape or form, the Irish Police have a valuable claim upon the pockets of the ratepayers, and one that is little known even among the best informed Englishmen.

If, for instance, a London policeman is mobbed and brutally assaulted by a ruffianly mob—as he very often is—as the result of interfering with a drunken rough, the only consolation he gets is his full pay and free medical attendance while on the sick list. If permanently incapacitated, all he has to look for is an allowance from a pension fund towards which a certain percentage of his pay is stopped every week. An Irish policeman in like case has a claim before a County Court Judge for damages against the ratepayers, and frequently obtains heavy damages, though remaining on active service.

The Irish Police are for all practical purposes a military force under Dublin Castle control, and they are more privileged, better paid, and much less hard worked than are the police of any part of England and Wales.

It has been pleaded—and even some Irishmen are deluded by the plea—that the Royal Irish Constabulary are quartered on the Estimates, while the cost of the English and Welsh Constabulary is heavily contributed to by the English and Welsh local ratepayers. But Irish counties and districts are constantly taxed severely for “extra police” quartered upon them. And moreover, the fallacy of the argument is obvious on the following grounds:—

A.—A Royal Commission has reported that Ireland is heavily over-taxed in proportion to its taxable capacity, and Irish taxes flow into the Imperial Exchequer. Therefore Ireland is not only paying her full share of the cost of Policing the United Kingdom, but she is paying vastly more.

B.—Outside London, the pay and numbers of the local police are settled by the town and county councils. In Ireland they are settled absolutely over the heads of the people. If, for instance, the town council of Cork had any voice in the matter, it would not consider that a population of 76,000 required 176 constables, (the number allotted to Cork city by the authorities in 1906), when Norwich, with 211,000 people, can manage with 124 policemen, and Wolverhampton, with 94,000 people, only has 103.

## PART 2.

## CRIME IN ENGLAND AND WALES—AND IRELAND.

Are the Irish such an abnormally criminal people that they are not alone unfit to have the slightest control over their own police, but that the Royal Irish Constabulary must have every military equipment short of artillery and machine guns?

To obtain an accurate and convincing reply to the question, we must compare the "Judicial Statistics (Criminal)" for England and Wales and Ireland respectively for 1906, that being the most recent year for which the English and Welsh statistics are available.

It is officially admitted on each side of the Irish Channel that the number of indictable offences known to the police in any given year, and compared with the population, provides us with the best all-round test of the criminal tendencies of that population. Is there or is there not an increase of crime? "The most trustworthy answer to this question," said the English and Welsh Report for 1905, page 12, "is to be found in the returns as to Indictable Offences. They include all the most serious forms of crime. They exclude offences which may not be, from a moral point of view, very reprehensible." And the Irish Report for 1906 states on page 19 that "The number of Indictable Offences may be taken as the more correct standard by which to measure the prevalence of crime in relation to the population, inasmuch as the non-indictable offences include very many which partake of a civil character."

In the year 1906, the Indictable Offences known to the police of England and Wales (with an estimated population of 34,547,000) were 91,665. Those known to the police in Ireland (with an estimated population of 4,387,000) were 9,465.

A simple rule of three sum shows that if Indictable Offences had been committed that year in Ireland in the same proportion to the population as in England and Wales, they would have numbered 11,640 instead of only 9,465.

But when we analyse the figures relating to the more serious kinds of Indictable Offences, the result becomes the more striking. It is shown in the following Table, compiled from page 37 of the English and Welsh Criminal Statistics and page 35 of those relating to Ireland.

TABLE D.—SERIOUS INDICTABLE OFFENCES, 1906.

|  | England & Wales | Ireland. |
|--|-----------------|----------|
| Murder .....   | 155             | 19       |
| Attempts to Murder. ....   | 110             | 11       |
| Felonious and Malicious Woundings. ....                                | 1326            | 144      |
| Burglaries, House and Shop Breakings and Robberies with Violence ..... | 10589           | 762      |
| Embezzlements, Frauds, and Larcenies from the Person .....             | 9750            | 587      |
| Sexual Crimes against Women and Girls.....                             | 1335            | 89       |
| Unnatural Offences and attempts to commit them.                        | 246             | 7        |
| Procuring Abortion .....   | 47              | 0        |

A glance at the last three items on this list will prove—if proof, indeed, were needed—the immense superiority of Ireland over England and Wales in the matter of public morals. The following observations may be made upon the items which precede them.

As regards the number of murders in Ireland, they were (in proportion to population) nearly equal to those in England and Wales. But not one of them was what is called “agrarian” and four of them at least, must have been committed by the four homicidal lunatics who were committed to the criminal lunatic asylum in 1906. Thirteen of them were infanticides. The terribly numerous English and Welsh murders which go unpunished may be gathered from the following paragraph in the *News of the World*, (June 14th, 1908) a Conservative London weekly paper which devotes much space to criminal reports and statistics.

### “MURDERERS AT LARGE.

#### “ ARMY OF CRIMINALS WHO HAVE EVADED JUSTICE.

“ Hardly a month passes but some murder is committed and the guilty person escapes. The saying that “murder will out” does not hold nowadays. The contrary is, indeed, more nearly the case. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the police, a murderer more often than not gets the better of them. The following are the official figures relating to murders in England and Wales during the ten years ending December, 1888 : Murders reported, 1,766 ; no trace of criminal, 1,094 ; persons tried 672 ; acquitted, 231 ; found insane, 142 ; convicted and sentenced 299. This proportion is about normal. Between 1888 and 1906, inclusive, the police reported 2,610 murders, of which 1,472 baffled the efforts of Scotland Yard to solve, while of the 1,138 suspected persons sent to trial, upwards of one-fourth were acquitted. The figures for the last two years for which there are complete returns are as follows :

|                               | 1905. | 1906. |
|-------------------------------|-------|-------|
| Murders reported .. ..        | 137   | 155   |
| No trace of criminal .. ..    | 74    | 71    |
| Persons tried .. ..           | 63    | 63    |
| Acquitted .. ..               | 13    | 14    |
| Found insane .. ..            | 18    | 22    |
| Convicted and sentenced .. .. | 32    | 27”   |

The paragraph might have added that 21 murderers escaped the law by committing suicide, and I have therefore altered its figure for 1906 from 134 to 155. The *English and Welsh Report* (page 25) states that Coroners’ Inquests were held in which “Verdicts of wilful murder were returned in 155 cases....Twenty-one persons against whom verdicts of wilful murder were returned committed suicide at the time of the murder.” But making allowance for these 21 murder-suicides, and for the fact that some of them committed more than one murder, the sinister fact remains that for 155 murders there was “No trace of Criminal” in 71 cases ! Indeed, the amount of crime in England and



Wales that goes scot-free is astonishingly in excess of what many ill-informed anti-Irish speakers and writers would have us imagine. The *England and Wales Report* states, for instance (page 23) that "in offences against property with violence, the number of apprehensions amounts to only about two-fifths of the number of crimes." There is much cant as to the difficulty of getting evidence against criminals in Ireland. But it is the constant complaint of the English police, that whole districts are so terrorised by organised bands of ruffians that there is the greatest trouble (often a sheer impossibility) in getting the stabbed or bludgeoned victims to prosecute, or local witnesses of the outrages to come into the witness-box. In this very year (1908) when a man called Wood was tried for the murder of an "unfortunate," the witnesses for the Crown had to have special protection, and had to be smuggled into court and out of it by back ways. A young woman who was mistaken for the chief witness against the prisoner was all but torn off an omnibus by a raging mob outside the Old Bailey; and but for the strenuous efforts of the police she would have been nearly killed, if, indeed, she had escaped with her life.

The officially estimated population of Ireland in the year 1906 having been, roughly speaking one-eighth of the population of England and Wales, the use of the figure 8 will demonstrate that as regards all the most serious Indictable Offences set forth in Table D., Ireland had a far better record than England and Wales. I have not included "Manslaughter" in that table, because "Manslaughter" is a legal term which does not necessarily imply any criminal intent to take life. It covers cases of death caused by a fatal blow in an ordinary fair stand-up fight, and deaths caused by culpable neglect or carelessness—such as the furious driving of a motor car, etc. The introduction to the *England and Wales Criminal Statistics* for the year 1905 remarked on page 21 that "Probably there are few better criteria of the existence of a criminal disposition than the prevalence of the offence of malicious wounding." How did this test apply to Ireland and to England and Wales respectively in the year 1906?

If the Irish population of 4,387,000 had been possessed of the same "malicious wounding" tendencies as the English and Welsh population of 34,547,000, the Irish "Malicious Woundings" would have been 129 instead of only 67. This is cold-blooded Rule-of-Three reasoning that may not be palatable to English partizans, or to those persons who although living in Ireland are never happy unless they are throwing mud at the country which provides them with an income; but it is a reasoning that has the merit of being very difficult to refute. In the same way, Irish offences against Property, with violence (Indictable Offences, Class II.), should have been 1376, instead of 783, and Irish offences against Property, without violence (Class III.), should have been 9,247 instead of 7,152.

It may be added that, according to the official statistics, the indictable Offences (taken as a whole) committed in England and Wales in the year 1906 were as follows:—

|                   |    |     |                            |
|-------------------|----|-----|----------------------------|
| England and Wales | .. | 265 | per 100,000 of Population. |
| Ireland           | .. | 212 | " "                        |



But it must be admitted that in one class of Indictable Offences Ireland stands very badly as compared with England and Wales, taking the relative populations into account. In the year 1906 the Malicious Injuries to Property in England and Wales were 517. In Ireland they were 533.

Yet it must be remembered, in view of the Unionist clamour for Coercion, that in the years 1901 and 1902—when Mr. Balfour was in power, and his Coercion Act in full swing—the Malicious Injuries to Property in Ireland numbered 733 and 536 respectively. In the year 1904, when Coercion had ceased and the Land Purchase Act had been passed, the Malicious injuries to Property fell to 465—by far the lowest number since the Unionists came into power in the year 1895. During the years 1896 to 1903 (inclusive) the lowest number of these offences in any one year was 496. In other years they were as many as 690, 733, 823, etc. And this was under a “Law and Order” Unionist Government.

The English and Welsh Report for 1905 made some very sensible comments upon “Malicious Injuries to Property” (page 25) which some of our anti-Irish Irishmen and some of our English opponents might well consider. It remarked that a malicious injury to property “may mean a serious crime, or it may signify no more than breaking the window of a public-house. . . . The cases of arson are to be found much more in the agricultural than in the metropolitan counties. It is peculiarly the crime of rural districts. . . . It is possible that there is some connection between the frequency of such cases and the rate of wages, though *they may be related to the number of vagrants, who are often the offenders.*” Now this raises a very important question. Under the Irish Poor Law there is no such power of detaining the professional tramp or vagrant as the English Unions are armed with. The result is that the Irish vagrant can cover the ground far more quickly than his English or Welsh brethren. There is little or no check upon him, and his malice when refused alms is beyond doubt responsible for a tremendous proportion of the rick-burnings and cattle-maimings that are laid to the charge of political or agrarian agitations. So far as cattle maiming and killing outrages are concerned, they constantly escape detection in England itself. Nobody was brought to justice for the famous and ghastly series of them committed in Staffordshire not long ago—except a man who was sent to penal servitude for them, but was subsequently released on his innocence being absolutely proved. Another series of them have lately terrified whole districts in Essex, and nobody has been made amenable.

As this pamphlet is going to press, the Irish Criminal Statistics for 1907 have been published. And what do they show? They show that the Malicious Injuries to Property in Ireland in that year were 588. The Report states that they were 78 over the average for the five years 1902-6, but 189 *under the average for the five years 1897-1901*—five years during which a Unionist Government reigned supreme.

Does this comparatively small reaction since the year 1904, a reaction confined to a few districts, justify the scream for suspending the operation of the ordinary law, and substituting for it the jurisdiction of Coercion Act Courts composed of a brace of “Resident Magistrates”—most of them retired Army men, promoted policemen, or landlord “friends of the family,” not possessing one real scrap of legal knowledge?

The deep conviction of many Irish Nationalists is—that the increase in this particular class of offences from 518 in the year 1905 to 588 in the year 1907 is exclusively due to bitter disappointment and indignation agitation caused by the widespread failure, in many parts of Ireland, of the Land Purchase Act of 1903. It is not within the scope of this pamphlet to discuss the various causes of such failure. The *Unionist Irish Times* (July 17th), tells us that “bargains to the amount of over forty millions are outstanding for settlement.” But that is not all. In every county in Ireland there stands the mournful and reproachful figure of the Evicted Tenant—the poor, brave, homeless, ruined man or woman, beggared and beaten to earth in the Land War that raised the Irish tenant from serfdom. There can be no such thing as a final land question settlement that leaves these gallant people out of account, or that places hard and fast rules in the way of their reinstatement; such rules as we are confronted with on every hand when we make appeal for them.

This pamphlet is lengthy. But it was a thing that had to be done thoroughly if done at all. It has been done with a desire to write honestly and understating Ireland's case rather than the reverse, and to vindicate generous and kindly people against the foul charge that they are conspicuous for crime in the United Kingdom, while the Judicial Statistics prove that even in the matter of temperance they are well superior to England and Wales, and far superior to Scotland. The “Drunken Irish” and the “Criminal Irish” are expressions best left out of any honest Englishman's mouth.



# The Money Argument for Home Rule.

By T. M. KETTLE, M.P.

It is said that the case for Home Rule rests on merely sentimental grounds. The proper word in this connection would not be sentimental, but moral; and from the moral point of view the Home Rule case is answerable. **Good government, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has said, is no substitute for self-government.** But the government of Ireland is not good.

There is a money argument as well as a moral argument for Home Rule. It will be found in the tables at the end of this pamphlet. In 1901 a similar document was prepared and circulated by the Rt. Hon. J. Lough, M.P. The figures are now brought up to date [1907-1908]. By reference to the annual returns of revenue and expenditure for Great Britain and Ireland. For facility of reference, Revenue is classified under three heads, direct and indirect taxes, and non-tax revenue, and each head is again sub-divided. Details of the two chief indirect taxes are given in a footnote. Expenditure is arranged under six heads. The initial year 1894 is chosen as the date of appointment of the Financial Relations Commission.

The Commission reported that in 1894 Ireland was over-taxed by £2,500,000 annually. **Calculated on this basis the conscience-money due by England to Ireland is more than £400,000,000.**

Since 1894, so far from any amends having been made, things have become very much worse.

**The taxation of Ireland has risen by nearly two millions a year.**

Her population has fallen by close on 200,000.

**The cost of her home government has increased by £2,062,239, or from £1 4s. 6d. to £1 15s. per head of the population.**

The drain on her resources has been so deadly that in spite of greatly increased taxation her Imperial contribution is £150,000 per annum less than it was fourteen years ago. This strain has been continuous. In 1859 Ireland paid more than £5,000,000 to the cost of the Army and Navy. She now pays less than £2,000,000.

Ireland is ruined by the present system. The British Empire does not gain by it. The only class that does profit by it is a horde of officials.

Scotland at present has a larger population than Ireland. **But of Government officials assessed for income-tax there are in Scotland 938. in Ireland, 4,560. Their salaries are in Scotland, £315,000 ; in Ireland £1,435,000.** These are the official figures given in the Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for 1908.

Education in Ireland is admitted by all parties to be absolutely starved. The grant for primary education in the present year is in England 7s. 10½d. ; in Ireland, only 6s. 5d. per head of the population. **The grant in England has increased in the last seven years by 43 per cent., in Scotland by 51 per cent., in Ireland by only 1½ per cent.**

Ireland is forced to spend £3 for every £1 spent by Scotland on law and justice, although she has less crime to deal with. The cost of the Law Courts in Scotland was last year £202,608 ; the cost in Ireland, £368,714. **Irish police cost practically £1,500,000, that is to say, more than the whole system of primary education ;** [Scotch police cost about £500,000. The Irish Prisons Board, with only 2,500 convicts under its charge, costs £107,000 per annum ; the Scotch Prisons Board, with 2,900 convicts, costs £87,000.

The burden of all this extravagance is borne in Ireland by the poor. **Only 50 per cent.** of revenue is raised in England by indirect taxation ; in Ireland **73 per cent.** is raised by taxes on articles of domestic consumption. **Food taxes, i.e., taxes on tea, sugar, and other necessities, have increased in Ireland since the year of the Financial Relations Commission by more than 140 per cent.** Food taxes account for 40 per cent. of the increase of taxation from 1894 to 1908. At the same time the average weekly wage of an agricultural labourer is in Scotland, 19s. 3d ; in England, 18s. 3d. ; in Ireland, 10s. 11d.



The excessive cost of Irish government can be illustrated in another way. Of her national income of £1,800,000,000 a year, England spends **less than one-fortieth part on her home government.** Of her national income of £70,000,000 a year, Ireland is forced to spend on her home government **more than one-tenth.**

Mr. Gladstone foresaw this deadly and demoralising growth of Irish expenditure, and he realised that there is only one cure for it. In introducing his Home Rule Bill of 1886, he said :—

“ The civil charges *per capita* at this moment are in Great Britain 8s. 2d., and in Ireland 16s. They have increased in Ireland in the last fifteen years by 63 per cent., and my belief is that **if the present legislative and administrative systems be maintained, you must make up your minds to a continual, never ending, and never to be limited augmentation.**”

Mr. Gladstone's forecast was lamentably correct. **The civil charges in Ireland are now not 16s., but 28s. 6d. per capita.**

The impossibility of founding a just system of taxation on the present unjust political system is shown by Mr. Lloyd George's Budget of 1909. Courageous and full of hope as regards Great Britain, it is cruel and full of menace as regards Ireland. No statesman can budget fairly as between a rich country and a poor country through uniform taxation; and no exemptions or abatements are granted to Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George's Budget increases Irish over-taxation by at least £1,000,000 a year. At the same time it gives no guarantee that the Imperial Contribution will not shortly disappear. England is hurting Ireland without helping herself. It is the *reductio ad absurdum* of government from Westminster.

There is no remedy for these growing evils except Mr. Gladstone's remedy—**HOME RULE**—which alone can give to Ireland the power and the incentive to economise with prudence, and to spend with judgment her own money.

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[The figures given above are derived from the Annual Returns of Revenue and Expenditure now furnished to Parliament. Those for 1907-8 show little change; and so far as there is any change it reinforces the argument. The total revenue raised from Ireland in 1907-8 was £9,621,000, an increase of £131,000, with a declining population. For details, see *Parliamentary Papers*, No. 215 and No. 216 of Session 1908].

TABLE showing the Population and Revenue of Ireland from 1900-1901 to 1906-1907 under the three heads of Direct and Indirect Taxes, and Non-Tax Revenue.

|                         | 1900—1901. | 1901—1902.       | 1902—1903. | 1903—1904.         | 1904—1905. | 1905—1906.         | 1906—1907. |                    |           |                    |           |                    |           |                    |
|-------------------------|------------|------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| <b>DIRECT TAXES:</b>    |            |                  |            |                    |            |                    |            |                    |           |                    |           |                    |           |                    |
| Income Tax ..           | Rate. 1/-  | Yield. £ 975,000 | Rate. 1/2  | Yield. £ 1,176,000 | Rate. 1/3  | Yield. £ 1,281,000 | Rate. -/11 | Yield. £ 1,137,000 | Rate. 1/- | Yield. £ 1,115,000 | Rate. 1/- | Yield. £ 1,085,000 | Rate. 1/- | Yield. £ 1,102,000 |
| Death Duties ..         |            | 873,000          |            | 760,000            |            | 642,000            |            | 762,000            |           | 742,000            |           | 611,000            |           | 691,000            |
| Stamps ..               |            | 290,000          |            | 316,000            |            | 284,000            |            | 284,000            |           | 288,000            |           | 293,000            |           | 300,000            |
|                         |            | 2,138,000        |            | 2,252,000          |            | 2,207,000          |            | 2,183,000          |           | 2,145,000          |           | 1,989,000          |           | 2,093,000          |
| <b>INDIRECT TAXES:</b>  |            |                  |            |                    |            |                    |            |                    |           |                    |           |                    |           |                    |
| Sugar ..                |            | —                | 4/2        | 688,000            | 4/2        | 473,000            | 4/2        | 573,000            |           | 602,000            |           | 602,000            |           | 602,000            |
| Tax, &c.* ..            | -/6        | 964,000          | -/6        | 901,000            | -/6        | 926,000            | -/6        | 770,000            | -/8       | 928,000            | -/8       | 773,000            | -/8       | 642,000            |
| Tobacco ..              | 3/-        | 1,366,000        | 3/-        | 1,098,000          | 3/-        | 1,269,000          | 3/-        | 1,272,000          |           | 1,310,000          |           | 1,313,000          |           | 1,291,000          |
| Alcohol† ..             |            | 3,985,000        |            | 3,773,000          |            | 3,946,000          |            | 3,810,000          |           | 3,616,000          |           | 3,577,000          |           | 3,646,000          |
| Corn ..                 |            | —                |            | —                  | 1/-        | 276,000            |            | 14,000             |           | —                  |           | —                  |           | —                  |
|                         |            | 6,315,000        |            | 6,460,000          |            | 6,890,000          |            | 6,439,000          |           | 6,456,000          |           | 6,265,000          |           | 6,181,000          |
| <b>NON-TAX REVENUE:</b> |            |                  |            |                    |            |                    |            |                    |           |                    |           |                    |           |                    |
| Non-Tax ..              |            | 116,000          |            | 116,000            |            | 117,500            |            | 115,500            |           | 120,500            |           | 120,500            |           | 126,000            |
| Post Office ..          |            | 903,000          |            | 923,000            |            | 960,000            |            | 980,000            |           | 1,002,000          |           | 1,043,000          |           | 1,060,000          |
| Crown Lands ..          |            | 33,000           |            | 33,000             |            | 31,000             |            | 31,000             |           | 30,000             |           | 29,500             |           | 30,000             |
|                         |            | 1,052,000        |            | 1,072,000          |            | 1,108,500          |            | 1,126,500          |           | 1,152,500          |           | 1,193,000          |           | 1,216,000          |
|                         |            | 9,505,000        |            | 9,784,000          |            | 10,205,500         |            | 9,749,500          |           | 9,753,500          |           | 9,447,000          |           | 9,490,000          |
| <b>TOTAL OF TAXES</b>   |            | 4,456,546        |            | 4,430,028          |            | 4,432,287          |            | 4,414,995          |           | 4,398,462          |           | 4,386,035          |           | —                  |
| <b>POPULATION ..</b>    |            |                  |            |                    |            |                    |            |                    |           |                    |           |                    |           |                    |
| <b>DETAILS—TEA*</b>     |            |                  |            |                    |            |                    |            |                    |           |                    |           |                    |           |                    |
| Cocoa ..                |            | 27,000           |            | 27,000             |            | 24,000             |            | 28,000             |           | 27,000             |           | 27,000             |           | 25,000             |
| Coffee, &c. ..          |            | 14,000           |            | 13,000             |            | 13,000             |            | 13,000             |           | 13,000             |           | 13,000             |           | 13,000             |
| Fruit ..                |            | 38,000           |            | 41,000             |            | 44,800             |            | 47,000             |           | 45,000             |           | 48,000             |           | 47,000             |
| Tea ..                  | -/6        | 877,000          | -/6        | 811,000            | -/6        | 837,000            | -/6        | 872,000            | -/8       | 836,000            | -/8       | 680,000            | -/8       | 652,000            |
| Sundries ..             |            | 8,060            |            | 9,000              |            | 8,000              |            | 10,000             |           | 7,000              |           | 5,000              |           | 5,000              |
|                         |            | 964,000          |            | 901,000            |            | 926,000            |            | 770,000            |           | 928,000            |           | 773,000            |           | 642,000            |
| <b>ALCOHOL†</b>         |            |                  |            |                    |            |                    |            |                    |           |                    |           |                    |           |                    |
| Foreign Spirits ..      |            | 965,000          |            | 349,000            |            | 368,000            |            | 363,000            |           | 343,000            |           | 333,000            |           | 348,000            |
| Wine ..                 | 1/6        | 119,000          | 1/6        | 116,000            | 1/6        | 122,000            | 1/6        | 103,000            | 1/6       | 90,000             | 1/6       | 89,000             | 1/6       | 92,000             |
| Spirits ..              | 11/-       | 2,324,000        | 11/-       | 2,088,000          | 11/-       | 2,194,000          | 11/-       | 2,154,000          | 11/-      | 2,046,000          | 11/-      | 1,988,000          | 11/-      | 1,992,000          |
| Beer ..                 | 7/6        | 966,000          | 7/6        | 1,007,000          | 7/6        | 1,048,000          | 7/6        | 976,000            | 7/6       | 923,000            | 7/6       | 952,000            | 7/6       | 996,000            |
| 1,000,000 ..            |            | 3,985,000        |            | 3,773,000          |            | 3,946,000          |            | 3,810,000          |           | 3,616,000          |           | 3,577,000          |           | 3,646,000          |

## EXPENDITURE.

TABLE showing the Irish Expenditure and the Imperial Contribution from 1900—1901 to 1906—1907, giving details of the principal items.

|                         | 1900—1901.  | 1901—1902. | 1902—1903. | 1903—1904. | 1904—1905. | 1905—1906. | 1906—1907. |
|-------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| <b>Law and Police</b>   | £           | £          | £          | £          | £          | £          | £          |
| Dublin Castle ..        | 2,247,000   | 2,207,000  | 2,212,500  | 2,229,500  | 2,159,000  | 2,168,500  | 2,239,000  |
| Education ..            | 932,000     | 966,000    | 1,004,500  | 1,049,500  | 1,042,000  | 1,063,000  | 1,019,500  |
| Local Grants ..         | 1,434,500   | 1,333,000  | 1,366,000  | 1,409,500  | 1,419,500  | 1,428,000  | 1,425,000  |
| Post Office ..          | 1,631,000   | 1,621,000  | 1,630,000  | 1,733,500  | 1,774,500  | 1,777,000  | 1,786,000  |
| Imperial Contribution   | 1,061,000   | 1,087,000  | 1,140,000  | 1,126,000  | 1,172,000  | 1,199,000  | 1,209,000  |
| Total Expenditure ..    | 2,199,000   | 2,570,000  | 2,852,000  | 2,200,500  | 2,186,500  | 1,811,500  | 1,811,500  |
| ..                      | 9,505,000   | 9,784,000  | 10,205,000 | 9,748,500  | 9,763,500  | 9,447,000  | 9,490,000  |
| <b>DETAILS:—</b>        |             |            |            |            |            |            |            |
| Pensions ..             | 14,000      | 11,500     | 11,000     | 11,500     | 13,500     | 13,500     | 14,000     |
| Salary of Judges ..     | 115,000     | 115,000    | 115,000    | 116,000    | 110,000    | 108,000    | 108,000    |
| Law and Police ..       | 2,077,500   | 2,070,500  | 2,075,000  | 2,073,000  | 2,024,500  | 2,036,500  | 2,086,000  |
| Class VII. ..           | 51,000      | 10,000     | 11,500     | 29,000     | 11,000     | 10,500     | 31,000     |
| ..                      | 2,247,500   | 2,207,000  | 2,212,500  | 2,229,500  | 2,159,000  | 2,168,500  | 2,239,000  |
| Lord Lieutenant, &c.    | 21,000      | 21,500     | 21,500     | 21,500     | 21,500     | 21,500     | 21,500     |
| Board of Works, &c.     | 179,000     | 172,000    | 192,000    | 192,000    | 195,000    | 202,000    | 169,000    |
| L.G.B., &c., Cl. II. .. | 334,000     | 368,000    | 379,000    | 409,000    | 395,000    | 413,500    | 410,000    |
| Surveys ..              | 73,000      | 81,000     | 83,000     | 94,000     | 94,000     | 92,000     | 90,060     |
| Collection of Taxes ..  | 243,000     | 243,000    | 246,000    | 248,000    | 249,000    | 245,000    | 243,000    |
| Superannuation, &c. ..  | 81,000      | 80,500     | 83,000     | 85,000     | 87,500     | 89,000     | 86,000     |
| Board of Agriculture .. | —           | —          | —          | —          | —          | —          | —          |
| Queen's Colleges ..     | 932,000     | 966,000    | 1,004,500  | 1,049,500  | 1,042,000  | 1,063,000  | 1,019,500  |
| Class IV. ..            | 21,000      | 21,000     | 21,000     | 21,000     | 21,000     | 21,000     | 21,000     |
| Teachers' Superann. ..  | 1,413,500   | 1,312,000  | 1,345,000  | 1,388,500  | 1,398,500  | 1,407,000  | 1,404,000  |
| ..                      | —           | —          | —          | —          | —          | —          | —          |
| Exchequer Grants ..     | 1,434,500   | 1,333,000  | 1,366,000  | 1,409,500  | 1,419,500  | 1,428,000  | 1,425,000  |
| Contrib. ..             | { 1,054,000 | 1,055,000  | 1,058,000  | 1,059,000  | 1,059,000  | 1,059,000  | 1,059,000  |
| ..                      | { 402,000   | 389,000    | 383,000    | 376,000    | 374,000    | 386,000    | 406,500    |
| Railways ..             | 113,000     | 113,000    | 124,000    | 107,000    | 123,000    | 185,000    | 185,000    |
| Lunatics ..             | —           | —          | —          | —          | —          | 59,000     | 63,500     |
| Hospitals, &c. ..       | 18,000      | —          | —          | 17,500     | —          | —          | —          |
| Rates on Gov. Prop. ..  | 44,000      | 17,500     | 17,000     | 17,500     | 17,500     | 17,000     | 17,000     |
| Class VII.—Relief ..    | —           | 46,500     | 48,000     | 51,000     | 54,000     | 54,000     | 55,000     |
| ..                      | —           | —          | —          | —          | —          | 17,000     | —          |
| Total ..                | 1,631,000   | 1,621,000  | 1,630,000  | 1,733,500  | 1,774,500  | 1,777,000  | 1,786,000  |

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# The Irish County Councils.

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## SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BEING.

One of the chief complaints that Ireland makes, and has always made, against government from Westminster is its intolerable extravagance. Previous to the Union of 1801 Irish finance was most creditably managed. Before 1798 there had been practically no National Debt, and strict economy, appropriate to the circumstances of a poor country, was observed in every department of public expenditure. But ever since the Union reckless charges, possibly not inappropriate to the infinitely greater resources of the island of Great Britain, have been flung on the country, with such ruinous effect, that most Irish industries have been destroyed and a large proportion of the population driven into exile.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF COUNTY COUNCILS.

Until 1898, when a local council was set up in every County, there had been no opportunity of testing, under modern conditions, the justice of this complaint. Then financial autonomy was granted to each local council; they might be wasteful and extravagant, in accordance with the example which had always been set by Great Britain; or they might return to the natural instincts of the Irish people in favour of careful management of the proceeds of taxation. It is, therefore, of supreme interest to consider, now that eight years have elapsed since

the new system was set up, what the course of events as regards expenditure and taxation has been.

## DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF ECONOMY.

Since 1839 a cumbrous, unsuitable, and costly imitation of the British Poor Law (set up on the opinion of an Englishman, in direct opposition to the findings of an Irish Commission) had to be maintained. Under Acts to build Labourers' Cottages, a rate ranging up to a shilling (now 1s. 3d.) in the £, and under Railway Guarantees, rates which frequently range up to several shillings, might have to be levied; and in other branches of County expenditure there was great extravagance, so that for many years before 1898 there had been a steady growth in the amount of local charges. Moreover, during the last eight years since they came into being, the new authorities had to cope with circumstances which made economy extremely difficult. Heavy pensions to former officials, and other burdensome initial charges of the new system, had to be paid. During the period, also, a new rate of a penny in the £ was levied for Technical Instruction. In the same period the rural rates in England and Wales had increased on the average by over 1s. in the £.

## RATES IN IRELAND.

It will be remembered that the concession of County Government in 1898 was accompanied by a grant from the Treasury to correspond with the Agricultural Rates grant made to Great Britain in 1896. Under this grant a sum equal to half the rates in the standard years 1898-99, was granted in respect of Agricultural Land, but not on Buildings, to each county. In the following tables the rates are shown from the first year after this allowance was made, and this accounts for the fact that two rates are levied in each county, and for the difference between the two.

Only one County (Mayo) shows any considerable rise in the rates levied—1s. 4d. in the £ on Agricultural Land and 2s. 3d. in the £ on other

hereditaments—during the eight years. This great rise is due, no doubt, to the fact that in Mayo the rate for 1899-1900 was abnormally low. In eight Counties there were small increases from 2d. to 5d. in the £; in three Counties there was no change; and in twenty Counties there were such considerable reductions that, notwithstanding the large increases in certain Counties just mentioned, the average total County Rates for the whole country in the eight years show a reduction of 3d. in the £. The attached tables give the rates that were levied each year in every county and in the whole of Ireland, and a column is added which shows the average rate paid over the eight years. By comparing the latter with the first year, the general reduction becomes apparent.

### IMPERIAL TAXATION.

During the same eight years there was an increase of £825,000 in Imperial taxation, or nearly ten per cent. of the whole amount levied. Thus, in the face of extraordinary difficulties, the portion of the nation's burdens which was entrusted reluctantly to the control of the Irish people is reduced, while that part controlled from Westminster is increased in about the same proportion as had been maintained in every decade since the Union. Not only has this notable reduction in County rates been effected, but a great improvement in efficiency has been secured. The roads have been better kept; greater local interest has been aroused in County institutions; the business part of the work has been better done; and none of the gloomy anticipations with which the new system was and is regarded by the enemies of Ireland has been realised.

Could any better argument be adduced for extending to the Irish people **full control over all their national affairs?**

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NOTE.—The calculations are based on the rates given in the Local Taxation returns for each year.

Rates for special expenses incurred under the Public Health Act, &c., known as "separate charges," which are levied on specially prescribed areas, cannot be given in the Local Taxation returns except in cases where the Rural District has been prescribed as the special area.

**TABLE I.**—Showing the average Rate levied on **AGRICULTURAL LAND** in each County, and in the whole of Ireland, during each year from 1899-1900 to 1906-7, and the average of the Annual Levy for the Eight Years.

| Counties. | 1899  |       | 1900  |       | 1901  |       | 1902  |       | 1903  |       | 1904  |       | 1905  |       | 1906  |       | Average rate for eight years. |       | Counties.  |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|------------|
|           | TO    | 1900  | TO    | 1901  | TO    | 1902  | TO    | 1903  | TO    | 1904  | TO    | 1905  | TO    | 1906  | TO    | 1907  |                               |       |            |
|           | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d.                         | s. d. |            |
| Antrim    | 2 9   | 1 6   | 2 2   | 2 2   | 2 3   | 2 3   | 2 3   | 2 3   | 2 3   | 2 3   | 2 5   | 2 4   | 2 4   | 2 3   | 2 3   | 2 3   | 2 3                           | 2 3   | Antrim.    |
| Armagh    | 1 7   | 2 1   | 1 5   | 1 5   | 2 2   | 2 2   | 2 2   | 2 2   | 1 10  | 2 3   | 2 3   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 2   | 2 2   | 2 2   | 1 11                          | 1 11  | Armagh.    |
| Carlow    | 1 11  | 2 4   | 2 4   | 2 4   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 1 11  | 2 1   | 2 1   | 1 9   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1                           | 2 1   | Carlow.    |
| Cavan     | 2 4   | 2 8   | 1 9   | 1 9   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 1 7   | 1 7   | 1 8   | 1 1   | 1 1   | 2 0   | 2 0   | 2 0   | 1 11                          | 1 11  | Cavan.     |
| Clare     | 4 4   | 2 11  | 2 11  | 2 11  | 3 1   | 3 1   | 3 1   | 3 1   | 3 7   | 3 7   | 3 1   | 2 11  | 2 9   | 2 9   | 2 9   | 2 9   | 3 2                           | 3 2   | Clare.     |
| Cork      | 3 10  | 2 9   | 2 9   | 2 9   | 2 10  | 2 10  | 2 10  | 2 10  | 3 0   | 3 0   | 2 5   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 8   | 2 8   | 2 8   | 2 9                           | 2 9   | Cork.      |
| Donegal   | 3 7   | 3 3   | 2 2   | 2 2   | 3 3   | 3 3   | 3 3   | 3 3   | 3 3   | 3 3   | 3 1   | 3 6   | 3 6   | 3 6   | 3 6   | 3 6   | 3 3                           | 3 3   | Donegal.   |
| Down      | 1 8   | 2 2   | 1 9   | 1 9   | 1 8   | 1 8   | 1 8   | 1 8   | 1 10  | 1 10  | 2 0   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 1 11                          | 1 11  | Down.      |
| Dublin    | 3 0   | 3 1   | 3 2   | 3 2   | 3 3   | 3 3   | 3 3   | 3 3   | 2 11  | 2 11  | 2 9   | 2 9   | 2 9   | 3 0   | 3 0   | 3 0   | 3 0                           | 3 0   | Dublin.    |
| Fermanagh | 1 11  | 2 3   | 1 8   | 1 8   | 1 11  | 1 11  | 1 11  | 1 11  | 2 0   | 2 0   | 1 10  | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 1   | 2 0                           | 2 0   | Fermanagh. |
| Galway    | 3 4   | 2 6   | 2 8   | 2 8   | 2 4   | 2 4   | 2 4   | 2 4   | 3 1   | 3 1   | 1 10  | 2 1   | 2 1   | 3 2   | 3 2   | 3 2   | 2 7                           | 2 7   | Galway.    |
| Kerry     | 5 3   | 3 10  | 3 2   | 3 2   | 3 8   | 3 8   | 3 8   | 3 8   | 3 8   | 3 8   | 3 7   | 3 7   | 3 7   | 3 9   | 3 9   | 3 9   | 3 10                          | 3 10  | Kerry.     |





**TABLE II.,** showing the average rate levied on **other hereditaments** in each County and in the whole of Ireland during each year from 1899-1900 to 1906-7, with the average of the Annual Levy for the Eight Years.

| Counties. | 1899<br>TO<br>1900 | 1900<br>TO<br>1901 | 1901<br>TO<br>1902 | 1902<br>TO<br>1903 | 1903<br>TO<br>1904 | 1904<br>TO<br>1905 | 1905<br>TO<br>1906 | 1906<br>TO<br>1907 | Aver-<br>age<br>rate<br>for<br>eight<br>years. | Counties.  |
|-----------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--|------------|
|           | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.              | s. d.  |            |
| Antrim    | ..                 | 4 2                | 3 7                | 3 9                | 3 8                | 3 10               | 3 10               | 3 8                | 3 8  | Antrim.    |
| Armagh    | ..                 | 3 1                | 2 11               | 3 8                | 3 4                | 3 9                | 3 7                | 3 8                | 3 5  | Armagh.    |
| Carlow    | ..                 | 3 8                | 4 1                | 3 10               | 3 8                | 3 10               | 3 6                | 3 10               | 3 10   | Carlow.    |
| Cavan     | ..                 | 3 9                | 4 2                | 3 1                | 3 6                | 3 1                | 2 5                | 3 5                | 3 4  | Cavan.     |
| Clare     | ..                 | 6 6                | 5 1                | 5 1                | 5 3                | 5 3                | 5 1                | 4 11               | 5 4  | Clare.     |
| Cork      | ..                 | 5 8                | 4 11               | 4 9                | 5 0                | 4 5                | 4 1                | 4 8                | 4 9  | Cork.      |
| Donegal   | ..                 | 5 7                | 5 2                | 4 4                | 5 2                | 5 1                | 5 5                | 5 6                | 5 2  | Donegal.   |
| Down ..   | ..                 | 3 0                | 3 6                | 3 0                | 2 11               | 3 3                | 3 5                | 3 5                | 3 2  | Down.      |
| Dublin    | ..                 | 4 9                | 4 11               | 5 0                | 5 1                | 4 7                | 4 7                | 4 10               | 4 10   | Dublin.    |
| Fermanagh | ..                 | 3 2                | 2 11               | 3 2                | 3 3                | 3 1                | 3 3                | 3 3                | 3 2  | Fermanagh. |
| Galway    | ..                 | 5 1                | 4 4                | 4 2                | 4 11               | 3 6                | 3 10               | 5 0                | 4 5  | Galway.    |
| Kerry     | ..                 | 7 9                | 6 4                | 6 4                | 6 3                | 6 2                | 6 2                | 6 4                | 6 4  | Kerry.     |



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## IRELAND, SCOTLAND AND ULSTER.

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**Why has the Union with Scotland been a success, the Union with Ireland a failure?** The question was put by that eminent Unionist, Professor A. V. Dicey, in an article written for the *Fortnightly Review*, as long ago as August, 1881.

"To the average Englishman's conception," says Professor Dicey, "the difference of results lies in the difference between Scotch and Irish character." Yet this view, so popular and so plausible, is dismissed by him as "a gross misrepresentation of past events which can be confuted by a simple reference to facts which lie on the very surface of history."

**Why did the Scotch Union succeed?** "First, because the Act of Union embodied what was, not in name only, but in reality, a treaty or contract freely made between two independent states." Scotland accepted a bargain, made for her by ministers of her own choosing, after full deliberation, in which her material interests were richly secured. She gave up her independence; she secured full participation in the advantages of English trade. Her violent discontent and dislike to the loss of independence was worn away by a prosperity steadily growing. Before the Union, Scotland was excluded from the English colonial trade. After the Union she enjoyed and profited to the full by all its vast opportunities.

But (again in Professor Dicey's words), "**The Union with Ireland lacked all that element of free consent between independent contracting parties which lies at the basis of every genuine contract.**" Of the deliberate negotiation, of the calm, satisfactory, business-like haggling for national advantages, which marked the negotiations between the Scotch and the English Commissioners; of the close consideration of minute details by competent representatives of both countries, there is not a trace in the negotiations, if negotiations they can be called, between England and Ireland."

There was plenty of haggling over the details of individual bribes; none over the interests of the country. What were the driving forces? "One or two facts are patent—the Irish Protestants were dazed with horror at the massacres of the Rebellion; the Irish Catholics were lulled into acquiescence by promises which were made only to be broken; no appeal was made to the Irish constituencies; and the members of both Houses of Parliament were corrupted. **The Act of Union was, in short, an agreement which, could it have been referred to a court of law, must at once have been cancelled as a contract hopelessly tainted with fraud and corruption.**"

That is the first cause. Secondly, the Union with Scotland was carried out in a wholly different spirit. "**Favour was shown throughout to the weaker nation; the Scotch, from a merely mercantile point of view, got by far the best of the bargain.**"

In Ireland the case was far different. After a century of legislation directed expressly against every industry that competed with any English interest, Ireland had, in 1782, achieved at once commercial and legislative freedom. In gaining independence, Ireland gained also those very privileges of free participation in oversea trade which Scotland sacrificed

her independence to acquire. **The corrupt aristocracy which sold Ireland's freedom sold also the charter of that right to protect and foster her own industrial life,** under which the growth of manufacturing industry had been so swift.

"Thirdly," says Professor Dicey, **"the institutions for which Scotchmen seriously cared were maintained or secured by the Union. . . . The one great national institution—the Church of Scotland—derived new security and greatly increased power from the means which politically amalgamated Scotland and England."** More generally, he adds, "the result of the respect paid to Scotch institutions was that, while Scotland became an inseparable part of Great Britain, **Scotch affairs remained after, even more than before, the Union, under the control of Scotland."**

Contrast this with Ireland. The Church of Ireland, indeed, was secured, but it was not the Church of the Irish people. Godolphin ensured to the Scotch a cherished institution. Pitt buttressed up in Ireland an alien anomaly. More significant still: "The destruction of the Parliament which met in College Green was a more difficult thing at bottom than the destruction of the Parliament which met in Edinburgh. The assembly which sat in Dublin had what the Scotch Parliament had not, strong claims on the sentimental interests of the people whom it represented; it had vindicated national independence; it had freed Irish commerce; it had produced within the twenty years preceding its death a brilliant body of statesmen and orators; it had become, in short, a centre of national life."

**"Nor was political amalgamation with the United Kingdom compensated for by local independence. Ireland since, as before, the Union has been governed in the main in accordance with English notions, applied in many cases, or misapplied, by English officials."**

Hear now the summing up:—

**"Neither Scotch nor Irish history can, except by the misreading of past events, be forced into teaching the lesson that the failure of the policy in Ireland is due to the peculiarities of Irish character.** It is vain to attribute to the characteristics of any people consequences which can be explained by the neglect on the part of statesmen to make their policy conform to the nature of things."

Professor Dicey advocates closer Union; he would desire to abolish the Viceroyalty as a symbol of separation. Does he think, does any man think, that such measures would lead to peace and prosperity in Ireland? The fruitful analogy is to be found, not in the Scotch Union, but in the free colonial relation within the Empire.

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## II.

It has already been shown (on excellent Unionist authority) that those are mistaken who declare that if Ireland does not prosper under the Union, Ireland is to blame, since Scotland under a similar Union enjoys prosperity. **The comparison so often made between Ulster and the rest of Ireland is equally fallacious.** The industrial success of the Protestant north-east is held to prove that industrial backwardness elsewhere in Ireland is due to racial or religious shortcomings. The answer must be given again by reference to historic facts; and the critics who now reproach Irishmen with continually seeking in ancient history for the cause of present evils may be asked in their turn, how far back must one go to trace the foundations of England's commercial prosperity? Will anyone deny that the work of statesmen during the eighteenth

century was potent in laying those foundations deep and broad? This at least, cannot be denied, that legislation can ruin, if it cannot create; and in that century enactment after enactment was directed against the growth of industries in Ireland which would compete with those of the ruling country. **The first condition of success for the establishment of manufactures is the existence of the industrial habit in a population.** That habit is distinct from the virtue of industry; farmers will not readily adapt themselves to the conditions of factory life, though they may be far more industrious than artisans who add Monday to the Saturday and Sunday off. **The reason why there is a strong industrial population in north-east Ulster and nowhere else in Ireland is that here, and here only, the industrial habit was fostered through generations by the very causes which elsewhere killed it out.** Jealousy of Irish trade as a possible rival, jealousy of Irish Roman Catholicism as a possible danger, account for restrictive trade legislation and for the penal laws. But the linen trade, conceded as the one department in which England did not aim exclusively to herself, and deliberately planted among Protestants, was exempt from both these jealousies.

Ireland's natural industry was the woollen manufacture, as the raw material could be produced in all parts, and specially in the West; and in all parts this industry flourished so as to compete successfully with that of England. The result was a menacing agitation, and William III. promised to do his best to suppress the Irish woollen trade and to encourage the linen trade. The first pledge was the better kept; and the linen trade, even when helped, could not replace the other. It only existed in embryo. "England," says Miss Murray, in her work on the *Commercial Relations between England and Ireland*, "substituted a possible trade in the place of an established and flourishing one." Moreover, and here is the important point, when encouragement was given, it was given locally and sectionally.

In 1698 a French Protestant, Crommelin, was brought over and established at Lisburn, ten miles from Belfast, in a Protestant-settled district. Here the linen industry was started under State patronage and subsidy. It was not absolutely confined to the North. Huguenot weavers and spinners were allowed to settle in Waterford. But when Crommelin, on return for an extension of his patent, proposed to extend the industry to Leinster, "a fierce opposition arose," says Miss Murray, "because it was feared that Irish linen would replace Dutch in the English market, and, consequently, that Holland would no longer buy English woollens." In Cork, the manufacture of hemp into sailcloth developed, fostered by a bounty from the Irish Parliament. England, herself giving bounties on sailcloth, forced the withdrawal of the Irish bounty, so that the hempen manufacture of Southern Ireland was killed out by bounty-fed competition.

If it be asked why the linen trade did not spread south and west, the answer is, that it naturally grew, radiating round the centre where State aid had established it, in the Protestant north. Moreover, **special immunities were conferred by the Irish Parliament** (representing only Protestants) **on Protestant weavers**; while the Penal laws, which prohibited Catholics from purchasing land, from taking long and beneficial leases, or from lending money on real securities, prohibited them by consequence from embarking in manufacture. Thus the one industry which England permitted to develop in the country was virtually confined to Protestant enterprise; while, as for the artisans, Catholic weavers could have had to force their way into employment under Protestant masters and in competition with Protestant workers at a time when the



whole strength of the Government was devoted to fostering the Protestant interest.

Thus, **for three-quarters of a century, industrial capital, industrial enterprise, and the industrial habit among workers were concentrated in the north, from directly assignable legislative causes.** The wealthy Catholics turned their energies into retail trade; the poorer had no resource but work on the land. Yet the desire for a more varied industrial life was active; and when Ireland obtained for a few years the free control of her own resources, manufactures sprang up all over the country. Exports, which between 1704 and 1782 had risen from one to thirty-two index figures, rose, between 1782 and 1796, from thirty-two to eighty-eight. But then came the Union, and the infant industries were exposed in the white war of commerce, to the unrestricted opposition of those powerful and jealous English trade interests which had been fed for hundred years with the sacrifice of every competing Irish interest. For the linen trade only the change was no disadvantage. It had grown, under the relatively favourable conditions, strong enough to care for itself; and it successfully surmounted the change to modern conditions of machinery just as did the cotton trade in Lancashire. But the newly-established industries had not the stamina to resist, and they disappeared rapidly, leaving the country bare of industrial resources over those parts of its extent.

Nor need it be denied that the machinery of the Penal Laws, so well fitted, in Burke's phrase, "to enslave and degrade a people," had produced its effect. The bent towards large productive ventures had been neutralised in Catholics during the century in which the accumulation of property and the investment of money had been rendered so difficult for them; and for the poorer classes, they had been plunged in that morass of destitution where the faculties become paralysed and atrophied. **At the period of the suppression of the woollen trade and the imposition of the Penal Laws—simultaneous causes—Ulster was in no way industrially superior to the rest of Ireland.** After the Union, this province alone was in possession of an industry which the State had fostered in its borders for a century and possessed also all the habits and temper in employers and employees which arise from a long hereditary experience of manufacturing business. It is not to be wondered that the natural lead thus given has been retained; and those who taunt the rest of Ireland with its inferiority might as well blame a man tied up for years because he fails to overtake a trained and hardy runner.

Every decade in its passage has only increased the superiority, which rests really in the possession of a trained population. Ship-building, for instance, has grown as a kind of complement to the linen industry, which employing a disproportionate number of women, has made it specially easy to get men workers. But if Protestant Ulster had been obliged to face the competition which followed the Union, under such conditions as existed for the rest of Ireland, there is not the least reason to believe that manufactures could or would have been established in that province more than in any other.



# The Land Question in Ireland

CONSIDERED AS A LABOUR QUESTION.



The land question in Ireland is to-day and has always been essentially a labour question.

In Ireland at least half the population is employed in agriculture ; in Great Britain only one-tenth is so employed.

This state of things is not of Ireland's choosing ; England imposed it by jealous legislation, restricting and destroying Irish industries. Over the greater part of Ireland, Irishmen have had no choice but to live by the land or leave the country.

Thus **the Land League, the National League, and the United Irish League** have, in so far as land legislation was concerned, **aimed at exactly the same object as trades unions.**

No one denies now that trades unions have done a great and necessary work. No one can fairly deny that the Leagues in Ireland have done the same, by **banding together labour against capital and privilege.**

Before the Land Acts of 1881 and onwards, landlords had the right to confiscate whatever improvement a tenant made on his land. When they raised the rent, he had to pay or go. The result was that the worker was screwed down to a bare minimum of subsistence—just as in the great industries capitalists could always find the unemployed man ready to take on any job at a lower wage.

The conflict was fierce in both cases. **Agrarian outrages were the equivalent of rattening.** In both cases liberty for the individual was pleaded by the supporters of privilege. Why should not a man be free to let his land at whatever rent he could get, or to take land at whatever rent he chose to pay ? Why should not a man be free to work at whatever wages seemed good to him ? And in each case labour has refused to allow this construction of liberty.

**No answer can be made to justify picketing which does not justify boycotting also.** In England the public conscience has ratified the right of combination. In Ireland, the law refuses to recognise agrarian combinations, but it has conceded their demand. Courts have been established to fix rents, and the tenant is recognised as owning a saleable interest in his holding.

This principle of dual ownership is being rapidly replaced by that of a peasant proprietary : the State buying out the landlords and selling

to the man who works the land. It is universally admitted that where this has taken place the land is better worked than it ever was before. Labour is justified as against capital.

Part of the land question to-day is concerned with difficulties as to this sale of land. This leaflet, however, has to do only with the labour aspect of the problem, and that is taking on a new shape. **The question of to-day is the question of the grazier rather than of the landlord.**

In Ireland 63 per cent. of the total area is under grass, and this proportion is yearly increasing. That under tillage is only 12 per cent. In every agricultural country (except Switzerland with its mountain pastures) tillage land is more than grass land. Even a townsman knows that **land under grass employs no labour**, except what is spent in opening and shutting gates for cattle, and, where hay is grown, in mowing and haymaking.

Now, a certain proportion of Irish land is exceptionally good pasture, and in the opinion of many experts, should be kept permanently under grass. But a great deal is land of good quality for tillage but unfit for permanent pasture. That is to say, if tilled it would not only employ more labour but would produce more wealth.

Why then is it under pasture. Because under the law as it stands a landlord can charge what rent he pleases on holdings leased for less than a year. No man will take land to farm on these terms, but by far the greater proportion of grazing land in Ireland is let on **the eleven months system**. No money is spent on the land except to maintain fences; no labour is employed, except that of, perhaps, one herd to every fifty acres. The grazier is sometimes a professional cattle raiser, but in thousands of cases he is a shopkeeper living very often at a considerable distance from the land on to which he causes cattle to be driven. **An absentee landlord lets to an absentee farmer.**

Meanwhile in the neighbourhood of these ranches, which occupy the good land, there are always the men who have small holdings of soil so poor that unless continuously tilled it relapses into heather and rushes. In tens of thousands of cases, the holding is so small in value that a family cannot live on it. The form which the Irish Land Question takes to-day is the demand for the enlargement of "uneconomic holdings," and for the conversion of second class pasture into tillage.

**The Department of Agriculture**, founded to improve the industrial condition of Ireland, **preaches continually that Ireland's chance lies in extending tillage.** The export trade in live cattle is precarious and unsatisfactory since it means exporting hides, tallow, etc., raw materials which should be worked up in Ireland itself. As for milk and butter, these articles can only secure a proper place in the market if Ireland

takes to winter dairying, and this involves tillage, to produce turnips, mangolds, and other food for the winter months.

Again, Ireland, we are told, should produce far more poultry, eggs, and bacon than at present. But both bacon and poultry imply population; there are no hens kept and no pigs fed on a grazing ranche. The whole interest of the community is on one side; that of the landlord on the other. So long as he keeps his land in grass, law and custom allows him to charge what he pleases for the use of it; and land still commands a famine price in Ireland. Thus we arrive at this strange paradox: **Government recommends tillage, while law gives every landlord the strongest inducement to keep all his land in pasture.**

Look at it historically. The period of the great extension of grass land was from 1850 onwards. Suppose two landlords, A and B, had adjoining estates. A kept his tenants on their holdings, B effected clearances, turning families adrift on the world wholesale, as he could do any time up to 1881. (On the Pollock estate in Roscommon and Galway eleven hundred families were driven out to make room for cattle, not because they had not paid their rent, but because cattle paid better). Then came the Land Act, which said in effect to B: Because you have evicted a whole countryside, your lands are your own to deal with as you like, to let for brief periods to cattle jobbers at the last penny you can extract. But it said to A: Because you have left these men in occupation of their holdings, we will send down judges to say what rent they shall pay, and they shall have a fixed and saleable interest as occupiers of the land.

Let the same measure be applied to the evictors or the heirs of the evictors as was applied to the best landlords in Ireland. That is to say, let the State fix the value of the landlords' interest in grass lands on a fair rent basis, and abolish monopoly. The landlord who let his land at a reasonable rate, or even who farmed it himself, employing labour, was not wholly a monopolist. But **the man who reserves to his own use, or that of some other individual, the whole productive power of a great tract of country, cashing the natural growth of grass by turning in cattle to fatten on it, and then selling them, is a monopolist in the strictest sense, and he is the main source to-day of whatever agrarian trouble exists in Ireland.**

Most of the cattle driving, and the boycotting which arises in connection with it, are mere expressions of the fierce anger of men who see beasts ranging where the plough should be at work; the good land destitute of habitation, the bog and the mountain thick with houses. These men are contending for a practical application of conclusions which we find embodied in the Report of the Royal Commission presided over by

Lord Dudley—more than half of whose members were either Englishmen or Scotchmen. Here are the paragraphs which bear specially on this point :

147. It may be that the holder of 1,000 acres of land in the congested areas derives a higher rate of profit on his expenditure by grazing and meadowing his land than if, while retaining the whole of it in his own hands, he puts it under a system of mixed farming. His wages bill is much lower, he is comparatively little affected by bad seasons, and the floating capital required for stocking the land is less than that necessary for the cultivation of the holding as an agricultural farm. But this is not the whole question. Under the system of mixed farming not only would employment be found for far more labourers and their families, but the total value of the land's output would, as we believe, be larger, and the land would, therefore, contribute more to the general wealth of the country.

149. To sum up ; the result of a change from one system to the other would, in our opinion, be—and this bears directly on the relief of congestion—that :—

(1.) Many families, now in a state of poverty, bordering on destitution, would be raised to a standard which, if not ideal, is at least tolerable, and would become a source of strength to the country, rather than as now, an element of weakness, cost and disturbance.

(2.) The 1,000 acres of land, taken above as an illustration, would produce a larger output than at present, and would thus contribute more to the national wealth. Such larger output would in time have a beneficial effect on the artisan class and the general prosperity of provincial towns.

(3.) The profit—and, as we are told, more than the profit—now received by the landlord and the grazier would be distributed in a much more productive form, among the small holders and their families.

The whole pith of the land question of to-day is centred in these lines. **It is a problem of employment.** England wants to see men going “back to the land.” In Ireland we have people, on the land, made to the work of the land, only asking to get land and pay for land upon conditions which will allow to them and to their families a living wage. It is a **proposal, not to destroy the cattle trade**, but rather to change from a wasteful and precarious system to one which will put—on land which now produces only cattle :—(a), human workers ; (b), more cattle than at present ; (c), pigs and poultry as well.



# What is Cattle Driving?

IN the English Press cattle driving is frequently spoken of as a form of violent crime, and many estimable persons imagine that when cattle are driven off a farm the purpose is theft and the cattle are lost to the owner. The plain facts of the subject are given in a private letter (printed in the *Bristol Mercury*, Sept. 12th, 1908) from Mr. Michael Comyn, who is a barrister, and the professional adviser of the Clare County Council. All claims for compensation brought against the county must come before him. He says:—

“In order to understand a cattle drive you must imagine a large farm of, say, 500 or 1,000 acres of good land under permanent grass, with one herdsman's cabin; and around this large farm, on the inferior land or bog, thirty or forty small holdings, of ten to twenty acres, peasants and their families, always large. The peasants' sons are growing up. America is no longer the land of plenty it used to be for the Irish emigrant, and he is thinking of finding a home in Ireland. He looks to the large farm near at hand, unoccupied, save by cattle, and untilled, and he says that the bullock must go to make room for the man.

“The question is, how can this be done on fair terms to all. The owner of the grazing ranch often asks too much for his interest, or point blank refuses to treat for a sale, even at the high prices now current. Then a number of young men, not always the most in need of land, make a gap in the boundary fence, and twenty or thirty bullocks are driven along the road. The herdsman in going his round discovers that the bullocks are missing. He sees the gap, follows the tracks of the cattle, and finds them a mile or two away, none the worse for the adventure. The grazier is naturally annoyed at the driving of his cattle, but much more so at the publicity which it gives him. **He hates to be talked about. This is the real sting of the cattle drive, and the real object which the cattle drivers have in view.** They want the world to know the ranch is there untilled.

“As representing the County Council, I have to deal with every cattle drive in Clare, and I have never had a case in which the cattle were over-driven or injured except one, and in this case some injury was caused to the cattle by their being driven over rough ground at night, apparently by people who did not know the land. Cattle driving is absurd, but it is not so criminal as other forms of agrarian crime, and, moreover, it is rapidly going out.

“Whatever the Tory papers may publish, the area of disturbance in Ireland is diminishing week by week, and the character of the disturbances, such as cattle driving, are more in the nature of demonstrations. So you see the Tory journalists, finding no serious crime in the West of Ireland, must resort to their own imagination, or the equally fertile imaginations of certain Unionist politicians.”

It may be added that the witnesses in support of claims for compensation repeatedly state that the cattle, when recovered, “look as if they had been to a long fair,” in other words, the beasts are no more harmed than if they had been taken to market.

Whether cattle driving increases or decreases will depend upon whether the disease of which it is a symptom is remedied by legislation or no. The connection of cause and effect was plainly set forth by the *Sydney Bulletin*, Australia's leading paper, in an article published July 16, 1908 :—

"In the most fertile parts of Ireland it has been discovered that cows pay better than men, women and children, so men have been driven off to make room for cows. Over large districts practically the only places where land can now be hired at all for agricultural purposes are in the bogs—regions which were regarded as uninhabitable till this crisis arrived. The situation of the dispossessed Irish agriculturist has become incredible. He used to find a refuge in the United States, but the United States has now the most rigid laws on earth for the exclusion of pauper immigrants. There is no surplus work in the Irish towns. The English towns are already swarming with unemployed. The Irish immigrant can't take up a farm in England for want of money, and there is no demand for extra agricultural labour in England, where thousands of unemployed labourers, thrown out of work because Free Trade is killing the hop industry, are crying for assistance, and making protest by processions and demonstrations. The continent of Europe and South America are closed to him through lack of knowledge of any foreign language. His world has shut in upon him, and, for want of other resources, he rents twenty acres of bog, at a hideously high price, considering the quality of the land, and tries to wrest a living out of what is not much better than a quicksand. He is allowed to live on the bog (at a price) because Cow would die there; in a great part of his own country there is nothing for him save the leavings of Cow. Naturally enough he makes occasional protest. According to the English law of property, landless Man has no rights. If the landlord orders him to move off one-half the earth, he must move on to the other half, and if some more landlord orders him off the other half also he must move into the sea—he can't stay on the highroad, because that would be 'loitering,' and in the public parks there are signs ordering him to keep off the grass. It is a wonderful theory, but the victims of it fail to see the point. They hold that somewhere and somehow Man, as apart from Landlord, must have some right of existence on the globe, and they assert this theory by cattle-driving. The great aggregate Cow, to make room for which Man has been harried into the bogs, is driven away by night to remote places of concealment, and the squatter weeps in the morning because beef has 'riz' in England, and he has no longer any beef to sell. It is a very mild and patient protest—the French, with less provocation, drove Louis XVI. to the scaffold, instead of merely chasing a few beeves along a lane. But the ruling class alludes to those parts of the country where man has got tired of starving in a bog as the 'disturbed districts,' and speaks regretfully about 'lawlessness' and such things. The wrong is so gigantic and so shameful that some perfectly humane and orderly people are half inclined to wish that there was a lot more lawlessness than there is."

It will be seen that the Sydney journalist conceives of the "squatter" as suffering not only inconvenience but actual loss. Yet, speaking the mind of a democratic community, it regards such "lawlessness" as an inevitable protest against an indefensible state of affairs.

# What Home Rule Means.

## Not Separation.



Englishmen continually answer to Irish arguments—"Yes, but what do you mean by Home Rule?"

That policy can only be judged by the proposals which have been made or accepted authoritatively on behalf of the Irish people.

### I. BUTT.

The term "Home Rule" was originated by Isaac Butt, as a policy superseding the demand for "Repeal"—that is, the restoration of "Grattan's Parliament," which was a co-ordinate assembly having the power of declaring war and peace.

Butt's proposals were formulated in a series of resolutions passed by the "Home Rule Conference" held in Dublin, 1852, Nov. 1873.

The first two resolutions were declaratory; the third claimed "the privilege of managing our own affairs by a Parliament assembled in Ireland, and composed of the Sovereign, the Lords and the Commons of Ireland;" the fourth sketched the scheme in broad outline.

"That, in claiming these rights and privileges for our country, we adopt the principle of a Federal arrangement, which would secure to the Irish Parliament the right of legislating for and regulating all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, while leaving to the Imperial Parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting the Imperial Crown and Government, legislation regarding the colonies and other dependencies of the Crown, the relations of the Empire with Foreign States, and all matters appertaining to the defence and stability of the Empire at large; as well as the power of granting and providing the supplies necessary for Imperial purposes."

### II. PARNELL.

Under the leadership of Mr. Parnell, Home Rule passed from the region of academic discussion. The Irish demand is defined by Ireland's attitude to the legislative proposals of Mr. Gladstone.



On the second reading of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, Mr. Parnell clearly accepted the offer of a subordinate Parliament. He said :—

“ We have always known since the introduction of this Bill the difference between a co-ordinate and a subordinate Parliament, and we have recognised that the Legislature which the Prime Minister proposes to constitute is a subordinate Parliament. . . . Undoubtedly I should have preferred . . . the restitution of Grattan's Parliament . . . but I consider that there are practical advantages connected with the proposed statutory body, limited and subordinate to this Imperial Parliament as it undoubtedly will be, which will render it much more useful and advantageous to the Irish people than was Grattan's Parliament. . . . ”

He went on to define what he meant by the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

“ I understand the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament to be this—that they can interfere in the event of the powers which are conferred by this Bill being abused under certain circumstances. But the Nationalists, in accepting this Bill, go, as I think, under an honourable understanding not to abuse those powers ; and we pledge ourselves, in that respect, for the Irish people, as far as we can pledge ourselves, not to abuse those powers, and to devote our energies and our influences . . . to prevent those powers being abused.

“ The Imperial Parliament will have at command the force which it reserves to itself, and it will be ready to intervene, but only in the case of grave necessity arising.”

Finally, he made it clear that he spoke for Ireland.

“ I believe that this is by far the best mode in which we can hope to settle this question. We look upon the provisions of this Bill as a final settlement of the question, and I believe that the Irish people have accepted it as such a settlement.”

### III. THE POSITION TO-DAY.

Mr. Parnell's speech really sums up the situation. Again and again Mr. Redmond has said : “ We stand where Parnell stood.” But his own utterances are most explicitly brought to a head in the motion introduced by him, as Leader of the Irish Party, on March 30, 1908. The sentence which contained its purport, ran thus :—

“ That the reform of Irish Government is a matter vital to the interests of Ireland, and calculated greatly to promote the well-being of the people of Great Britain ; and, in the opinion of this House, the solution of this problem can only be obtained by giving



the Irish people the legislative and executive control of all purely Irish affairs."

To this it was proposed to add :—

" Subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament."

Of this addition Mr. Redmond said :—

" I regard these words as unnecessary. We have always recognised the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and we have always held the view that it would be impossible to alienate that supremacy in creating a statutory legislature for Ireland. The Bill of 1886 was based upon the maintenance of the supremacy of this Parliament. The preamble—the very first words—of the second Home Rule Bill of 1893, were these :—

" 'Without impairing or restricting the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, a Legislature shall be created.' "

Finally, in October, 1910, Mr. Redmond gave a detailed account of "What Ireland Wants" in an article so entitled published in *Clure's Magazine*. It is often said that the Irish demand is stated low before English audiences, but put in its full proportions before the Irish of America. This then was the statement set out with the widest publicity in America at the very moment when Mr. Redmond was in America asking for funds :—

" WHAT AN IRISH PARLIAMENT WOULD MEAN TO IRELAND.

" Here, then, is ' what Ireland wants ' : ' Legislative and executive control of all purely Irish affairs, subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament.'

" In other words, we want an Irish Parliament, with an Executive responsible to it, created by Act of the Imperial Parliament, and charged with the management of purely Irish affairs (land, education, local government, transit, labour, industries, taxation for local purposes, law and justice, police, etc.), leaving to the Imperial Parliament, in which Ireland would probably continue to be represented, but in smaller numbers, the management, just as at present, of all Imperial affairs—army, navy, foreign relations, customs, Imperial taxation, matters pertaining to the Crown, the colonies, and all those other questions which are Imperial and not local in their nature, the Imperial Parliament also retaining an overriding supreme authority over the new Irish legislature, such as it possesses to-day over the various legislatures in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other portions of the Empire.

" This is ' what Ireland wants.' When she has obtained it, a new era of prosperity and contentment will arise. As happened

when Lord Durham's policy was carried out in Canada, men of different races and creeds will join hands to promote the well-being of their common country. Responsibility, thrown for the first time for over a century upon the people, will have the same effect in Ireland as elsewhere. Trust in the people will effect as startling and dramatic a transformation of feeling and sentiment in Ireland as in South Africa. Those of us who have been struggling in the cause for thirty years are thankful to feel that at last the fighting is practically over, and that all that remains is to settle the exact terms on which the Treaty of Peace is to be drawn up."

Briefly, then, the demand has been always, and is to-day, authoritatively limited to the grant of a subordinate Parliament for purely Irish affairs. Military control or the regulation of foreign policy has never been claimed. Difficulties of detail are raised by Englishmen, not by Irishmen. We have no desire to injure England's prestige or Imperial power. We claim simply the "local autonomy" which is conceded to all other separate communities of white men within the Empire; which is recognised as a fundamental principle of the Empire even by the *Times* newspaper.

On April 3rd, 1909, the *Times* wrote:—

"The Imperial idea, despite the historic associations of its name, must prove its title to acceptance, not as a limitation but as a guarantee of local autonomy and local rights. . . . Imperial thought aims at drawing closer the bonds of union between the nations of the empire, not in any limitation of individual autonomy but as the only means by which the development of each on its own lines can be secured. . . . Imperialism is not the enemy of those narrower and more intimate loyalties which bind each nationality within the empire to its own way of life."

# A CANADIAN IMPERIALIST ON THE IRISH QUESTION.

SIR THOMAS SHAUGHNESSY, Chairman of the Canadian and Pacific Railroad, replying to the toast of "Canada," at the St. Patrick's Day Banquet in Montreal, made the following speech :

"Our material progress, striking as it is and satisfactory, is not a source of greater gratification than the political relations between the people of the several sections of the country. The British North America Act was drawn on wise and statesmanlike lines; it has stood the test of time, and its foundations are unshaken. Each Province has its own characteristic resources to develop, along the lines desired by its own people, but all are united in the advancement of the common good of the whole Dominion. Notwithstanding the difference in race and religion, the U. E. Loyalist of Ontario is no more loyal to the British Crown than the French Canadian of Quebec. . . .

"And now, Mr. President, I would like to devote a few words to another subject that appeals to every man of Irish birth or extraction wherever he may live, and that is the prompt and effective amelioration of what are manifestly Ireland's wrongs, with the improvement in the position of her people that would surely result from such a policy.

"For generations there has been something in the nature of a feud between the people of Great Britain, or, I should say, of the governing classes of Great Britain and the Irish.

"At times the feeling on one side or the other has grown so intense as to lead to lawlessness and consequent reprisals. Neither party has been free from blame. On the one hand there was the overbearing audacity of a class actuated by selfishness and assumed superiority. On the other the wrath and vindictiveness of a people who felt that they were being subjected to humiliation and cruel treatment. In both cases there were, no doubt, other motives and other incentives, to which I need not now refer, but *I must declare my conviction that in the relations between Ireland and the other portions of the British Empire there is a situation that should not and cannot longer continue.*

"The direction of world thought and world action has in recent years been toward conciliation and compromise. The great employers of men have learned the lesson. They can no longer say "my will and mine alone will prevail." They now see that intelligence and the capacity for analysis and discussion have extended down the line, and they must discuss, and they must analyse, and they must compromise, and the world is the better for it. The new order of things occasionally leads to exaction and disorder, but time will tame the aggressive spirit of organized forces and better things will result. The great employer has lost none of his prestige or his power of accomplishment, but he has learned to regard the rights of others as well as his own rights.

"Russia, the home of intrigue, of assassination and persecution, has within a few years found solace in constitutional government, and the people are more contented, and the Emperor moves about with less anxiety and apprehension than ever before. The Hague Tribunal has been established as a medium for the discussion and settlement of international disputes that might otherwise lead to war and bloodshed. Even Turkey has found that the day of autocracy has passed and that the people must have a voice in the conduct of government.

"While nations and individuals in all other portions of the world have been undergoing this change of heart and reaching a better understanding, is it to be believed that England and Ireland can remain in their present illogical and unnatural attitude toward each other ?

"The Land Purchase Act has accomplished a great deal, but why stop there ? *Ireland is entitled to and should have local self-government, as should England, Scotland and Wales if they want it.*

"In the case of Ireland, separation is as undesirable as it is impossible, and there may be other features of the Home Rule programme that require modification or elimination. But why should the opponents of the Irish party dwell upon and emphasize only the features of the Irish proposals to which they have most decided objection ? Why not take up and discuss the other sections about which an agreement might be possible ? In the eyes of the opponents of Home Rule there are two dominating and all-absorbing bogies to the exclusion of everything else, namely, the control of affairs in Ireland by the predominating Catholic majority to the detriment and discomfort of the minority, and the certainty that the whole scheme of Home Rule aims at separation.

Those of us who know our fellow countrymen best, would give but little weight to the first of these apparitions, because the maintenance



of a cohesive majority for any long period of time would be contrary to the nature and tradition of the Irishman ; but even if this were not the case, it would be quite practicable to provide constitutional safeguards against injustice or oppression. And about the other, I have already expressed the conviction that separation would not be in the interests of the Irish people, and that for many reasons it would be impracticable, indeed impossible, and it should not stand as a bar to a rational Home Rule measure.

“ It was not my intention, Mr. President, to deal with the Irish question at any length this evening, and indeed I have probably encroached upon the territory of some of the other speakers by referring to it at all, but I cannot help feeling that the position of affairs in Canada, where the people are enjoying all the fruits of good government, and more particularly in the Province of Quebec, where a comparatively small minority is living in peace, happiness and contentment with a majority who belong to another race and religion, might suggest to the law-makers of the Motherland on both sides of the Irish question a line of procedure and form of legislative compact that will have the effect of removing an angry sore from the body politic of the Empire by according to Ireland the control of her own internal affairs and obliterating conditions that have discouraged her population, stimulated strife and violence, and have prevented the introduction of capital and enterprise to the country. How gratifying it would be to us, Mr. President, if Canada's British North America Act should illustrate the way and the means.”

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- 1 Canada and Home Rule.
- 2 The Record of Irish Local Bodies.
- 3 The Manufacture of Crime in Ireland.
- 4 The Facts about Crime in Ireland.
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By Hugh Law, M.P.
- 6 Police and Crime in Ireland, England and Wales. A Comparison.  
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- 7 The Money Argument for Home Rule. By T. M. Kettle, M.P.
- 8 The Irish County Councils. Self-Government in Being.
- 9 Ireland, Scotland, and Ulster.
- 10 The Land Question in Ireland considered as a Labour Question.
- 11 Political Reflections by an Irish Quaker.
- 12 How Protestants are Treated in Ireland.
- 13 What Home Rule Means.
- 14 A Canadian Imperialist on the Irish Question.

Also "What Home Rule Means," being twelve of the above neatly bound up in pamphlet form, with a Speech by Mr. John Redmond, M.P.

Also, "Some Arguments for Home Rule." Speeches delivered by Mr. John Redmond in 1907, and edited by Professor Swift MacNeill, M.P.

# IRELAND'S NEED

Reprinted by permission from an article by STEPHEN GWYNN, M.P.,  
in *The Nineteenth Century and After* of October, 1909.]

The Imperial idea, despite the historic associations of its name, must prove its title to acceptance, not as a limitation but as a guarantee of local autonomy and local rights. . . . Imperial thought aims at drawing closer the bonds of union between the nations of the empire, not in any limitation of individual autonomy but as the only means by which the development of each on its own lines can be secured. . . . Imperialism is not the enemy of those narrower and more intimate loyalties which bind each nationality within the empire to its own way of life.

These words are taken, not from the utterance of any Liberal statesman, but from the leading article in the *Times* of the 3rd of April, 1909. I quote them to establish the fact that local autonomy is now recognised as a cardinal principle of the very remarkable organisation which we call the British Empire, and my main purpose is to inquire why a certain section of English politicians refuse to apply that principle in the country where it is called Home Rule.

The refusal comes from England only. Scotland by an overwhelming majority, and Wales by unanimity of representation, are in favour of Home Rule; they begin also to claim it for themselves. Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, all explicitly support the demand of Ireland. In this matter England stands against the consent of the entire empire; or, to be more accurate, England, for reasons which I must examine later, hangs ethargic, declining to decide for or against.

I wish to deal with the realities of this question, and shall not dwell upon the contention sometimes academically put forward that Ireland is not a nation and cannot therefore claim national rights. No spokesman of the Orange body holds that language. Captain Craig, for instance, is just as proud to be an Irishman as I am. He and his friends advocate the Union, as we advocate Home Rule, primarily and principally in the interests of the Irish nation.

But it is worth while to refer to certain arguments which are constantly used by Irishmen from the districts which centre round Belfast. We have prospered under the Union, they say, Scotland has prospered under the Union; therefore the Union is a good arrangement, marred only by the perversity of agitators.

To the first part of this contention I make my own answer. The Industrial prosperity of North-East Ulster rests upon the presence of a population with whom the industrial habit is an inheritance, and among whom industrial capital has constantly found employment ever since the days when England decided to protect and foster the linen trade among the Protestant settlers, at the same time as she was stamping out the woollen trade which prevailed especially in the more Catholic and Celtic populations. Proximity to the Scotch coalfields has enhanced the advantage, but the essential cause lies in the legislation and administration of the eighteenth century. It is not a question of industry; it is a question of industrialism. No one starts new industries in the South and West of Ireland for the same reason as no one starts new industries in Dorset. In the matter of farming, Louth and Wexford are every whit as good as Down; but their development is purely agricultural.

Further, the prosperity of North-East Ulster is only relative. Belfast grows, but the population of those counties which returned Unionists has been reduced more severely than that of many other parts of Ireland, and a falling population is surely no index to progress.

As to the argument from Scotland, I leave that to be answered by a notable Unionist, Professor A. V. Dicey. Here are a few significant sentences from his article published in the *Fortnightly* for August 1881:

The Act of Union (for Scotland) embodied what was, not in name only but in reality, a treaty or contract freely made between two independent States. . . . The union with Ireland lacked all that element of free consent between independent contracting parties which lies at the basis of every genuine contract. . . . (It) was in short an agreement which, could it have been referred to a court of law, must have been at once cancelled as a contract hopelessly tainted with fraud and corruption.

Again:

Scotch affairs remained after, even more than before, under the control of Scotland. . . . Ireland since, as before the Union, has been governed in the main in accordance with English notions, applied in many cases, or misapplied, by English officials.

Neither Scotch or English history can, except by the misreading of past events, be forced into teaching the lesson that the failure of the policy in Ireland is due to the peculiarities of Irish character.

I pass to another argument. The Imperialist politician, confronted with such a passage as that which I have quoted from the *Times*, will answer that the whole development of the empire is



towards federation in blocks; that the separate position of Newfoundland is an embarrassment to Canada; and that it would be a reactionary and unwise proceeding to dissolve the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland at the very moment when South Africa and Australia have completed their union of local governments.

In so far as this argument means that the relations of England to Ireland must always be essentially different from those of Great Britain to Canada or Australia, it is unanswerable. England might very conceivably let Australia or Canada cut the painter without more than remonstrance; England could never conceivably let Ireland break away unless after she herself had been defeated in war. We all recognise the geographical facts which govern the relation. It is at least arguable that Canada and Australia should have a separate military system; but, while Ireland remains subject to the British Crown, the military control of these islands must be unitary. Yet all this affords no argument against Home Rule. Those who quote against us the Union which has been effected in Australia, the Union which has been effected in South Africa, the Union which is desired between Canada and Newfoundlahd, ignore cardinal facts.

What is the union in South Africa? In the first place, it leaves the local governments existing, vested with very considerable powers for local affairs. The union with Ireland abolished the local legislature and brought Irish affairs under the control of an assembly which had neither time nor temper to consider them on their merits. In so far as it enacted separate beneficial treatment for Ireland, the Act of Union has been a dead letter. Legislation, when directed to industrial questions, has been framed solely in the interests of Great Britain; Ireland has had separate treatment only in the form of repressive enactments, and a desperate attempt to deal with the consequences of land-hunger.

Secondly, the union in the Colonies resulted from a voluntary compact between free States, and the members came together on a basis of equality. I have already quoted Professor Dicey's verdict on the character of the union with Ireland. It was not voluntary. That it does not after a century confer equality of privilege is proved beyond all possibility of argument by a single fact. The system of the Volunteer force was not, and the system of the Territorial Army is not, extended to Ireland. Ireland's position under the Union is that of a conquered country held down by force of arms. In plain language, the union between the federated Governments in Australia

and Canada and South Africa is a reality : the union between Great Britain and Ireland is merely a specious name.

Thirdly, those who base an argument against Irish Home Rule upon the Colonial movement towards local union omit to consider what Home Rule means. Neither by Butt, nor by Parnell, nor by Mr. Redmond has a separate control of military affairs, or a separate interest in foreign negotiations, ever been claimed. On the contrary, these claims have been expressly repudiated. The demand for Repeal, which involved the re-establishment of a co-ordinate legislature, was formally abandoned for the offer to accept a subordinate legislature, having full control of Irish affairs.

The grant of such a legislature to the Transvaal and Orange Free State was, as Mr. Asquith put it, 'the condition precedent' of South African union. In order to have a real union of Great Britain—a union based on consent—you must abolish the nominal and spurious Union of to-day.

We are told in reply that this cannot safely be done because there is a party in Ireland, and among Irish-Americans, which desires separation. No one denies the existence of such a party; the question is, what are its numbers and influence? There are undoubtedly many men in England, there are probably some in Parliament, who would prefer a Republican Government. Yet they do not render the monarchical principle insecure, because the citizens enjoy all the reality of freedom. Under a different system of monarchy it is certain that their numbers would be very much greater. In a self-governed Ireland there would unquestionably be some Separatists; but how likely is it that they would induce the country at large to risk its freedom or its prosperity by going to war with England? For 'the condition precedent' of separation is a total destruction of the British Navy.

I myself am convinced that the effect of self-government in Ireland would be to concentrate all the attention of Irishmen on purely Irish affairs, and that ultimately England might succeed in conciliating us through our interests and through our pride. George Meredith thought so, and put his view in a memorable poem, *Ireland*, published posthumously. In the meanwhile, Englishmen should realise that Ireland is to-day, in his phrase, 'England's broken arm,' producing no more soldiers than are required to maintain England's army of occupation. The loss of military strength in this way is a fact, present and permanent; another fact is the continued hostility generated in America by the Irish emigrants and their descendants.

The possibility of separation, the chances of Ireland engaging in war against England, is a contingency, as I think, so remote as to be negligible.<sup>1</sup>

I shall not dwell upon the other spectre which is habitually conjured up—the fear of unfairness to Protestants. The record of local government confirms the confidence of a long line of Protestant Nationalists. A letter written by the Rector of Mitchelstown, Co. Cork, describes a state of affairs which could be paralleled in many instances.

In this parish some time ago the local Board or Council elected an English lady-nurse, who was also an English Churchwoman, to the chief position in the local Union. . . . The same authorities elected an engineer, who a member of the Irish Church, a little later on to the position of District Surveyor. Another young man, also a member of my congregation, was elected Petty Sessions Clerk, though there was a Roman Catholic candidate in the field. Furthermore, a few years ago a young man from the North came here and started business as a grocer; he also is a member of the Irish Church. He has done exceedingly well; he is a good and obliging man of business, and, so far from being boycotted, he is doing the best trade in town in his own line—even the nuns and Christian Brothers patronise him. Let me say a word about myself. I am not a Home Ruler, yet I have, without the slightest solicitation on my own part, been unanimously elected a member of the County Committee of Technical Instruction, of which the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese is chairman.—GUARDIAN, 30th June, 1909.

South and West, there is no doubt but that the set of opinion among Unionists is towards regarding Home Rule as inevitable and as less unsatisfactory than the present order of things. Only one

<sup>1</sup> A correspondent writes from Toronto to the NATION of June 18th. "The enclosed cutting is from the MONTREAL STAR, the leading Conservative paper in Canada, and formed part of a special letter from its London correspondent at the King's funeral. It will give your readers an idea of the extent of the sympathy for Home Rule for Ireland amongst all parties in Canada:

Looking at this wonderful list of names, do you observe how many are Irish, from Roberts and Kitchener at the head of the Army downwards? Even King Edward's mournful little terrier was Irish. Remove Irishmen from yesterday's proceedings, and what woeful gaps would appear in this gathering of governing men of the Empire. Do you wonder that we Canadians, enjoying our own liberties, find it almost incredible that England is persisting in denying these same Irishmen the right to manage their own affairs in their own land? Remove that Irish blot on the Empire's escutcheon, and you remove one of the gravest difficulties of closest co-operation between our Empire and the United States for peace of the world and mutual advantage.'

The recent widespread expression of sympathy and regret at King Edward's death, coming from hundreds of purely Nationalist bodies, is a spontaneous proof that there is no feeling generally in Nationalist Ireland against the link of the Crown. There is no contradiction between the desire for autonomy and attachment to a King of Ireland who is also King of Great Britain and the Self-governing Colonies. In truth, what lay behind these manifestations of goodwill was the feeling that King Edward VII. had persistently refused to consider that Ireland must be disloyal in desiring self-government.

considerable resident Irish landlord sits in the House of Commons and he sits on the Nationalist benches. Mr. Kavanagh, the able son of an able father, has thought out his conclusions to their logical consequence in action: the Devolutionist party, if equally courageous must, I think, arrive at the same position.<sup>1</sup> Even among them Lord Dunraven has declared frankly for self-government as the end to be aimed at; and, broadly speaking, I think that most men under forty in the landlord class have no active hostility to that idea.

In the Northern democracy a similar movement makes itself apparent. Mr. Lindsay Crawford, Grand Master of the Independent Orange Order, is an avowed Home Ruler. Mr. T. W. Russell, who in 1886 and 1893 did more than any ten men to defeat Home Rule has been converted by the succeeding years.

Again, among the clever writers who are most often busy in denunciation of the Irish party, 'George A. Birmingham,' 'Pat,' the oracle of the *Saturday Review*, and Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell, cleverest of them all—there is a consent of opinion for self-government. All these writers whom I have named, believe—as I do—that it would lessen the ecclesiastical power which they so greatly dislike. It always seems a little absurd that the English Press should hold them up as infallible authorities when they criticise the action of other Nationalists, yet smugly ignore the very core of their philosophy.

The undoubtedly excessive power of priests in temporal matters arises from a combination of circumstances for which the clergy cannot be blamed. It arises, first, from the devotion of the laity to a Church which still wears the prestige of martyrdom, and whose position in the Ireland of to-day constitutes the one complete triumph of a race so long menaced with extermination. It arises, secondly, from the void left by the disappearance of the local aristocracy which governed Ireland thirty years ago, when the friends and relatives of those who managed the Castle managed also every county and every parish. To-day a gulf yawns between the central bureaucracy, nominated by England, and the popularly elected local bodies. The recognised political guides of the county councils, those who have a natural authority in Nationalist Ireland, are politicians in perpetual opposition, without legislative or administrative responsibility, without the disposal of patronage; and this absence

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kavanagh, agreeing with us on the Land Question, and on Home Rule, was so ardent a Protectionist that he resigned sooner than risk the necessity of voting against Tariff Reform.



of any central Government enjoying popular confidence tends to add great power to that other popular organisation, so solid and well-endowed, so permanent as compared with the political leagues, and possessing an influence which flows from the third cause that I must refer to—England's settled policy (avowed in Lord Randolph Churchill's letter) of 'governing through the bishops.' It has been the constant practice of English statesmen to appeal over the heads of Irish political leaders to the Irish hierarchy for counsel and support.

In part, also, the power of the clergy is established by direct enactment of the bureaucracy; that dependence of the school teacher on the priest which is often enlarged upon is largely due to rules of the National Board which debar the teacher from all political activity, thus imposing on him a civil servant's disabilities without giving him any security of tenure. And the claim of teachers for enlarged rights has been supported not merely by lay politicians but by ecclesiastics—notably the Bishop of Raphoe, prominent among the avowed and stalwart workers for that conception of self-government which would establish in power men like Mr. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Devlin, who have again and again contended against undue exercise of ecclesiastical power.

Some perception of these facts is spreading among Unionists, thanks mainly to Mr. Birmingham; yet I do not affect to believe that the growing change in Unionist opinion and feeling has been due to the arguments adduced by Nationalists. It is partly due to land purchase. Irish landlords always convinced themselves that Home Rule would mean their ruin; yet Butt's proposals, which they scouted in 1873, expressly repudiated the idea of altering the land settlement. They have seen that settlement torn up and destroyed under the Legislative Union; and their interest, in so far as they mean to remain in Ireland—as many of them do—is now simply that of general good government. Home Rule no longer frightens their pockets.

Partly, also, the change is due to local self-government. The Irish people have been put in charge of their country and parochial affairs, the new bodies have been quite as efficient as the old, and more frugal; and they have been at least as fair. I do not think the utmost has been done for Home Rule; if more Unionists were elected on district and county councils, there would be more converts; but so long as this governing question remains unsettled, Unionists and Nationalists will use every election as a means of declaring their

central conviction. That is in the nature of things. At the same time the fault is not only with the electors. Where such a man as Colonel Hutcheson Poe, for instance, a capable, resident landlord, has chosen to go forward for election, making it plain that he acts in a spirit of conciliation, he has generally been elected. Naturally enough those who divide Ireland into 'we' and 'they' either will not stand, or, if they stand, are rejected.

But, fundamentally, the force working for Home Rule is disgust with the existing order. We cannot get either the legislation or the administration that we want. Legislation on controversial matters we can only get in the wrong way, legislation on uncontroversial matters we cannot get at all, and from these facts it follows that administration must be unsatisfactory. Public convenience, public interests that go much further than mere convenience, are neglected; but, worst of all, public order is disturbed.

Let me illustrate first the mere question of convenience. Ireland is a country of wide rivers and long lakes and chains of lakes, which can only be bridged at great cost. The obvious solution is offered by pontoon ferries, and on Lough Corrib the Galway County Council proposed to establish one. Money was available, local money, and the plans were prepared; then the Local Government Board discovered that the Act of 1898 had omitted to give councils this power along with that of making roads and bridges. County councils cannot initiate private bill legislation, and it was therefore necessary to introduce a bill giving them the power to establish and maintain ferries, and this measure was got through the Committee stage. It was then blocked in the House by the action of a single English member, and all the entreaties and arguments addressed to him, not only by Nationalist members but by the leader of the Irish Unionists, were wholly vain. Government could not give the hour or so of public time necessary to put the Bill through, and the public inconvenience remains.

I have chosen a trivial instance. But the transit question in Ireland is not a trivial thing. There is virtually general agreement that our whole railway system, and for that matter canal system also, needs to be put on a new basis; yet if we cannot get an hour of time to pass a small measure in which all Irish members are agreed, what chance is there of inducing Parliament to tackle the very large question of regulating transport all over Ireland—a question vital to the interests of an agricultural country? The same considerations apply to the huge problem of arterial drainage. No

English Government is ever likely to approach it in any serious spirit; yet it is nearly as grave for Ireland as irrigation is for Egypt.

Take another illustration. The city of Dublin has for many years been providing public libraries on a creditable, but by no means lavish, scale; and about three years ago, when the extraordinary ability, industry, and generosity of Sir Hugh Lane accomplished the formation of a gallery of modern art, the Corporation gladly proposed to charge on the Library Fund £500 a year for the housing and superintendence of it. While we were still congratulating ourselves on the acquisition, the Local Government Board discovered that upon a new interpretation of some clause the Corporation could not strike a library rate of more than a penny; and as a result the Board proceeded to surcharge members of the Corporation for the amount by which the existing expenditure on libraries exceeded that sum. Naturally the extra £500 for the gallery has never been paid, and for several years now the Corporation has been endeavouring to extend its powers in this matter. No one doubts that the extension should be given; but ministers, representing the Local Government Board, have endeavoured to exploit the Corporation's disabilities. They introduced an amending bill which fixed on the county councils of Ireland certain other charges which the councils were sure to resist. Naturally, the measure is blocked; and since no legislation of this sort can pass except by unanimous consent of the House of Commons—for no time is available to discuss it—respectable citizens have been surcharged with large sums because they acted on a library committee, several public libraries are closed, and the gallery remains unprovided for the Corporation being unable to accept what is, in great measure, Sir Hugh Lane's gift. I ask anyone, is this reasonable government?

I have been speaking so far of the administrative inconvenience on uncontroversial or non-party matters—which, indeed, is admitted on all hands. In graver affairs I maintain that there is also a consensus of condemnation upon the existing *régime*. Administration in Ireland is neither continuous nor consistent, it always yields to pressure and never to argument. In a word, it is of a nature certain to breed disorder and contempt for the law.

In Great Britain administration is hardly a party question. Until the Navy scare was sprung on us, the administration of this Liberal Government had hardly been challenged. In Ireland from the moment a Tory Government takes office, or a Liberal Government, the whole spirit and direction of the administration is attacked with-

out measure. In a word again, the existing system is condemned by both parties. Liberals declare it to be unsound, while even the most ardent Unionist will not deny that the principle of 'resolute government,' for which he stands, is periodically infringed by the advent of a Liberal *régime*. English ideas about the administration of England are in effect continuous, and so beyond doubt would Irish ideas be about the general administration of Ireland. But, as Mr. Long stated quite plainly in a speech just after he left office, Unionists cannot admit that Ireland should be governed according to Irish ideas; it is governed, therefore, according to English ideas of how the thing should be done, and these ideas change violently.

The Unionist inference is that you should keep Unionists continually in power. Well, as a matter of fact, England refuses to do so. But even with a long spell of Unionist government these fluctuations occur. We had, first, Mr. Gerald Balfour setting out to 'kill Home Rule with kindness'; then came a period of reaction and in 1902 one of these upheavals which, when a Liberal Government is in power, Unionists describe as a 'saturnalia of crime.' In that year about a dozen members of Parliament were in gaol, boycotting, rioting, and other forerunners of a legislative change were rampant. Then came Mr. Wyndham with his Land Act of 1903, and what Mr. Moore in a famous speech described as the 'wretched, rotten, sickening policy of conciliation.' After a few months Mr. Wyndham was thrown over, and Mr. Long brought in to put the muzzling order in force.

Now let us consider these phenomena. In the first place, not one human being in Ireland believes that without the agitation—the lawless, violent agitation of 1902, centring round the de Freyne evictions—we should have got the Land Act of 1903. That is the moral writ large over a hundred years' history of the Union. Lawless agitation, which invariably at some point or other degenerates into crime, is the necessary prelude to any serious legislative reform.

That is the kernel of my case against the Union. Read the history of O'Connell's day, the Tithe War, the agitation for Emancipation; it is the same story: demands put forward in argument, argument ignored; demands put forward by violence, sooner or later acceded to. And in every case it is now apparent that the thing asked for was just and necessary.

Carry the investigation forward, not backward, from Mr. Wyndham's day. We are always hearing about the halcyon rule of Mr. Long, for whom personally I have nothing but the highest respect.



But he came to Ireland when the effects of a great concession were as yet unexhausted, and before the failure of the Wyndham Act to work in Connaught had become fully manifest; his rule was exceedingly brief, and through half of it Ireland was conscious of the coming change. It would have needed very great perversity to breed trouble just then; and yet that most harmless of organisations, the Gaelic League, was vexed with police interference. Had Mr. Long remained in power, the trouble which arose under Mr. Birrell would have arisen, but in a more dangerous form; and it could ultimately have been remedied only by the same means—that is, by the introduction of a Bill giving effect to the recommendations of the Dudley Commission.

Mr. Wyndham's Act, whose purpose was in effect to institute peasant proprietorship all over Ireland, was hurriedly rushed through Parliament, the administration of this sweeping social transformation was handed over to a body of officials, and Parliament, I suppose, expected to hear no more of the matter. At all events, since then Parliament has been unable to devote more than a day or two in each year to consideration of the working out of a scheme which involved not only the interests of landlords and tenants but of every Irish ratepayer; for the Irish ratepayer was made responsible for the payments to the State. Public opinion in Ireland was indeed ceaselessly occupied with the defects and difficulties which revealed themselves in the Wyndham Act; but this took no effect on legislation. Ireland was quiet; England was busy about Tariff Reform. The Liberal Government, when it came in, did indeed appoint a Commission in the beginning of 1906, but it did no more.

Had the Dudley Commission issued, as it could easily have done, its eagerly expected report in October, 1907 instead of April, 1908, had the Land Bill been seriously introduced in the spring of last year instead of in this, there would have been no disorder worth speaking of in Ireland. As Mr. Dillon said the other day, the Irish leaders can always keep Ireland quiet when they can hold out a reasonable prospect of redress for admitted social evils. Translated into the language of the Unionist platform, this reads: Mr. Redmond can turn outrages on and off like water from a tap. Let them put it that way if they like, provided they face the facts.

Mr. Ian Malcolm in *The Nineteenth Century* for March, 1909, an article which had the modest heading 'Ireland in *Extremis*!' Ireland was then, according to him, in 'a state of almost incomparable anarchy' (Lord Lansdowne, indeed, had been obliged to go to the Macedonian vilayets, where they had 10,000 murders in four years,

for a parallel); there were 'twenty-two disordered counties' in which 'the rich and poor went in terror of their lives and livelihood.' Unluckily, on top of this came the Spring Assizes, and in a disconcerting proportion of the twenty-two disordered counties judges were getting white gloves; it became evident that disorder was very local, and, even in those districts, greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, there was plenty of cattle-driving, there was serious intimidation in places and some bad outrage, and there was at ~~least~~ (to complete the resemblance cited by Lord Lansdowne) actually one agrarian murder.

What has happened since? In the end of July the Chief Secretary's salary comes up for discussion, and the Ulster Unionists find the admission wrung from them that Ireland is now in a very peaceful condition. In the face of the Summer Assizes and the judges' charges, they could not say otherwise. Now, what was the cause? Simply and solely that a Land Bill was going through the House which embodied recommendations signed first and chiefly by the last Tory Lord Lieutenant, and also by so militant a Unionist as the late Sir John Colomb.

Very well. Observe the moral. Suppose the Bill becomes law this autumn. Every Nationalist holds that it will have been won by violent agitation, every Unionist endorses that opinion. Yet the alternative is to refuse reforms recommended by so competent an authority as the Dudley Commission, and demanded by four-fifths of Ireland—to refuse merely because they have been demanded with violence. That stamps the character of British administration in Ireland. Does anybody believe that an Irish Parliament would have waited six years before it amended the Wyndham Act?<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Malcolm himself, from his own point of view, endorses my opinion. Deeply concerned as he is by the spectacle of Ireland agonising *in extremis*, he deplores that it is 'almost impossible to arrest the attention of a British audience even for a moment' by the recital of these woes. That fact—that apathy and aloofness of the British public who control our destinies in Ireland—is the root trouble. Let me state more fully what I mean, writing as one born and bred in the class and the religion to which ascendancy has belonged since the Union.

Ireland has been, since I was old enough to observe it, in the throes of a revolution, prolonged now beyond the thirtieth year and

<sup>1</sup> I have left this as it was written. The Lords first mutilated the Bill, then followed a recrudescence of cattle-driving after that and some negotiations, the Lords accepted nine-tenths of the original Bill

et not accomplished, I have seen in my lifetime the emergence of an entirely new social order, which is yet only half-born: the transference of the soil from landlord to occupier, the transference of government from a caste and a bureaucracy to the mass of the people, are both incomplete, yet both irretrievably begun. Now, birth must go on; there can be two ends only—death or deliverance. But the birth-process, with human organisms—and the State is more complex, less automatic, than the individual—is not simply an affair of reflex actions; it means desperate concentration of nervous energy and will-power, continuously guided by skilled ministry. So it is with the individual, so it should be with the State. How has it been with Ireland?

Here the nerve centre, the governing will, lies outside the organism. The brain which has to work for Ireland, to carry it through this revolution, is your Imperial Parliament, cumbered with the affairs of continents, clogged and crowded with myriad messages from the swarming populations that lie nearest to its gates; controlled by the will of that British public whose attention upon Irish affairs even Mr. Ian Malcolm finds it 'almost impossible to arrest.' This far-off brain only responds to those spasms and agonies of the body politic which are summarised in statistics of agrarian crime, legal conspiracy, and so forth. Why is organised lawlessness tolerated in Ireland? Simply because Ireland has come to recognise in it a political and social necessity owing to the apathy and inertness of the controlling power. We know perfectly well that organised lawlessness breeds crime—and in truth many of the outrages in the disturbed parts are mere faction fighting and have no political meaning whatever—yet we are not willing to vindicate the law; for I admit freely that in the area of Ireland which is peaceable the spirit of revolt exists. In crimeless Wicklow, juries steadily refused last year to bring in a verdict of guilty against cattle-drivers from Longford and Roscommon; and naturally, for a generation ago those symptoms which are now confined to a small group of counties were general over Ireland, save in the north-east corner, where the agrarian revolution had been carried through its first stage generations before. Ulster tenant-right was won in the eighteenth century by precisely the same lawless manifestations as those which within our own memory have won tenant-right for the rest of Ireland.

Active lawlessness where it exists to-day exists only in the districts where tenant-right was confiscated, as it were, in embryo, within the past seventy years; and the reason why there is no trouble

where tillage prevails is that in such cases tenants have been continuously on the land, and the agrarian revolution has operated more or less completely. In Wexford, for instance, the transference from owner to occupier is almost universal. But because the other part of the revolution—transference of the central government from the representatives of England to the representatives of Ireland—is inchoate and incomplete, Wexford is still as rebellious in spirit as it was in 1798. It is peaceful because its people are a kindly, law-abiding race; but it is lawless in essence, because the law, where law affects political combinations, carries no moral sanction. From this state of things I fully admit that great evils result, and when Home Rule comes they will be sharply felt. They will be the natural consequences of an agrarian revolution prolonged into the second generation. Apparently what Mr. Malcolm and his friends want to do is to prolong revolution indefinitely.

Of all curses that can befall a country, agrarian revolution is the worst. It partakes invariably of the character of a servile war, a helot rising; it demoralises both sides. England has never experienced it, because in England political revolutions got free play to work themselves out. The revolutionary spirit always manifested itself first among the educated, the men of leisure; only when sheer desperation urges, can the masses be induced to move.

In Ireland a great political revolution was accomplished bloodlessly when Grattan's Parliament was established; and I do not think that any sane Irishman doubts that that Parliament, with all its amazing vices, contained within itself the seed of a peaceable constitutional growth. But it was knocked on the head, and Ireland fell back on counsels of despair. Yet even in despair agrarian revolution was not soon attempted.

Emmet, the first leader of revolt against the Union, abhorred and deprecated the idea. His comrade, James Hope, proposed it to him, but Emmet answered: 'I would rather die than live to witness the calamities which that course would bring on helpless persons. Let that be the work of others; it shall never be mine.' Emmet tried direct insurrection, and was hanged for his pains. O'Connell, adhering to constitutional methods, aimed, as Emmet had done, at a purely political revolution, a transference of the machinery of government, and failed. Smith O'Brien and the Young Ireland party expressly repudiated Fintan Lalor's proposal to yoke the political movement to an agrarian one; they also failed. The Fenians, idealists as worthy of respect as any in history, attempted



military revolution, and failed. Each successive failure appeared only to strengthen the landlords' grip on the tenants, England's grip on the conquered country.

Butt and his group declared in 1873 that they wanted no subversion of the land settlement; they argued, and no one listened, or listened only to laugh. Then, at last, Davitt and Parnell inaugurated the agrarian revolution, combined with that attack upon the weak points in Parliament itself which was Parnell's invention, as the agrarian organisation was Fintan Lalor's. There is no use in denying that they stirred up Acheron: we had something resembling a jacquerie in Ireland. But, looking back, I say that no revolution was ever more justified, whether by the causes or by the results. These men succeeded where all the others had failed; they abolished in great measure a monstrous wickedness of two hundred years' standing. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* formulated the result by saying that the Wyndham Act of 1903 meant simply the ending of the seventeenth-century settlement of Irish land. It undid a vast predatory confiscation.

It was a great result to achieve, and a terribly high price has been paid for it. Ireland has lost half her gentry, and I am old-fashioned enough to think that a very great loss. The revolution carried out by slow stages, with England perpetually interposing, yet never interposing effectually, has been far less beneficial, far more destructive of social ties, than any which might have accomplished itself had Home Rule been granted instead of the Land Act of 1881. Every year that goes by adds to the wreckage, loses something that might be saved if Ireland were set at once to the work of reconstruction. The pith of the matter was put into an aphorism by the late Mr. Alfred Webb, a Quaker Nationalist who served Ireland from his boyhood in the great famine to his death a year ago. 'So long as the centre of power lies in a people, parties and interests learn to accommodate themselves to each other. Otherwise they seek to gain their ends, not by mutual agreement and accommodation, but working on the feelings, the fears, and the prejudices of those among whom is the centre of power.'

England has seen the almost magical effect of placing the centre of power for South Africa unreservedly in South African hands. It is for sane Imperialists to ask themselves whether the same course in Ireland would not produce the same results. I believe that Home Rule would be an advantage to the Empire; that is what I ask England to consider. For my own country—apart from the paramount consideration of racial pride, national sentiment—I want a Govern-

ment that can attend rationally to local affairs, big and little, that can do the constructive work of legislation. And, above all, I want law and order. I want a Government which, by keeping legislation and administration in harmony with the country's needs, will remove the sanction which at present attaches, and rightly, to breaches of the law. 'Breaking the law may at times become the highest duty of the citizen,' is another of Mr. Webb's aphorisms. I want a Government under which we shall not need so continually to bear this aphorism in mind.

## How Protestants are Treated in Ireland

It is repeatedly asserted on Unionist platforms that in the South and West of Ireland Protestants and Unionists are oppressed and unfairly treated.

This accusation has been dealt with in another leaflet (No. 2, *The Record of Irish Public Bodies*), where general disproof is given.

We print here simply a letter addressed to the *Guardian* of 30th June, 1909, by the Rev. Canon Courtenay Moore, rector of Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.

It will be observed that Canon Moore's instances are all drawn from one parish, which differs in no respect from the rest of the country, save perhaps in the generous candour of its rector.

Here is the letter. It should be explained that the "Irish Priest" to whom Canon Moore replies is an Anglican divine.

"SIR,

"I have read in your last issue the interesting paper by 'An Irish Priest' with much pleasure and profit. Will you kindly allow me space for a few criticisms thereon, offered in no unfriendly spirit, which are fruits of my own long experience?

"Your correspondent says:—'The introduction of local government has placed all power and patronage in hands hostile to the Church. No Protestant doctor, nurse, or other official need apply for any elective appointment.' This generalisation is too hasty and too sweeping; it would not apply in Ulster, for instance; but even in Roman Catholic provinces it does not always hold. Let me give a few instances in disproof of it.

"In this parish some time ago the Local Board or Council elected an English lady-nurse, who was also an English Churchwoman, to the chief position in the local Union.

"The same authorities elected an engineer, who is a member of the Irish Church, a little later on to the position of District Surveyor.

“ Another young man, also a member of my congregation, was elected Petty Sessions Clerk, though there was a Roman Catholic candidate in the field.

“ Furthermore, a few years ago, a young man from the North came here and started business as a grocer ; he also is a member of the Irish Church. He has done exceedingly well ; he is a good and obliging man of business, and, so far from being boycotted, he is doing the best trade in the town in his own line—even the nuns and Christian Brothers patronise him. Let me say a word about myself. I am not a Home Ruler, yet I have, without the slightest solicitation on my own part, been unanimously elected a member of the County Committee of Technical Instruction, of which the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese is Chairman.

“ Observe, I speak only from my own experience ; but I have no doubt that others of my clerical brethren have similar experiences.

“ Your correspondent says :—‘ The sale of lands to the tenants, who are in most cases Roman Catholics, causes many of the landowners to leave their old residences, and with them to leave their immediate dependents, who were Church people.’ No doubt this is true to a certain extent ; but, as already said, it will apply only partially—for instance, in Ulster.

“ Furthermore, I fancy this danger applies much more to those who have been hitherto non-resident landlords. Those who have been resident, so far as my experience goes, will continue to reside, retaining their own mansions and demesnes.

“ Irish Church tenants, like other tenants, are purchasing their farms, and will thus become rooted in the soil. This is the state of things in my own parish. Of course, if non-resident landlords, who have hitherto subscribed to parochial assessments, do not hand over a lump sum on the sale of their estates to represent their former subscriptions, a serious loss would be entailed.”



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Again, in a different province and diocese, testimony is borne by a leading Church of Ireland divine. On September 10th, a meeting of the Westmeath Protestant Orphans Society, was held, with the Bishop of Meath in the chair. The Rev. Dr. White, Warden of Wilson's Hospital, moving the opening resolution, said he would like to congratulate the Society and the meeting on the tone of the speeches that day. He remembered a time when a Protestant Orphan Society meeting was regarded as a favourite occasion for a sort of controversial pyrotechnic display. There used to be an amount of rather noisy fireworks of this description going up, charged at times with very uncomplimentary matter to fellow-Christians of other Churches. Thank God, that sort of thing

appeared to be gone, and there was instead a spirit in the country for the realisation of the words of the poet :—

‘ Like the rainbow’s light  
Thy various tints unite,  
And form in Heaven’s sight  
One arch of peace.’

Dr. White continued :

“ One of the speakers has spoken of it as our duty, as Church people and as citizens, not to throw any obstacle in the way of the success and betterment of anyone, no matter of what politics or religion, but seeing at the same time that the members of their own Church got full and fair and equal chances. I can agree with this, and also it is a great pleasure to me to be able to speak here of the toleration and catholic spirit evinced towards us by our Catholic fellow-citizens in that County of Westmeath.

“ Some years ago I received a card from the Secretary of the Committee of Technical Instruction of the Westmeath County Council to attend a meeting of that body, at which there were to be allocated twelve scholarships for girls, tenable at the excellent Convent Schools of Moate. I wrote to the Chairman of the Committee that I was delighted that these scholarships were available to be given to girls in the county, but that we could understand that they could not be of any use to people of my Church. I added, however, my opinion that, as members of the Church of Ireland contributed to the rates of the county to a very considerable extent, it would be a graceful and good thing if there was one scholarship provided for a Protestant girl tenable in a Protestant educational institution. My suggestion was cordially adopted by the Chairman and the Committee, and for the past five years, each year one Protestant girl has been selected for one of the scholarships under the Committee. It reflects a great deal of credit on the gentlemen on the Council, who, representing the majority of the people in the county, naturally are of different creed and different colour of political view to us here.

“ For a number of years also the Technical Committee had been sending to us in Multyfarnham, free of all expense, well qualified teachers to instruct us in useful arts. On the previous night the Secretary of the Committee called on me to know if I had any objection to allow the people round about to come to the classes. Well, I had no objection indeed, for I was anxious to give the people an opportunity to learn something that would help to stop emigration.”

[SEE OVER.

## Leaflets issued by the Irish Press Agency.

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Canada and Home Rule.

The Record of Irish Local Bodies.

The Manufacture of Crime in Ireland.

The Facts about Crime in Ireland.

The Irish Poor Law and the Blessings of English Government.

By Hugh Law, M.P.

Police and Crime in Ireland, England and Wales. A Comparison.

By E. Haviland Burke, M.P.

The Result of the Financial Relations Commission.

The Money Argument for Home Rule. By T. M. Kettle, M.P.

The Irish County Councils. Self-Government in Being.

Ireland, Scotland, and Ulster.

The Land Question in Ireland considered as a Labour Question.

Political Reflections by an Irish Quaker.

How Protestants are Treated in Ireland.

\* Also "What Home Rule Means," being twelve of the above neatly bound up in pamphlet form, with a Speech by Mr. John Redmond, M.P.

Also, "Some Arguments for Home Rule." Speeches delivered by Mr. John Redmond in 1907, and edited by Professor Swift MacNeill, M.P.



# **How Protestants are Treated in Ireland.**

## **Testimony of Protestant Clergymen.**

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"Another young man, also a member of my congregation, was elected Petty Sessions Clerk, though there was a Roman Catholic candidate in the field.

"Furthermore, a few years ago, a young man from the North came here and started business as a grocer; he also is a member of the Irish Church. He has done exceedingly well; he is a good and obliging man of business, and, so far from being boycotted, he is doing the best trade in the town in his own line—even the nuns and Christian Brothers patronise him. Let me say a word about myself.

I am not a Home Ruler, yet I have, without the slightest solicitation on my own part, been unanimously elected a member of the County Committee of Technical Instruction, of which the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese is Chairman.

“Observe, I speak only from my own experience; but I have no doubt that others of my clerical brethren have similar experiences.”

Again, in a different province and diocese, testimony is borne by a leading Church of Ireland divine. On September 10th, 1909, at a meeting of the Westmeath Protestant Orphans Society, the Rev. Dr. White, Warden of Wilson's Hospital, said:—“It is great pleasure to me to be able to speak here of the toleration and catholic spirit evinced towards us by our Catholic fellow-citizens in that County of Westmeath.

“Some years ago I received a card from the Secretary of the Committee of Technical Instruction of the Westmeath County Council to attend a meeting of that body, at which there were to be allocated twelve scholarships for girls, tenable at the excellent Convent Schools of Moate. I wrote to the Chairman of the Committee that I was delighted that these scholarships were available to be given to girls in the county, but that he could understand that they could not be of any use to people of my Church. I added, however, my opinion that, as members of the Church of Ireland contributed to the rates of the county to a very considerable extent, it would be a graceful and good thing if there was one scholarship provided for a Protestant girl tenable in a Protestant educational institution. My suggestion was cordially adopted by the Chairman and the Committee, and for the past five years, each year one Protestant girl has been selected for one of the scholarships under the Committee. It reflects a great deal of credit on the gentlemen on the Council, who, representing the majority of the people in the county, naturally are of a different creed and different colour of political view to us here.”

Once more:—On October 11th, 1910, the Rev. Canon Flewett, rector of Mallow, speaking before the Protestant Church Conference in Belfast, made this remarkable speech:—“He had read from time to time very dismal letters pointing out what would happen to the Church in the South and West of Ireland if Home Rule were granted. It was assumed in those letters that they were so few and so feeble that a little puff of persecution would blow them into nothingness. They might be few, comparatively speaking; they refused to be classed among the feeble. He had noticed a great change in the attitude of the country towards Home Rule in the last twenty years. The Protestants were less opposed to it; the Catholics were less eager for it. The Catholic farmer who had purchased his holding wanted nothing so much as to be let alone to make the most of his property. He would probably vote for it from

sentimental reasons, but he was less and less inclined to spend either his time or his money in pursuing what might prove but a doubtful blessing. The Protestants were less opposed to Home Rule, because all the evil they anticipated from it they had already experienced as the result of the introduction of local self-government. If we get Home Rule (proceeded Canon Flewett) I do not anticipate any dire disaster to the Church in the South; and I am glad to bear testimony to the kindly consideration and the cordial generosity which have always been extended to me by Catholic neighbours in the County Cork. I cannot believe that this happy relationship would be altered under a Home Rule Government. What we do fear is that some stupid Government will arise and impose upon us a bogus Home Rule, which will not satisfy Nationalist aspirations, and which will only plunge the country into another period of unrest and unsettlement."

The Rev. J. M. Robinson, Rector of Ovoca in County Wicklow, in a remarkable little book, *Facts from Ireland*, which may be heartily commended to all Englishmen, says:—"The South or Roman Catholic Ireland is credited with the fell intention, if we get our Parliament back, of wishing to crush the North or Protestant part, and this is one of the chief obstacles to Home Rule. It is hard to answer, on paper, an objection like this, one that is best refuted by experience. One thing I do believe is that his intention has got little substance behind it; we often hear it said that we send our worst men to Parliament and if these men, these Roman Catholics, would govern the country when Home Rule comes, then God help the Protestant people and country. In reply I must say that if I were in Parliament and other members looked upon me as an assassin and a thief, if I were treated with contempt, and if I had the firm belief that these men who represented the predominant partner did not want to give my country or me justice, I should certainly be forced to show them my worst side. The wonder to me is that the Irish members have had so much patience! . . . . .

"If we give fair play to the Roman Catholic side we shall find that up to this they have stood the test with credit, and I for one am not afraid to trust my life and property and liberty in their hands. I wanted to start a creamery for the benefit of the farmers in my district. The committee were short of money. The landlord took 50 £1 shares and was content to let us have a wretched bit of ground, not fit to graze a rabbit on, at a rent of £5, so he was safe, no matter what happened, he got 10 per cent. for his money. I wrote to Archbishop Walsh and told him of our difficulty. His Grace was very busy at the time, but sent one of his clergy to call on me and assure me of his kind attention to the matter, and later received a letter written by himself offering me the gift of £100 if I could come near the amount required. This we failed to do, but that did not diminish the value of His Grace's kind offer.

£100 to a Protestant!!! Think of that, men in the North! The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin jumping at a Protestant in the South—but with a bundle of a hundred one pound notes in his hand to help him in a difficulty!!

“I believe all that is wanted to make good friends of the North and South is for the representatives of both sides to meet together and know each other better, and this they would do in a Parliament in Dublin. They will never do it in Westminster, for there are too many side issues drawing them apart. There are hot politicians in both parties, but wherever the best men have met the result up to the present has been friendliness, respect and co-operation. I have no doubt but that the pick of the country would be returned to a Home Rule Parliament.”

Finally, since the ‘Molly Maguires’ are supposed to be the source of danger, let me quote a few facts set out by the Rev. Father Cannon, speaking at Letterkenny on August 16th, 1910:—“Never was crueller calumny uttered than the statement that the Ancient Order is a secret sectarian society, whose leading aim is to hound out from the public life of Ireland our Protestant fellow-countrymen. Well, Donegal can count a larger number of Hibernians than any other county in Ireland, and yet, two of its great Hibernian strongholds—South Donegal and West Donegal—have two Protestants representing them in Parliament. The Letterkenny District Council, with a big Hibernian majority among its members, have two Protestants, one in the Chair of the Council, and the other in its Vice-Chair. Similarly, the Milford District Council has one of its Protestant minority as its Chairman. The Stranorlar Board of Guardians and the Dunfanaghy Board of Guardians, in both of which bodies Hibernians have great influence, have each of them a Protestant Chairman, and these are only a few instances which occur to me. Could there, I ask, be stronger refutation of this mean charge of bigotry than we have here in our own county, where Hibernianism has always made for toleration and friendship among men of every creed and class? Brothers, our cause is the cause of Ireland. It is a just and holy cause. It would not be such if it aimed at shutting out any man—Catholic or Protestant—from his natural place in the government of our common country.”

Father Cannon is of course a Roman Catholic Priest. But four Protestant witnesses have been quoted to prove that what he demonstrates by facts from Donegal is true generally of all parts in Ireland where the Roman Catholic religion predominates.



## How Protestants are treated in Ireland.

Many English Protestants are under the firm impression that their co-religionists in Ireland suffer from persecution at the hands of their Catholic fellow-countrymen. Let them listen to the testimony of representative Protestants living in Ireland.

### **Take business men** in the first instance.

Lord PIRRIE, head of Harland and Wolff's, the greatest ship-building firm in the world, writes:—

"It is with the utmost confidence that I give expression to my opinion that there is no fear that the impending inauguration of an Irish Legislature will have, as one of its results, the religious persecution of Protestants. On the other hand, I confess with shame that in the past the spirit of religious intolerance has been and is even now, although in less degree, prevalent amongst a portion of the Unionist population of Ulster."

The Right Hon. R. G. GLENDINNING, a leading linen manufacturer in Belfast and a Privy Councillor, states:—

"In those parts of Ireland where Roman Catholics are in an overwhelming majority, Protestants are fairly and generously treated, and find the door to preferment and public favour as open to them as to their fellow Roman Catholics."

Sir HUGH MACK, J.P., another great linen manufacturer, testifies:—

"During the period of fifty years and over that I have been in business, I have never found that Protestants residing in or trading with the South and West of Ireland had any ground to complain of religious intolerance; and I firmly believe that any change in the direction of local self-government, far from retarding, would promote the growth of tolerance among all creeds and classes."

The Right Hon. THOMAS SHILLINGTON, J.P., P.C., linen manufacturer in Portadown, states:—

"So far from conducting to the disadvantage of Protestants, I am convinced that the satisfying of the aspirations of the Irish people by granting to them self-government will place the Protestant population of the country in altogether better and more desirable relations towards their fellow-countrymen than they now occupy."

Sir ALEXANDER SHAW, a great South of Ireland business man, head of the well-known bacon factory in Limerick, relates:

"I was born in Limerick 64 years ago, and have lived there all my life since. I am an Episcopalian, a Parochial Nominator for a couple of parishes, a Synodsmen and a People's Churchwarden for St. Mary's Cathedral. My father and mother were both strong Presbyterians, and came to Limerick from Belfast about seventy years ago. My father was always grateful to the Roman Catholics of Limerick for the kindly reception he got and their treatment of him, and during his lifetime in Limerick he established a very large and important business. I have succeeded to that business. . . . As only about 5 per cent. of the population of Limerick County is Protestant, Presbyterian or Methodist, surely we would have been swept into the sea long ago if there was any truth in the cry of religious intolerance, which is a bogie of the most absurd kind."

Mr. WILLIAM HOLLIDAY, High Sheriff of Limerick, declares:

"I entered the firm of J. & G. Boyd, Ltd., Limerick, 45 years ago as an apprentice, and am now Managing Director. I owe my position chiefly to the kindness and support I have received over all these years from my Catholic fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen. . . . This city, perhaps the most intensely Catholic in the Empire, has, for the last five years,

nominated each year a Protestant High Sheriff. On my re-election to the office in January last, a Roman Catholic gentleman of position and influence, especially clerical influence, contested the position; the Corporation, however, consisting of forty members, all Roman Catholic, by a substantial majority, placed my name first on the list to be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant."

### Take now public men.

Sir HORACE PLUNKETT, Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture for Ireland in the last Unionist Ministry, says:—

"As I have stated publicly more than once, I have never observed that the fact of being a Protestant was a disadvantage to a man in Irish public life."

"But," as he observes in his book, *Ireland in the New Century*, "there is, unhappily, another side to the picture. This industrial life, otherwise so worthily cultivated, is disturbed by manifestations of religious bigotry which sadly tarnish the glory of the really heroic deeds they are intended to commemorate. . . . It is only a small and decreasing minority of my co-religionists who are open to the charge of intolerance. But this bigotry is so notorious, as for instance in the exclusion of Roman Catholics from many responsible positions, that it unquestionably reacts most unfavourably upon the general relations between the two creeds throughout the whole of Ireland."

Sir DAVID HARREL, late Under-Secretary of State for Ireland, whose appointment to the Chairmanship of the Commission on Railway Strikes is the best proof of his high understanding, says:—

"My conviction is that a change in the government of Ireland, provided that change be conceived and carried out on sound financial principles, would not adversely affect the position of religious minorities."

His Honour Judge RENTOUL, Judge of the Central Criminal and City of London Courts, sometime Unionist Member for East Down, and still a Unionist:—

"I have a very large number of relatives in Ireland, who are strong Unionists, and all Protestants. Nearly all of them live in the Counties of Donegal, Tipperary, Longford, and Cork, and they all declare to me that religious persecution is the very last thing they fear or regard as possible."

Mr. ST. CLAIR DOBBS, another prominent Ulster Unionist, writes:—

"I am a strong Unionist and a strong Protestant, and have never concealed my opinions. I live in a district almost entirely Roman Catholic and Nationalist. Yet I can truly say that I have never had even a cross word with anyone in the countryside because of our different opinions on religion and politics."

### Take now some of the great landlords.

Lord DUNRAVEN writes:—

"During the period of Protestant persecution in England under Mary, not one Protestant suffered for his religion in Ireland. One of the first Acts of the Catholic Irish Parliament during the short period of Catholic ascendancy under James II. was to introduce, and pass, a Bill establishing liberty of conscience. I believe the fears for the minority to be groundless; but, be that as it may, they can be effectually dispelled. The minority cannot be guaranteed exceptional treatment founded on religious, racial, or class

ascendancy, and they ought to be ashamed to demand it; but they can be guaranteed equality and fair play, and for more than that they have no right to ask."

Colonel EVERARD, Lord Lieutenant for County Meath, and famous for his work in developing tobacco-growing in Ireland:—

"For forty years I have been associated with my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen as a Magistrate, Poor Law Guardian, Grand Juryman, and County Councillor, and I can testify to the spirit of religious toleration that prevails in a county where Protestants constitute an extremely small proportion of the population."

Lieutenant-Colonel HUTCHESON-POE, who has been High Sheriff of both Co. Tyrone and Queen's County:—

"The exclusion of the great majority of Protestants from all share in local government—which every fair-minded man must deplore—is due, not to their religion, but solely to the fact that their political views are at total variance with those of most of their neighbours. When considering this phase of the question, moreover, it must not be forgotten that the terms 'Unionist' and 'Nationalist' synchronise to all intents with those of 'Protestant' and 'Catholic,' and that up to the introduction of the Local Government Act in 1898, every vestige of power had been in the hands of the former creed. Had the position been reversed, and the Unionists become, for the first time, the dominant power in 1898, I greatly question whether the Catholics (and Nationalists) would have experienced any better treatment than has been accorded to the Protestants (and Unionists)."

Mr. WALTER MCMURROGH KAVANAGH, a still greater Irish landlord, son of the ablest opponent of the Land League, and himself originally a Unionist politician, also writes:—

"As a Protestant Unionist, I was elected as Chairman for two years by the Catholic-Nationalist members of a Board of Guardians. Then when the Local Government Act came into force, I was also elected, under the same circumstances, and, after a contest, to the Carlow County Council, and was subsequently elected Vice-Chairman of that body. Since I have become Home Ruler, I have been elected Chairman of the Carlow County Council, and Member of Parliament for the same county."

Mr. LINDSAY TALBOT-CROSBIE, Deputy-Lieutenant for the County of Kerry:—

"Some little time ago, when this question was before the public, I wrote to the Press and challenged the production of a single case in which any Protestant in Kerry has suffered in purse or person on account of his creed. To this day the challenge remains unanswered."

Captain the Hon. OTWAY CUFFE, brother of the Earl of Desart:—

"I have twice been unanimously chosen Mayor of the City of Kilkenny by a Corporation consisting exclusively of Roman Catholics. I think it right to state that I never at any time have taken any part whatsoever in politics."

## Take clergymen of all Denominations.

Rev. WILLIAM McKEOWN, Presbyterian Minister of the Scots Church, Cork:—

"It is now nineteen years since I came to live in Cork, and during that time I have never experienced, and have never known, an uncivil or unfriendly act done by a Roman Catholic to a Protestant on account of his Protestantism. It is only in Ulster that people talk of intolerance. . . . Frequently I have had to investigate cases where it was asserted that men had been dismissed from their employment because they were Protestants. I have never found one such case to be true."



Rev. GEORGE McCUTCHEON, Rector of Kenmare in County Kerry, writing in support of the Nationalist member's candidature:—

"I have for thirty years lived in the midst of a population chiefly Roman Catholic, and I have found them kind and obliging neighbours, by whom no sign of persecution has ever been manifested."

Rev. CHARLES WILLIAMS, a leading speaker on Temperance, said at Dublin:—

"I have never been insulted yet by an Irishman in any part of this country. We hear a lot about toleration up North, but I must say this, when I want toleration I find most of it in the South. A Catholic band paraded the streets of this city for two hours, and gathered a crowd of 3,000 people to listen to me, a Methodist minister, and gave me as kindly a reception as if I was one of their own priests."

Professor BARRETT, F.R.S., a distinguished scientific man in Dublin, illustrates the example which Protestants have set the Catholics in this matter:—

"I was invited by the Protestant clergyman of a parish on the North side of Dublin to give a lecture in aid of a local Protestant charity. The day before the lecture this clergyman heard I was a Liberal and Home Ruler, whereupon he announced that he must forbid the lecture on that account, and wrote to me that he would never allow a Home Ruler to enter his lecture room!"

Mr. J. ERNEST GRUBB, J.P., a Quaker merchant doing business in Waterford and Tipperary, who has been Chairman of the South Tipperary County Council, and is Chairman of the Urban Council in Carrick-on-Suir, testifies:—

"I have lived all my life in this district. I am 67 years of age, and I cannot remember any acts of intolerance by Roman Catholics on Protestants. In this town (Carrick-on-Suir), the percentage of Roman Catholics is about 98, yet I and others who are not Roman Catholics have been elected on public boards during these years by Roman Catholic constituents. In this district Protestants have been elected to posts carrying considerable salaries by public boards of almost exclusively Roman Catholic members. I can recall seven or eight comparatively recent instances of such elections. In our County I believe many more Protestants would be elected on public boards if Protestants took more interest in local government."

Mr. C. C. DUNCAN, J.P., one of the largest farmers in Kildare:—

"Roman Catholics in County Kildare are as three to one of Protestants, yet they vote 37 per cent. of Protestants into positions of power and emolument."

Mr. R. GINN, merchant, Castlelyons, Co. Cork, says:—

"I have not the least doubt that if Home Rule was granted to-morrow it would not make the slightest change in my dealings with my Roman Catholic neighbours, as, if they wanted to injure me, there was nothing to prevent them doing so for the past twenty-five years. The parish priest is one of my best customers."

Mr. RICHARD JONES, J.P., a member of the Dublin Corporation, writes:—

"In all my life I have never known in Ireland a case where a Protestant suffered any disability, loss, or inconvenience on account of his religion."

These are only some brief extracts from a pamphlet, 80 pp. long, called "Religious Intolerance Under Home Rule," containing testimony to the same effect from over a hundred leading Protestants resident in Ireland. Send a post-card to the IRISH PRESS AGENCY, 2 & 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, and a copy will be forwarded to you.



## Protestant Opinion and Home Rule.

### How Protestants are Treated in Ireland.

It is repeatedly asserted on Unionist platforms that in the South and West of Ireland Protestants and Unionists are oppressed and unfairly treated. This accusation has been dealt with in another leaflet (No. 2, *The Record of Irish Public Bodies*), where general disproof is given. The object of this compilation is to bring together with a very few illustrative comments, expressions of Protestant opinion in refutation of the calumny. All this testimony has been volunteered: very little of it comes from professed politicians; and no case has it been written with a view to publication here. We begin with the

#### TESTIMONY OF CHURCH OF IRELAND CLERGYMEN.

Here is first a letter addressed to the *Guardian* of 30th June, 1909, by the **Rev. Canon Courtenay Moore**, rector of Mitchelstown, Co. Cork, replying to another in the previous issue. It will be observed that Canon Moore's instances are all drawn from one parish, which differs in no respect from the rest of the country, save perhaps in the generous candour of its rector.

"Your correspondent says:—'The introduction of local government has placed all power and patronage in hands hostile to the Church. No Protestant doctor, nurse, or other official need apply for any elective appointment.' This generalisation is too hasty and too sweeping: it would not apply in Ulster, for instance; but even in Roman Catholic provinces it does not always hold. Let me give a few instances.

"In this parish some time ago the Local Board or Council elected an English lady-nurse, who was also an English Churchwoman, to the chief position in the local Union.

"The same authorities elected an engineer, who is a member of the Irish Church, a little later on to the position of District Surveyor.

"Another young man, also a member of my congregation, was elected Petty Sessions Clerk, though there was a Roman Catholic candidate in the field.

“ Furthermore, a few years ago, a young man from the North came here and started business as a grocer; he also is a member of the Irish Church. He has done exceedingly well; he is a good and obliging man of business, and, so far from being boycotted, he is doing the best trade in the town in his own line—even the nuns and Christian Brothers patronise him. Let me say a word about myself. I am not a Home Ruler, yet I have, without the slightest solicitation on my own part, been unanimously elected a member of the County Committee of Technical Instruction, of which the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese is Chairman.”

The prosperity of Protestant shopkeepers in Catholic districts can be shown from every town in the South and West.

Again, in a different province and diocese, testimony is borne by a leading Church of Ireland divine. On September 10th, 1909, at a meeting of the Westmeath Protestant Orphans Society, the **Rev. Dr. White, Warden of Wilson's Hospital**, said:—“ It is a great pleasure to me to be able to speak here of the toleration and catholic spirit evinced towards us by our Catholic fellow-citizens in that County of Westmeath.

“ Some years ago I received a card from the Secretary of the Committee of Technical Instruction of the Westmeath County Council to attend a meeting of that body, at which there were to be allocated twelve scholarships for girls, tenable at the excellent Convent Schools of Moate. I wrote to the Chairman of the Committee that I was delighted that these scholarships were available to be given to girls in the county, but that he could understand that they could not be of any use to people of my Church. I added, however, my opinion that, as members of the Church of Ireland contributed to the rates of the county to a very considerable extent, it would be a graceful and good thing if there was one scholarship provided for a Protestant girl tenable in a Protestant educational institution. My suggestion was cordially adopted by the Chairman and the Committee, and for the past five years, each year one Protestant girl has been selected for one of the scholarships under the Committee. It reflects a great deal of credit on the gentlemen on the Council, who, representing the majority of the people in the county, naturally are of a different creed and different colour of political view to us here.”

In a similar spirit, the Donegal County Council, utilising the powers given under Mr. Birrell's Act founding a National University, struck a rate to establish six scholarships annually. Four of these, open to Protestants and Catholics alike, were tenable at the National. But two might be held at Trinity College, Dublin, or the Belfast University, thus providing for the preferences of Protestant competitors.

Once more :—On October 11th, 1910, the **Rev. Canon Flewett, Rector of Mallow**, speaking before the Protestant Church Conference in Belfast, used these remarkable words :—“ If we get Home Rule, I do not anticipate any dire disaster to the Church in the South ; and I am glad to bear testimony to the kindly consideration and the cordial generosity which have always been extended to me by Catholic neighbours in the County Cork. I cannot believe that this happy relationship would be altered under a Home Rule Government. What we do fear is that some stupid Government will arise and impose upon us a bogus Home Rule, which will not satisfy Nationalist aspirations, and which will only plunge the country into another period of unrest and unsettlement.”

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“ I believe all that is wanted to make good friends of the North and South is for the representatives of both sides to meet together and know each other better, and this they would do in a Parliament in Dublin. They will never do it in Westminster, for there are too many side issues drawing them apart. There are hot politicians in both parties, but wherever the best men have met the result up to the present has been friendliness, respect and co-operation. I have no doubt but that the pick of the country would be returned to a Home Rule Parliament.”

The **Rev. W. J. Nelson**, now of Treneglos Vicarage in Cornwall, wrote to the Liberal candidate for the Horncastle Division :—

“ Will you allow an English parson who served for thirteen years in Ireland to send you his best wishes for victory at the poll on Thursday next?

"I went to Ireland in 1896 altogether opposed to Home Rule, but left the country in 1909 fully convinced of the justice and wisdom of the proposal that Irishmen should be allowed to control purely Irish affairs.

"The idea that the Protestant minority have anything to fear from Home Rule is utterly absurd, and no Englishman who has lived amongst the Irish people would pay the least heed to such nonsense.

"During the thirteen years I lived in Ireland I never received anything but *kindness and courtesy* from my Roman Catholic neighbours.

"Ask those who revile Mr. Redmond if they can point to any single act of meanness in his long and honourable career?"

In the recent General Election the **Rev. Geo. M'Cutchan, Rector of Kenmare** in Co. Kerry, wrote as follows to Mr. Boland, M.P. for that division, who was opposed by an All-for-Ireland candidate:—"These men (the A.F.I.) are the enemies of a cause which is dearer than any other to the hearts of Irishmen. They profess still to be Home Rulers of a sort, but they are not so regarded by the keen discretion of those who give them votes and cheers and money. They are cheered because of the injury they seek to do to Home Rule. The long recognised leader of the Irish Party and those who are pledged with him to its support, receive from him and his friends persistent and relentless hostility. In the phrase of a distinguished statesman—"Mr. O'Brien tries to drive a wedge into the Irish Party." The profession of these men to take Protestants under their protection is a transparent sham. We do not need their protection. I have for over thirty years lived in the midst of a population chiefly Roman Catholic, and I have found them kind and obliging neighbours, from whom no sign of persecution has ever been manifested. There is absolutely no reason to distrust them in the future. I believe there is not in Ireland a locality where a Protestant clergyman may more peacefully and securely discharge all his duties than in the Co. Kerry. The time is close at hand when all Irishmen will be called upon to forget their controversies and live together in peace. I have no doubt that they will loyally respond to the call. Everyone now expects an Irish Parliament and Self-Government, and those who have had no politics desire its success. Within the last three days the Prime Minister of England gave his explicit promise that in the coming Parliament his Government will introduce a measure of Home Rule. The prospect by some, no doubt, is regarded with anxiety, but there are many more than ten to one of honest Irishmen who hail it with buoyant hope."



## TESTIMONY OF FREE CHURCHMEN.

Thus far the testimony of Church of Ireland clergymen has been given. What adds to its weight is that every man who speaks in this sense injures his own interests. Many liberal-minded men have been deterred from entering Orders in the Irish Church because their political views would have made even the humblest advancement difficult for them.

A remarkable correspondence, prolonged over some weeks, in the *Methodist Times* makes it clear that the same holds good of Free Church divines in Ireland, and evidence will be found in subsequent quotations from that correspondence. But first let us cite the eloquent speech delivered by the **Rev. Charles Williams** at a meeting of the **Irish Association for the Prevention of Intemperance**. The Churches work separately in this great cause, and the famous "Catch-my-Pal" movement was started in avowed imitation of the Catholic League of St. Patrick. But on occasions all denominations meet, and it was at such an occasion Mr. Williams spoke in the Rotunda at Dublin on February 16th:—

"He said he felt proud of the fact that he had been selected to speak between two honoured representatives of the Great Roman Catholic Church of this country (applause). He was also glad of that opportunity of standing upon that platform in the capital city of dear old Ireland and of showing as a member of the Irish Methodist Church that while they held their faith as dear as they did theirs, and while they would be as ready to die for it, that they of the Methodist Church were eager to hold out the right hand of comradeship and brotherhood to every Irish Roman Catholic man and woman in this land (loud applause). I am also, said the speaker, proud to say that as a Church we are prepared to do all that in us lies to strike a blow for Ireland and for Temperance, and to rid our country from the curse and demon of strong drink that has too long saddened our homes and wrecked the lives of our men and women and children (applause). With all my heart I believe we are on the way of great things in this country—that we are living in grand and glorious times (hear, hear). I believe there is slowly, but surely, rising out of the sad chaos and bitter strife of the past a new Ireland—that there is a growing spirit of toleration (applause). I also believe that the day is coming—and I pray that God may speed it—when, if I may adopt and slightly change the words of Robert Burns, the poet of the democracy—

" 'Irishmen, the whole land o'er  
Shall brothers be, and a' that.'

## JOINT ADVOCACY OF TEMPERANCE.

"He mentioned that on one occasion when he was speaking on behalf of Temperance with another Methodist clergyman at a fair,

where the audience was principally composed of Catholics, he got a very enthusiastic reception. Some of the people came up to him, and shook him by the hand, and asked him when he would come again. Some publicans went as a deputation to their parish priest, who had listened to his address, and said it was a disgrace and a scandal that irresponsible people like the speaker should be allowed to come to the place and speak. What did the parish priest say? He said, 'If my parishioners would take the advice that these young clergymen gave it would be a great deal better for themselves and a great deal better for Ireland' (applause). He had also addressed a meeting at the Custom House, in Dublin, and his wife feared that he might meet with some unpleasantness. But he knew an Irish crowd (applause). He got a splendid reception, and was encored for the first time in his life at the close of his address (laughter and applause). I have never, said the speaker, been insulted yet by an Irishman in any part of this country (loud applause). We hear a lot about toleration up North, but I must say this, when I want toleration I find most of it in the South (loud applause). A Catholic band paraded the streets of this city for two hours, and gathered a crowd of 3,000 people to listen to me, a Methodist minister, and gave me as kindly a reception as if I was one of their own priests (loud applause). I got a reception that I shall remember as long as I live (applause). **A little while ago I said in the North that the men of Dublin are setting an example in toleration and in broad-mindedness that all Irishmen, and particularly Northern Irishmen would do very well to copy** (Applause). We have people who go up and down this country and to other countries running down the country, saying everything bad about Ireland and the Irish they possibly can—aye, and making money out of the business. I thank God I have never been ashamed of my country (applause). I am proud that I am an Irishman (loud applause). He then made an earnest appeal to the young men and young women of Ireland to support the Temperance Cause, and if they saw a brighter and a happier day for Ireland—if they should see arise a great nation, with the light of knowledge in her eyes and the flame of freedom in her soul, the young people would be the people which would see that day dawn over the hilltops of National life" (loud applause).

After this remarkable utterance, we quote from the *Methodist Times* four letters, the first written by the **Rev. William Crawford, M.A.**, some time headmaster of Wesley College, Dublin, and **twice elected Vice-President of the Methodist Church** :—

"Generally, I agree with Mr. Greenland that the unreasoning panic of former years has subsided, and that by many of the

younger generation Irish self-government is anticipated with pleasure and hope. It may surprise Englishmen that, this being so, there has not been a more outspoken declaration or advocacy in favour of Home Rule by Irish Methodists. Electioneering has been vigorously avoided by the ministers who support the present Government, and but a few laymen have shared in the late struggle. That defect does not arise from lack of conviction, but from counsels of prudence. It is easy, and often profitable, to agitate when you have the crowd on your side : but it is a very different matter when the fear of disturbing your church relations or injuring your business attends the free utterance of unpopular opinions. The advocacy of Home Rule is still 'vulgar,' and that is worse than wrong, both in church and Society in Ireland.

#### A LIBEL ON A KINDLY PEOPLE.

"But what of persecution? It is impossible, as was that other cry, 'Separation,' so long as Britain remains where it is, and liberty the law of the Empire. No one in Ireland wants to persecute, and the dread of it, so far as it is real, is a libel on a generous and kindly people. We are often told now, and I for one am glad it is being said, 'It is not our fellow-countrymen we fear; with them we always get on well when they are left to themselves; but it is the power of the priests we dread.' There has been reason in the past to say so, and it is very wholesome that this thought is being well rubbed in; but the very same persons declare at other times that the power of the priest is everywhere declining, and it is certain that 'No priest in politics' is the prevailing sentiment in Ireland to-day. It has lately been voiced by an eminent priest, and not contradicted. But let it ever be remembered it was under Unionism and landlord rule that the evil influence of the priest was developed and strengthened. Who can wonder it was so, when the avowed policy of a Conservative Government, voiced by Lord Randolph Churchill, was to govern Ireland through the hierarchy. It was by Parnellism that power has been checked, and it is by the responsibilities of self-government an independent spirit will be fostered, and the educated intelligence of the country will learn to assert itself. This is the profound conviction of those who, like myself, have been suspected and accused of playing into the hands of the Papacy by our advocacy of Nationalism.

#### THE TIME FOR CONCILIATION.

"I believe that Protestantism, if it be courageous and true to itself, has a glorious part to play in a self-governed Ireland. . . . It is inevitable that, as the question of Unionism ceases to unite and divide, parties will be formed on new lines. Mr. Redmond said lately, in a speech in Rathmines, that Irish parties will probably be Moderates and Extremists, and that his lot would be cast

with the former. Why should not Protestants, with their undoubted advantages of position and education, exercise an influence even beyond that due to their numbers? They may even be able to turn the scale of parties as the Nationalists do now in the House of Commons. But all depends on their patriotic desire to take their place, and to work, whether in minority or not, for the good of the country. Home Rule is bound to come, and that it is anticipated even in the North is apparent; but it is of inestimable importance that it should not be ushered in with a display of distrust and ill-will. Men of conviction have fought persistently and successfully against it hitherto. Now is the time for conciliation and brotherhood. We want no safeguards, unless those which representative government, free discussion, and absolute publicity can afford. The eyes of the world will be turned upon our country as they are now on the great triumph of Liberal policy in South Africa; and it surely will not be without significance to the future welfare of Ireland and of the Empire that the first steps towards its national emancipation will be taken in the year of the Coronation of King George V."

**Mr. A. Crawford**, a distinguished ex-official, long connected with the Constabulary Office in Dublin Castle, writes as one who himself had not desired Home Rule. "But," he says, "when it was resolved to endeavour by constitutional means to secure for Ireland the management of her own affairs by a local Parliament I felt that she had a right to make such a demand, and that whether we Protestants liked it or not, it would be inconsistent and selfish to oppose her wishes. Since that time the entire question has grown in intensity and importance, and disinterested spectators at home and abroad, in the Colonies and in America, are almost unanimous in favouring her wishes.

#### THE CHANGED ATTITUDE A FACT.

"Any one who could deny that more moderate views prevail now than obtained a few years since must live in some spot of Ireland where the controversy is kept alive and at white heat. But those who know the opinions of the more liberal-minded in other places cannot but be conscious of the change which has taken place.

"It is true that these modified views are not often given expression to. Who, for example, would venture to express the more liberal sentiment in the ears of some of your correspondents who live in Belfast? His reputation for loyalty, consistency and right judgment would be gone—especially if he happened to be a minister—and he would probably become a marked man. Nevertheless, it is a fact as Mr. Greenland says that many of the ministers, especially the younger men are not now so opposed to the aspirations of their fellow-countrymen as they were formerly.



## LOCAL GOVERNMENT—A USEFUL TRAINING.

"Many things have contributed to bring about a more moderate view of the situation. I need not repeat what some of your correspondents have said upon this point. But one fact particularly impresses me. Namely, the remarkable preparation which time afforded since Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill was introduced. I was at that time willing to accept the provision with all its dangers, and I admit they were great. But Ireland has since gone through training of a most useful sort, especially as brought about by the Local Government Act. I make the statement with confidence and with some measure of authority, that that enactment has, on the whole, been a remarkable success. As a factor in the education of our people in the matter of self-government it has been invaluable.

"Upon the question as to whether there are any real grounds why Protestants should fear the coming of Home Rule, I am convinced that we may trust our fellow-countrymen that we shall be accorded fair treatment. But, at the same time, I am not sorry that the fears to the contrary have been and are being expressed. These expressions have already had a beneficial effect in rendering cautious the leaders in the National movement. But I must say that to me the dangers are exceedingly remote. It is well I think to bear in mind that if Home Rule be established, Ireland will be on her trial before the world, and she is not likely to expose herself to public censure by acting in any fashion which would be inconsistent with the principles of twentieth-century civilization."

## ROMAN CATHOLIC TOLERANCE.

**Mr. John A. Duncan, J.P., Athy, Kildare**, writes:—"I live in a part of Ireland where the proportion of Protestants to Roman Catholics is one in ten, and, lest my name should lead to a mistaken impression, let me say that I represent the fourth generation living and doing business in the town of Athy. Writing thus from the midst of Nationalist and Roman Catholic surroundings, I can in the main support the position taken by Mr. Greenland in his interesting article.

"There is no doubt that a very considerable change has come over Protestant opinion in the last twenty years. A great many Methodists will now freely admit that though they are by no means Nationalists, yet they think there ought to be some elected body which could deal with purely Irish matters, without having to go to London, where little is known and less cared. Mr. Walmsley is unfair to his brethren when he speaks of them as being silent to 'save their skin.' He knows well that were an Irish Methodist minister openly to express Home Rule opinions he would inevitably create discord in his circuit, and seriously interfere with his work.

" The facts of the recent history of Ireland are against the theory of intolerance on the part of the Roman Catholic people of Ireland. Since Nationalism became a highly organised movement the Nationalists have held the Protestant population of three-quarters of Ireland in the hollow of their hands. They could have quietly squeezed us out, and they always have had a plausible excuse on their hand in the bitter and often violent attitude of a section of Protestants and the Press that represents them. But instead of showing resentment, the bulk of the people, and even the much abused priests, have made allowance for Protestant fears, and have freely given even pronounced Unionists among us their support and often their sympathy. They have done more. They have supported us at the polls in local elections. At the recent Urban Council election here a Methodist local preacher headed the poll, the Church of Ireland Unionist came one behind him, and then followed three Roman Catholic members. There are nine Protestant members of the Rural Board, and several on the County Council. In Carlow, Wicklow, Wexford, Naas, Athlone, Drogheda, Kilkenny, and doubtless other towns Protestants get elected, though in none of these cases would they have even a remote chance had they to depend on Protestant votes. Furthermore, even in positions of emolument we get an occasional chance, though it is everywhere recognised all the world over that spoils of office go to the majority. Recently we had an English Methodist and the daughter of an Irish Methodist minister employed by the Carlow County Council in good permanent posts, and both did our Church sterling service during their stay. The agricultural instructor of the Co. Kildare is a Protestant; one of the most efficient local preachers of this circuit is a master in the Knockbeg Roman Catholic College there is, or was, a Protestant young lady a technical instructress in Athlone. The fact is Irishmen of all creeds are being drawn close together and the old suspicions and jealousies are beginning to die out, and there is a brighter day before us if we are allowed to work out our own salvation in our own way."

It will be observed how much stress is laid by these Protestants on their experience of Local Government. Of course, Protestants who hold Nationalist views are at no disadvantage, but rather the reverse, as is proved by the many instances in which they have been elected to the Irish Party, and by later instances, such as that of **the recently elected Mayor of Wexford, Mr. Howard Rowe**

Mr. Rowe writes to the *Methodist Times* :—" Allow me to say a word on the matter. In our Wexford Corporation there are only three Protestants out of twenty-four members, and those three are Methodists. By a spontaneous, unanimous and unsolicited vote I have been elected Mayor of Wexford, which is in itself an instance of kindly toleration."

After denying that the Land Purchase Act was due to Unionist policy and not rather to constant exertions of the Irish Party, Mr. Rowe continued:—"I boldly declare that every good and useful measure passed during the last thirty years by the British Parliament for Ireland is due to the Irish Nationalists, and not to the Irish Unionists. No men worked harder to obtain relief from excessive taxation than the Nationalists, the Unionists stood by scoffing, and we would have heard nothing about deliverance from unjust landlordism or about the Labourers Act, or the Working Class Dwellings Acts, or the Town Tenants Act, or even the light railways or the Congested Districts Board, were it not for the action of the Irish National Parliamentary Party."

Again **Mr. Samuel P. Harris, a large farmer at Knocklong** in County Limerick, said recently at a meeting in Cork:—"I have been living in the midst of a Catholic population all my lifetime, except for about eight or nine years that I spent in the United States. I can speak from experience of the treatment that was meted out to the Protestants of Munster by their Catholic fellow-countrymen.

The curious way that they found of persecuting such a man as myself was by electing him to the District Council in Kilmallock. Although opposed at the triennial elections for the last nine years, I have been out at the head of the poll, although there were not two Protestant votes in the electoral division for which I was elected. Since the United Irish League has been started I have been chairman of the local branch of the League; acted as secretary of the Limerick Executive of the League since that body was established, and within the last two years was elected unanimously as chairman of that body. Only a week ago, in the town of Kilmallock, when the Protestant rector, Chancellor Hackett, was leaving his parish, the first man that suggested a testimonial to him was a Catholic, and when the list of subscribers was published it would be seen that out of one hundred and forty subscribers, about ninety were Catholics. The man who presented the address and purse was a Catholic, who said that he was delighted to be asked to make the presentation, because it showed the pleasant relations that existed between the Catholics of Munster and their Protestant fellow-countrymen."

The **Rev. J. B. Armour, of Ballymoney**, one of the most distinguished Presbyterian divines in Ireland, had something to say in an interview published by the *Daily News* on the cry of "persecution" and the reasons for raising it:—"Persecution on any considerable scale," replied Mr. Armour, "is not only improbable, but will be made impossible. An Irish Parliament to be successful

will require the goodwill of all citizens, and must set its foot on the flint against persecution for conscience sake. The Protestant of Ireland number one-fourth of the inhabitants of our country, and naturally may look for a fourth of the representatives, and if the Nationalists in the House of Commons, numbering 670, could secure anything wanted for Irish Catholics, the Protestant members if they were worth their salt, could make the game of persecution rather too expensive to be lightly entered on. What underlies the talk of religious persecution is the fear—the certainty that the members of the late Established Church will not enjoy all the offices of State, as they did in the past. But the Presbyterian Church at least need not feel alarm for the future on that score, for under any conceivable circumstances of Home Rule could they have less representation in the State than they had during all the palmy days of its rule in Ireland. whose motto was, ‘No Presbyterian or Catholic need apply for any office of emolument, for we cannot take our children’s bread and cast it to the dogs.’ ”

#### UNIONIST IDEAS OF TOLERATION.

What the Protestant attitude is when appointments have to be made may be illustrated by a single **quotation from the Belfast News-Letter**:—“The Executive Committee of the Grand Orange Lodge of Belfast, having carefully considered the question of the Recordership of Belfast, have passed the following resolution—‘We regret that in connection with the Recordership of Belfast efforts are being made in certain Protestant circles to push the claims of candidates whose political and religious principles are hostile to those of the Loyalists of the city. As any such appointment would seriously injure the feelings of respect and confidence hitherto held by Protestants in the administration of the law, and would be, besides wholly unwarrantable in view of the fact that there are many thoroughly capable Protestant candidates to select from, we protest strongly against the Government’s thrusting upon our city a Recorder wholly alien from Protestant convictions and sympathies, and we earnestly urge all Loyalist citizens to disassociate themselves from any effort made to secure such appointment.’ ”

It must be allowed that all Unionist bodies in Ireland faithfully adhere to the principles here laid down by them for Mr. Birrell’s guidance. No Catholic or Nationalist need apply to them for any position of honour or emolument.

#### THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS.

We shall give another quotation to illustrate the principles and practice of Catholic Nationalists, even where the dominant organisation is a purely Catholic one—the much abused



olly Maguires." The Chaplain to that Order, Father Cannon, speaking at Letterkenny on August 16th, 1910 :—"Never so cruel a calumny uttered than the statement that the Ancient Order is a secret sectarian society, whose leading aim is to hound us from the public life of Ireland our Protestant fellow-countrymen. Well, Donegal can count a larger number of Hibernians than any other county in Ireland, and yet, two of its great Hibernian strongholds—South Donegal and West Donegal—have two Protestants representing them in Parliament. The Letterkenny District Council, with a big Hibernian majority among its members, has two Protestants, one in the Chair of the Council, and the other in its Vice-Chair. Similarly, the Milford District Council has one of its Protestant minority as its Chairman. The Stranorlar Board of Guardians and the Dunfanaghy Board of Guardians, in each of which bodies Hibernians have great influence, have each of them a Protestant Chairman, and these are only a few instances which occur to me. Could there, I ask, be stronger refutation of this mean charge of bigotry than we have here in our own county, where Hibernianism has always made for toleration and friendship among men of every creed and class? Brothers, our cause is the cause of Ireland. It is a just and holy cause. It would not be such if it aimed at shutting out any man—Catholic or Protestant—from his natural place in the government of our common country." Father Cannon is of course a Roman Catholic Priest. But many Protestant witnesses have been quoted to prove that what he demonstrates by facts from Donegal is true generally of all parts in Ireland where the Roman Catholic religion predominates. The North Doolin Guardians, predominantly Catholic and Nationalist, were recently surcharged by the Local Government Board for having in excess of their powers voted a pension to the Rev. Mr. Long, who has been for many years Protestant Chaplain to the Union.

### WOULD HOME RULE BE ROME RULE?

It will have been noted that the Rev. W. Crawford and other writers share the opinion generally held among educated men that the grant of Self-Government would lessen and not increase the power of the Roman Church in Ireland. These conclusions are accepted, and in no spirit of deprecation, by eminent Catholic ecclesiastics.

On January 7th in the Rotunda at Dublin, **Dr. Butler, a very learned Carmelite**, lectured upon the history of the proposal that Irish Catholic Bishops should be appointed subject to the veto of the British Government. Emancipation was offered as a bribe for acceptance; but three times the proposal was defeated, and on the first two occasions the Catholic laity of Ireland were led by the

Protestant, Burke. In its final form it had behind it in Ireland 'ten Catholic Irish Bishops, three Archbishops, innumerable priests.' It was accepted in a rescript from the Secretary of the Propaganda; Cardinal Gonsalvi, Secretary of State for the Papal Government, came to negotiate its passage; and the Pope was avowedly in its favour. How were all these influences met? They were met 'by the mass of the Catholics of Ireland.' That is the story which to-day an eminent Irish ecclesiastic chooses to recall in every circumstance of publicity with Mr. Redmond (whose words have been quoted) in the chair.

Irish priests have always prided themselves on the attachment of their people; they have never prided themselves on their civility. Some of the ablest men in the Irish Roman Church have recognised that Home Rule would limit the temporal influence of the priesthood (as local government has already limited it), and they rejoice that it should be so. That view was put explicitly on December 30th by the **Very Rev. Dr. Beecher, a professor of Maynooth**, in a speech at the unveiling of a memorial to Father Casey, of Abbeyfeale, a great leader in the political fight, yet not the less a true shepherd of his people.

Dr. Beecher said:—"Friends, the constitutional battle has been fought, and, for the most part, won. Only a little while and we shall see the consummation of our hopes, limited, no doubt, as compared with those countries that are nations in the full sense, but sufficient to promote the peace and prosperity, and to satisfy the legitimate craving of a country that has ever yearned for the right to manage its own affairs. And when that day comes what will be the outcome? We often hear it said that it will be the end of the political influence of the priest, and that it will mark the alienation of priests and people. That it will mean in large part the end of the priests' political influence, personally, I have no doubt. And if I know the Irish priests aright, I should say that none will be more willing than they to forego save as citizens much of the influence they wielded in the past.' "

## ARE INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS OPPOSED TO HOME RULE?

Finally, it is alleged that all the industrial interests of the country are controlled by Protestants, and are opposed to Home Rule. Yet in December, 1910, a political manifesto was issued by the Ulster Liberals from which the following passage is a quotation—

"In our opinion the time has at length arrived when the question of Self-Government for Ireland—the fierce battle-ground of a

hundred years of ceaseless strife—can and will be wisely settled with a due regard to the Unity and Integrity of the Empire on the one hand, and to the just desires and aspirations of the Irish people on the other. . . .

“Nor can any man exaggerate the importance of that settlement to our country. For nearly a century the question of Home Government has barred with triple steel every door of progress. It has paralysed the energies of the country and diverted the current of national activity into the unfruitful channels of incessant political struggle. But, indeed, it could not fail to do otherwise. For a hundred years the vast body of the Irish people have had neither sympathy with nor confidence in the Executive and Administrative Government of Ireland. That Government has its natural root in the soil of Ireland. Bureaucratic government cannot soar on ampler wing. Forty-two Boards without correlation or connection, and almost without responsibility, control the destinies of Ireland. As Liberals, we prefer the Government of the People. Circumstances and conditions have greatly changed since 1895. The question of Higher Education has been definitely solved and permanently settled. The greater part of the land of Ireland has passed into the hands of the tenants, and the history of landlordism has reached its concluding chapter. Serious crime as a consequence is practically unknown. But most important of all, twelve years’ administration by Irish County Councils has proved by its wisdom and integrity and even-handed justice the claims of Irishmen to manage their own internal affairs. . . .

“You will remember that Lord Salisbury declared that he would prefer Home Rule for Ireland to the system of Local Government which has since proved so successful. Events have falsified his prophecy, and demonstrate that they who trust their countrymen are the best friends of their country. For our own part, zealous Protestants as we are, we have perfect confidence in our Catholic fellow-countrymen. In the South and West of Ireland, goodwill and brotherly kindness are universal. Religious dissensions are unknown. We confess with shame that it is only in Protestant Ulster that intolerance and bigotry have a vigorous growth. Yet even in Ulster many changes have taken place since 1895. Moderate men are everywhere awakening to a true sense of their responsibility, and we trust that the union of Irishmen of all creeds and classes is being slowly cemented in an enduring bond. Our position as Protestants and Ulster Liberals appears to us to be plain and clear. Our Nationalist fellow-countrymen desire no separation from the Imperial Union. We should listen to no such suggestion. We are proud of our share in the glory and renown of the Flag under which we were born, and under which we hope to live. We are true Unionists in the best sense of the word. A

sullen, discontented, hostile Ireland is a source of weakness; contented, pacified, and prosperous Ireland will give us a new strength and solidarity. Only a large and generous measure of Home Government can achieve that happy result."

The first signatory to this remarkable document was **Lord Pirrie, Chairman of Harland and Wolff's**, and as such the greater "captain of industry" in Ireland. Amongst others with him were **Sir Hugh Mack**, one of the chief linen manufacturers in Belfast and **Mr. Shillington**, head of a big spinning mill in Portadown.

Outside of Ulster, it may be noted that the woollen industry, once Ireland's chief resource before English legislation stamped it out, is reviving, and reviving in the hands of staunch Home Ruler **Mr. Smith, at Athlone**, who employs hundreds of workmen in steadily growing business, is a Protestant supporter of the Irish Party; the highly successful **woollen mills at Galway** are run by Catholic Nationalists, as are also **Morrogh's, Mahony's, and O'Brien's mills in Cork**, whose output is regaining for Ireland her place in the top of the market.

Finally, it should be observed that among Lord Pirrie's co-signatories was **Mr. Edward Archdale, of Castle Archdale**, a landlord whose family name has always been associated with opposition to Home Rule. In the 1906 Parliament only one great resident Irish landlord was a member, **Mr. Walter MacMurrough Kavanagh**, who was a member of the Irish Party. These men are notable cases in a process which is rapidly extending the conversion of the younger generation among the Irish land-owning class to Nationalist opinions. It should be remembered that Lord Dunraven, Colonel Hutcheson Poë, and their group, though opposed to Mr. Redmond's party and to the Liberal financial policy, are professedly in favour of Self-Government for Ireland.

As among the commercial classes of the North, so in the landed gentry, the more intelligent men have abandoned their old hostility to Home Rule.

Many Protestant farmers are for Home Rule; the Pirrie manifesto was signed by **Mr. Joseph Kerr**, one of the largest and most progressive farmers in County Down. In the South of Ireland **Mr. Robert Gibson**, of Limerick, a pioneer of the creamery system, and one of the greatest authorities in the butter industry, supported the Nationalist candidate in eloquent speeches from the platform last December.



# Why Home Rule is Needed for Ireland and for England.

By STEPHEN GWYNN, M.P.

## I.

### FOR IRELAND.

EVERY self-respecting community, like every self-respecting person, claims the right to manage its own affairs. No nation and no individual can willingly submit to be held in tutelage. The arguments advanced against Home Rule—that Ireland would use its freedom to attack Great Britain, that it would persecute the Protestant minority, or that it would be unable to finance its own services and direct its own government—all imply some special incapacity for self-government in the Irish people. Home Rule is demanded, then, first, as a matter of national honour and dignity: the refusal of it is based on grounds that attain national pride.

But, further, it is a general principle that people are the best judges of their own interest, and can best manage their own affairs. In regard to communities it can sometimes be plausibly argued, as in the case of Egypt, that foreign rule produces better material results than self-government. In the case of Ireland this cannot even be suggested. Population has been reduced by a half within two generations; taxation has been doubled in the same period, and the cost of administration is without parallel. No other European nation presents such a record of decay. Disorder and discontent are chronic. The Government given to Ireland by England has not the confidence of the people: it can point to no record of success. Ireland is the most undeveloped and backward country in Northern Europe: it is therefore the country which most needs a Government with full leisure and with proved capacity.

Parliament has neither the time nor the competence to govern Ireland.

Ireland being a country poor, underpopulated, all but exclusively agricultural and Catholic, while Great Britain is rich, overpeopled, industrial and Protestant, it is evident that the problems of govern-

ment are different in the two countries, and cannot be met by identical legislation. Parliament, already overburdened with purely British and Imperial business, has to find time to pass special Irish legislation. From this ruinous consequences inevitably flow.

First, vital interests and needs are permanently neglected. In instance, Ireland being a country of farmers, the question of transport facilities is one of life and death. Everyone admits the vices of the present railway system, the paralysis of the canal traffic; yet there is no assembly which has time and authority to cope with such problems. Poor-law reform, again, is a matter on which there is party division; yet it is impossible to alter the law.

No one can dispute that a Legislature sitting in Ireland would have more than enough to do, or that Parliament would be the better for being relieved of such purely Irish business as it transacts.

Secondly, experience shows that Parliament will only undertake contentious Irish business after the country has been convulsed by violent agitation. Reforms gained in this manner demoralise even while they amend.

But it is important to dwell on one consequence. Irish Nationalist reformers found it necessary to dissociate themselves entirely from the responsibility of administration. Mr. Parnell and his successors have said, in effect: "We are willing and anxious to govern ourselves; we will not help you to govern us." Home Rule would mean that Ireland would be administered by men in whom the majority would have confidence, who would be Ireland's own choice. Administration would be as it is in England—tolerably continuous, little affected by party change. At present administration is subject to violent alternations of coercion and conciliation; it is always alien, and it never enjoys the confidence of more than a small section. Even that section, the Unionist minority, immediately withdraws its confidence from any Government that attempts to make any concession to the wishes of the majority.

One other point requires to be indicated. Government in Ireland is wasteful beyond belief in police, judiciary, and every kind of official; it is parsimonious only in education. The paramount need for Ireland is frugality, and Irish local bodies are extremely frugal. But in national matters the inducements are all to extravagance. Any saving that is effected goes to the Imperial Exchequer—a drop in a bucket—whereas every extra salary created in Ireland makes a sensible difference in a very poor country.

To sum up, then, Ireland demands Home Rule as a national right, of which she was deprived by force and fraud at the Union. She needs a Legislature with leisure to discuss her wants and her possibilities in the light of local knowledge; she needs an Administration consisting of men whom she chooses and she trusts, vested with a national authority, and not resting solely on military force; she needs the power to utilise and the inducement to husband her own resources.

## II.

### FOR ENGLAND.

Honour and dignity are also involved for England in this question. It is indecent that her Press and her statesmen should continually advocate national autonomy in Poland, Finland, Italy, everywhere—and should, at the same moment, continue the prolonged denial of Ireland's claim. The real glory of the Empire today is precisely that it can reconcile local autonomy with the Imperial idea—that it can contain more than a score of separate parliaments, yet be united. The most flagrant disgrace to England's record of government is her failure in Ireland, which lies like a neglected garden at her very gates.

Again, the hostility of the Irish race is not negligible. In America there is no doubt of their power, and the goodwill of America has been an object of great desire to Englishmen on sentimental grounds. Now that America, with her enormous resources, goes to building Dreadnoughts the grounds will be other than sentimental; and it is not doubtful that to make friends with Ireland is an important step towards securing the genuine friendship of America.

From a military point of view, it should be pointed out that at present England reckons with Ireland as a country which she must keep by force. Neither the Volunteer system nor the territorial system has been extended to this member of what is called the United Kingdom. A self-governed Ireland would probably hold a very different position in any scheme of Imperial defence.

But the most obvious and immediate advantage of Home Rule would be in the working of Parliament. There would be a saving of parliamentary time, amounting to some weeks in every session. Yet the real benefit reaches far deeper. The Irish party exists for

one purpose—to secure Home Rule. All its action is governed by that consideration. It invented obstruction; it has no care for efficiency and dignity of the assembly.

The presence of such an alien element must necessarily be demoralising. But the mischief is more positive. Matters of the utmost moment to England or to the Empire may be decided, not on Parliament's true judgment of their merits, but according to the Irish party's estimate of another interest. The more important the question, the more likely this is to be the case. The Irish vote on Free Trade or Tariff Reform is given without the least examination of that great controversy.

The growth of a third English party makes it increasingly probable that the Irish will, while the Union lasts, hold the balance of power with growing frequency. If Home Rule were granted, the number of Irish representatives retained at Westminster would be reduced in proportion to the population; and those who were retained would divide themselves on normal party lines.

Finally, the granting of autonomy to Ireland might well lead to a closer consolidation of the Empire. Cecil Rhodes at first believed this: he looked to a growing devolution of domestic business and to the centralisation of really Imperial concerns.

Ireland is not asking for Home Rule in the interests of the British Empire. But undoubtedly such considerations as are here set out weigh with the great colonial statesmen who support the demand. A generation ago men argued for and against Home Rule on European analogies, drawn from Scandinavia, Austria, and elsewhere. To-day it is discussed in view of the examples within the Empire. A typical example of contemporary thought is found in this sentence from a leading article in the *Times* (April 3, 1909):—"The Imperial idea must prove its title to acceptance, not as a limitation, but as a guarantee of local autonomy and local rights."

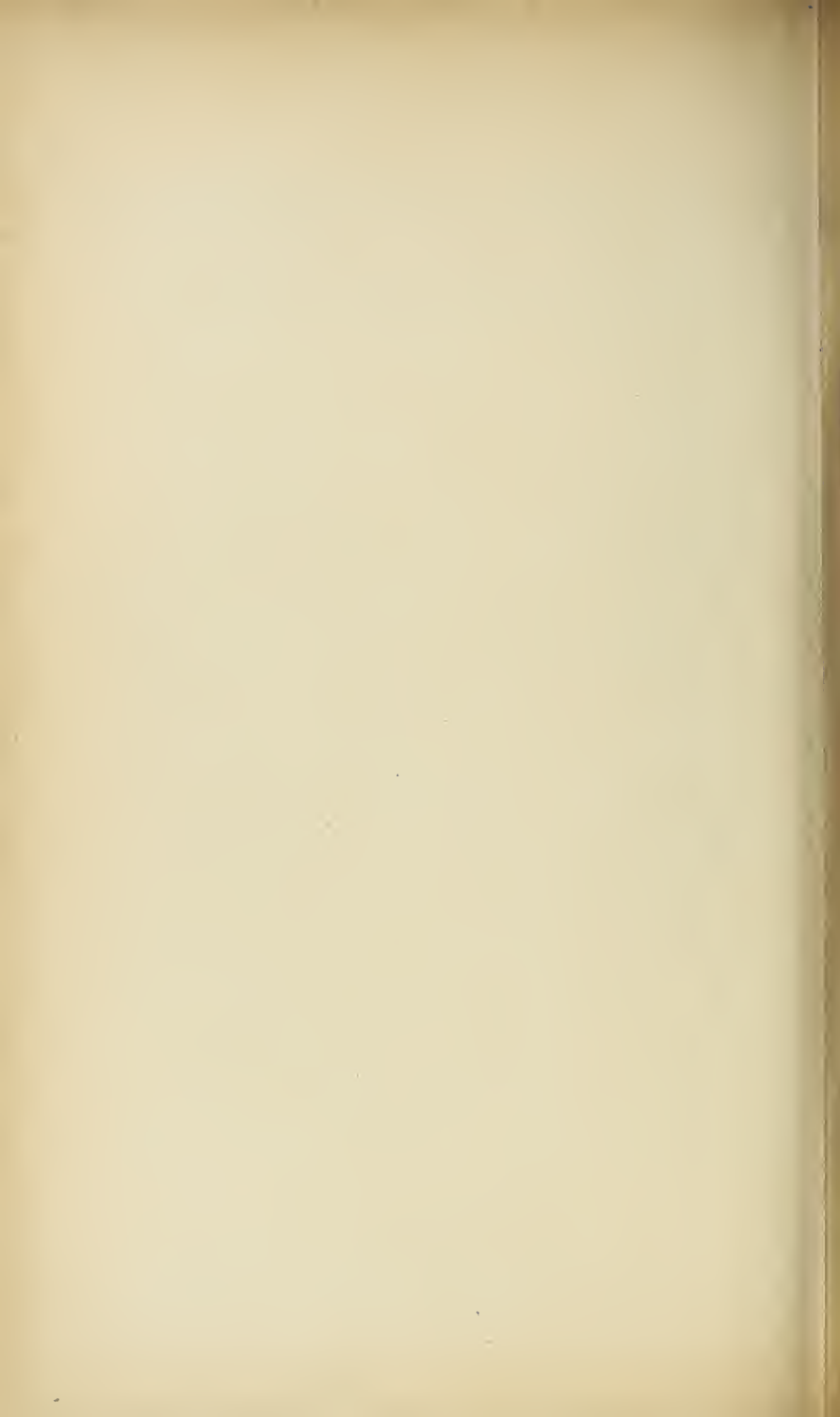
That was written with reference to South Africa. The plea for Home Rule is a plea for application of the same principle to Ireland.



*Leaflet No 17.)*

# WHAT IRELAND WANTS BY JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P.

PUBLISHED BY THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY  
2 & 4 GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER



# WHAT IRELAND WANTS

By JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P.

STATEMENT OF IRELAND'S DEMANDS FOR HOME RULE BY THE  
LEADER OF THE IRISH PARTY IN PARLIAMENT.

*Reprinted from McClure's Magazine for October, 1910.*

OVER thirty years have passed since the late Mr. Isaac Butt first used the words "Home Rule" as a definition of the Irish National demand. Ever since then, on the platform and in the press, as well as on the floor of the House of Commons, able men have been engaged incessantly in the task of explaining to the world "what Ireland wants." Notwithstanding all these years of labour, it must unfortunately be admitted that, to this hour, there is much doubt and uncertainty as to what the real demand of Ireland is—and this doubt and uncertainty constitute one of the most formidable obstacles in the path of Home Rule.

"What Ireland wants" is really so reasonable, so moderate, so commonplace, in view of the experience of the nations, and especially of the British Empire, that, once it is understood, all the fears and arguments of honest opponents must vanish into thin air.

What Ireland wants is the restoration of responsible government, neither more nor less. The Irish demand is, in plain and popular language, that the government of every purely Irish affair should be controlled by the public opinion of Ireland, and by that alone. We do not seek any alteration of the constitution or supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. We ask merely to be permitted to take our place in the ranks of those other portions of the British Empire—some twenty-eight in number—which, in their purely local affairs, are governed by free representative institutions of their own.

This moderate, even modest demand has its root alike in historic title and in the utter and disastrous failure of the attempt since 1800 to govern Irish affairs by a British majority at West-

minster. Historic title may count for little nowadays against superior force, but it is a potent influence in the hearts of Irishmen, and accounts for the passionate enthusiasm which has enabled them, in spite of suffering and disasters perhaps unparalleled in history, to preserve unimpaired the sentiment of their distinct and separate nationality.

### IRELAND'S FIGHT FOR HER PARLIAMENT.

What is Ireland's historic title? The Irish Parliament was almost coeval with and absolutely co-ordinate with the Parliament of England. The first Irish Parliament of which we have authentic records sat in 1295, and from 1295 until 1495 the Parliament was absolutely supreme, a sovereign Parliament, and no law made in England was binding in Ireland; and although in 1495 what was known as Poynings' Law was passed, which provided that the heads of all bills to be introduced into the Irish Parliament were first to be approved by the King and Privy Council of England, still that law was an Irish law passed by an Irish Parliament, and did not sacrifice the independence of the Irish Parliament or recognize England's right to make laws for Ireland. It reserved a co-ordinate authority with the English Parliament, and this condition remained unbroken and unquestioned until the reign of George I., and then, in 1719, an English Act was passed which enacted that the English Parliament had the power to make laws for Ireland. That Act was always resisted, and Ireland never for one hour ceased to protest against it, until at last, in 1782, the freedom of the Irish Parliament was obtained by the great measure which Grattan, backed by the Irish Volunteers, passed into law. The Act of George I. was repealed, and the English Act of the reign of George III., Chapter 28, solemnly declared as follows:

"Be it enacted that the right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by his Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom in all cases whatsoever, shall be, and is hereby declared and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable."

Eighteen years after that solemn declaration, it was disregarded, and the Irish Parliament, which had lasted for five hundred years, was destroyed by the Act of Union.



Mr. Lecky, in the second volume of his History, says:

"The sacrifice of Nationality was extorted by the most enormous corruption in the history of representative institutions. It was demanded by no considerable portion of the Irish people, it was effected without a dissolution, in opposition to the overwhelming majority of the representatives of the counties and considerable towns, and to innumerable addresses from all parts of the country. The Union was a crime of deepest turpitude which, by imposing with every circumstance of infamy a new form of government on a reluctant and protesting nation, has vitiated the whole course of Irish opinion."

Lord Grey, speaking after the Union in England, pointed out that there were 300 members in the Irish Parliament. Of that number 120 members strongly opposed the Union, and 162 voted in favour of it; and of those 162, 116 were placemen in the pay of the English Government. From that day to this Ireland has never ceased to protest against the usurpation of the government of Ireland by the English Parliament. She has never ceased to protest, according to the circumstances and the opportunities of the moment.

She has protested by armed insurrection. She has protested by never-ending agitation. She has protested by her representatives in the British Parliament. And her protest was never louder than to-day.

## ENGLAND'S FAILURE TO GOVERN IRELAND.

This is Ireland's historic title to self-government. Her demand, however, also has its root in the failure of England to govern her—a failure admitted by men of all parties, and, indeed, incapable of denial in face of the patent facts of the case.

Let me apply a few tests to the government of Ireland since the Union of 1800.

What greater test of good government is to be found than the test of population? In Ireland since 1841 the population has diminished by fifty per cent. In 1845 Ireland had three times as many people as Scotland and half as many as England. In fact, Ireland had one third of the whole population of the United Kingdom. In sixty years her population has gone down by four

million. Ninety per cent of those who left her shores were between the ages of ten and forty-five.

Take the test of civil liberty. There has been a Coercion Act for every year since the Union, and even at this moment there is in existence on the statute-book a special law applicable to Ireland alone, which enables the Lord Lieutenant, without any check whatever upon his arbitrary will, to suspend trial by jury, personal liberty, freedom of discussion, and the right of public meeting all over the country. There have been since the Union three armed insurrections, and to-day admittedly the overwhelming mass of the people are thoroughly disaffected to the system of government under which they are compelled to live.

The industrial prosperity of Ireland has rapidly declined. Under Grattan's Parliament, Irish industries flourished. Mr Murray, in her "History of the Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland"—a most valuable and remarkable book—says:

"The Irish Commons did much to foster new prosperity. They could not spend huge sums of money like England in promoting trades and manufactures, but the sums they did spend were wisely allotted. The industrial aspect of Ireland rapidly changed. Ruined factories sprang into life and new ones were built; the old cotton-mills, which had ceased working so long, were everywhere busy; the population of the towns began to increase, the standard of living among the artisan class rose; and even the condition of the peasantry changed slightly for the better. Dublin, instead of being sunk in decay, assumed the appearance of a thriving town. In fact, the independent Irish legislature set itself to promote the material prosperity of the country in every possible way, and there is no doubt its efforts had much to say to the really surprising commercial progress which was made from 1780 until the years immediately preceding the Union. The Irish fisheries became the envy and admiration of Great Britain, and agriculture increased rapidly. Various manufactures in Ireland began to thrive; the manufacture of hats, of boots and shoes, of candles and soap, of blankets and carpets, of woollens, of printed cottons and fustians, of tabinets and of glass, all sprang into importance, while the linen manufacture, which had decayed during the American War, quickly revived, and in ten years the exports of various kinds of linen doubled."

## THE UNION A DEATH-BLOW TO IRISH INDUSTRY

All this upward movement was checked the moment the Union was carried. The tide turned, and it has been on the ebb ever since. The report of the last Census Commission for Ireland contains the following paragraph:

"The number of persons engaged in Ireland in the production and distribution of textile fabrics has fallen away very considerably during the past thirty years. The totals recorded were, for 1871, 113,864, and for 1881, 129,787. In 1891 there was practically no change at 129,884, but in 1901 the numbers employed had fallen to 119,588. Referring to the returns for the latter year, the Commissioners observe:

"In this marked decline of over fifteen and a half per cent., the males diminished by 8,864 and the females to the extent of 11,432. Looking at the principal textile manufactures, we find that by far the most important industry in the country, viz., the flax and linen industry, has lost over 17,000, nearly one-fifth of its workers, while those employed in the manufacture of woollen goods have suffered a corresponding reduction."

Education admittedly is fifty per cent. below the standard of every European nation. The taxation of the country per head of the population has doubled in fifty years, and by universal admission the civil government of the country is the most costly in Europe.

The total civil government of Scotland (with practically the same population) was in 1906 £2,477,000. The cost of similar government in the same year in Ireland was £4,547,000. Ireland's judicial system costs £200,000 a year more than the Scotch. The Irish police costs exactly three times what the police of Scotland costs. The number of officials in Scotland is 963, with salaries amounting to £311,000. The number of officials in Ireland is 1,539, with salaries amounting to £1,412,520. Per head of the population, the cost of the present government of Ireland is twice that of England, and is far higher than that of Norway, Holland, France, Denmark, Portugal, Sweden, Italy, Spain, Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Germany, or Russia. In other words, Ireland, probably the poorest country in Europe, pays more for her government than any other nation. The secret of the inefficiency and the extravagance is identical, namely

the fact that it is a government not based upon the consent of the governed, but maintained in actual opposition to the will of the governed.

### THE HATED ENGLISH POOR LAW.

Let me give a remarkable and, indeed, dramatic example of the kind of misgovernment under which Ireland suffers as a consequence of the present system.

I know of no more pressing need in Ireland to-day than the reform of our Poor Law system. I know of no reform upon which all classes and creeds in Ireland are more united. That system is extravagant, inefficient, and demoralizing. The cost is enormous. The last figures that we have show that the cost was £1,248,400, or, in other words, at the rate of 5s. 8d. per head of the whole population.

There are, in the thirty-two counties of Ireland, one hundred and fifty-nine unions—one hundred and fifty-nine workhouses—and there are inmates in these workhouses numbering 45,195, inmates of all kinds and descriptions. Now, within these workhouses all sorts and kinds of inmates are crowded together under the same roof—the sick, the aged and infirm, children, the helpless mothers of young children, the insane, the casuals and tramps, and other able-bodied paupers—all crowded together in the same institution, and tainted more or less with the hateful stigma of the workhouse pauper. So far as the larger number of those inmates are concerned that is a horrible outrage. By far the larger number are the sick, the aged and infirm, and the children, on all of whom it is an outrage and a disgrace to our civilization that any taint of the workhouse should be put; and, of the whole number of 45,195 in 1905, there were only 4,667 who might be described as casuals or tramps, able-bodied paupers whose admission was due to destitution, or such idleness and laziness as led to destitution.

Therefore, only between a ninth and a tenth of all the inmates of these workhouses come from classes similar to those for whom the workhouse system was first founded in England. It is an outrage and a disgrace that the stigma which rightly attaches to one ninth or one-tenth of the number of inmates should be extended to the sick poor, to the aged and infirm, and to the innocent children who are herded into these institutions. The poor Irishman



man would almost sooner die of starvation or disease than go into the Irish workhouse. The system is unsuited to Ireland. It is extravagant, it is demoralizing, and it is hated by the Irish people.

### WHY THE WORKHOUSE SYSTEM WAS AN OPPRESSIVE MEASURE.

This workhouse system was invented in England and for England. It was devised to meet cases where there was plenty of employment to be got, but where the people would not work. The English Royal Commission of 1834 declared that the pauperism with which this English Poor Law had to deal originated "in idleness, improvidence, vice, and a refusal to work." But Ireland's case has always been quite different. In Ireland the problem is this: that the people are willing to work—in the old days, for a penny or twopence a day—but no work could be got for them. This English system, unsuitable to Ireland, has been at work in Ireland since 1838, over seventy years. Its failure is admitted to-day by all classes and creeds.

How came this system to be forced upon Ireland at all? Ireland had no responsibility for it. Ireland opposed it at the time by every means in her power. All classes, all politics, all creeds united in saying they would not have the English workhouse system. O'Connell and the Castlereagh of that day joined hands for the first and last time on an Irish question in opposing the introduction of the English workhouse system into Ireland. It was forced on us. It is the product of British rule.

In 1833 an Irish Royal Commission was appointed to consider whether the English system should be extended to Ireland or not. That Commission consisted of ten representative Irishmen, representing all classes and creeds. The Catholic and Protestant Archbishops of Dublin were both members of the Commission. The Chairman of the Commission was the Most Rev. Dr. Whately, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. That Commission sat for three years. It reported unanimously that the English workhouse system was quite unsuitable to Ireland, and that the labouring classes in this country were eager for work, but that no work could be had for them, and that, in their judgment, decent poor people in Ireland would endure untold misery sooner than go into these work-

houses, if they were forced upon the country ; and, in place of the English system, they made two recommendations for dealing with the poverty of Ireland. The first was the setting on foot of various schemes to develop the industrial resources of the country and to create employment for the people. The second was a compulsory provision for the sick poor, aged and infirm, and all the different classes, in separate institutions in different parts of the country. Their recommendations about the development of the resources of Ireland were, in the light of the history of the last seventy years, most extraordinary.

This Commission reported unanimously against forcing the workhouse system on to Ireland. Yet the British Government thought they knew better than this Irish Commission, and Lord John Russell, who was then the Home Secretary, as soon as he received the report of this Royal Commission, sent over here an English Poor Law Commissioner named Nicholls. Nicholls had never been in Ireland before. He spent six weeks in travelling over the country, and he went back to Parliament and reported that the Irish Royal Commissions were all wrong, that the Irish people did not understand the question, and that the one thing that was suitable to Ireland was the English workhouse system ; and immediately afterwards the Government threw the report of the Irish Commission into the fire, and they at once introduced into Parliament a bill to force upon us this English system. The bill was vigorously opposed. O'Connell again and again denounced it, in Parliament and out of it. The Castlereagh of that day joined hands with O'Connell in protesting against this bill. The grand juries of the country all protested against it. Great public meetings were held throughout Ireland, and petitions against the bill poured in upon the House of Commons, and it seemed as if the public opinion of Ireland was unanimous in opposition to it. It was all of no avail. England thought she knew what was good for Ireland better than we did ourselves. Irish public opinion was overborne, and this hateful system was thus forced upon Ireland.

Now, seventy years afterwards, a new Viceregal Commission, appointed by the present Government, reports exactly as the original one did, calling for the development of Irish industries, declaring that the English Poor Law was unsuitable to Ireland, and that it had been a failure during all the years that had passed. If this case

god alone, would it not be conclusive as an argument against British rule in Ireland, and in favour of Home Rule?

Here, then, we have a government tested by the experience of a century, and proved, by every standard of criticism, absolutely incapable of fulfilling its most elementary duties, at once the most inefficient and costly of any country in Europe.

Ireland's demand for a change thus has its root not only in historic title, but also in England's failure.

## THE BEGINNING OF THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT.

All this is practically admitted by English political parties today. The great outstanding issue really is what remedy will remove the evil, what will satisfy the Irish people, or, in other words, what exactly does Ireland want.

O'Connell demanded Repeal of the Union.

Isaac Butt, in 1873, proposed a Federal Union. This was in substance accepted by Parnell and Gladstone in 1886, and remains the demand of the Irish National Party to this moment.

The Home Rule Conference in 1873, under the presidency of Isaac Butt, formulated their demand in the following resolutions:

"That, in claiming these rights and privileges for our country, we adopt the principle of a Federal arrangement, which would secure to the Irish Parliament the right of legislating for and regulating all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, while leaving to the Imperial Parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting the Imperial Crown and Government, legislation regarding the colonies and other dependencies of the Crown, the relations of the Empire with foreign States, and all matters appertaining to the defence and stability of the Empire at large; as well as the power of granting and providing the supplies necessary for Imperial purposes.

"That such an arrangement does not involve any change in the existing constitution of the Imperial Parliament, or any interference with the prerogatives of the Crown or disturbance of the principles of the Constitution.

"That, to secure to the Irish people the advantages of constitutional government, it is essential that there should be in Ireland an administration for Irish affairs, controlled, according to

constitutional principles, by the Irish Parliament, and conducted by ministers constitutionally responsible to that Parliament.

“That, in the opinion of this Conference, a Federal arrangement, based upon these principles, would consolidate the strength and maintain the integrity of the Empire, and add to the dignity and power of the Imperial Crown.

“That, while we believe that in an Irish Parliament the rights and liberties of all classes of our countrymen would find their best and surest protection, we are willing that there should be incorporated in the Federal Constitution articles supplying the amplest guarantees that no change should be made by that Parliament in the present settlement of property in Ireland, and that no legislation should be adopted to establish any religious ascendancy in Ireland, or to subject any person to disabilities on account of his religious opinions.”

It will thus be observed that O’Connell’s demand for a simple Repeal of the Union, which meant the revival of the Sovereign Co-ordinate Parliament of Grattan, was given up in favour of the creation of a Statutory Subordinate Parliament, leaving the supremacy of the present Imperial Parliament untouched:—a subordinate Parliament to be invested with strictly limited powers over purely Irish local affairs, as in the case of the numerous local parliaments which already exist within the British Empire.

In 1886 Parnell, speaking for Ireland, explicitly accepted the offer of a subordinate Parliament.

## GLADSTONE’S EFFORTS TO SECURE A SUBORDINATE PARLIAMENT FOR IRELAND.

Mr. Gladstone’s proposal in 1886 was to establish a subordinate Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive for the management and control of Irish affairs, reserving to the Imperial Parliament the following subjects: the Crown, peace or war, the army, navy, militia, volunteers, defence, etc., foreign and colonial relations, dignities, titles of honour, treason, trade, post office, coinage. Besides these exceptions, the Irish Parliament was forbidden to make any laws respecting (*inter alia*) the endowment of religion, or in restraint of educational freedom, or relating to the customs or excise.



The Dublin Metropolitan Police were to remain under Imperial control for two years, and the Royal Irish Constabulary for an indefinite period; but, eventually, all the Irish police were to be handed over to the Irish Parliament. Ireland's contribution to the Imperial revenue was to be in proportion of one-fifteenth to the whole. All constitutional questions relating to the power of the Irish Parliament were to be submitted to the Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council. The Irish members were to be excluded from the Imperial Parliament.

In 1893 Gladstone introduced his second Home Rule Bill, the chief difference between it and his first one being that he proposed to retain Irish members at Westminster. On this point Ireland is willing to accept whichever alternative England prefers.

Parnell, in the House of Commons, clearly stated Ireland's position. He said:

"We have always known, since the introduction of this bill, the difference between a co-ordinate and a subordinate Parliament, and we have recognized that the Legislature which the Prime Minister proposes to constitute is a subordinate Parliament. . . . Undoubtedly I should have preferred . . . the restitution of Grattan's Parliament; . . . but I consider that there are practical advantages connected with the proposed statutory body, elected and subordinate to this Imperial Parliament as it undoubtedly will be, which will render it much more useful and advantageous to the Irish people than was Grattan's Parliament."

He went on to define what he meant by the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament:

"I understand the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament to be this: that they can interfere in the event of the powers which are conferred by this bill being abused under certain circumstances. But the Nationalists, in accepting this bill, go, as I think, under an honourable understanding not to abuse these powers; and we pledge ourselves in that respect for the Irish people, as far as we can pledge ourselves, not to abuse those powers, and to devote our energies and our influences . . . to prevent those powers being abused.

"The Imperial Parliament will have at command the force which it reserves to itself, and it will be ready to intervene, but only in the case of grave necessity arising."

Finally, he made it clear that he spoke for Ireland :

"I believe that this is by far the best mode in which we hope to settle this question. We look upon the provisions of this bill as a final settlement of the question, and I believe that the Irish people have accepted it as such a settlement."

The position of Ireland has not changed since then. Her demand is clearly set forth in the resolution moved by me, and accepted by the House of Commons by 313 votes to 157, on March 30, 1908, to the following effect :

"That the present system of government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently inefficient and extravagantly costly; that it does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population; that it is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and is incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people; that the reform of Irish government is a matter vital to the interests of Ireland, and calculated greatly to promote the well-being of the people of Great Britain; and, in the opinion of this House, the solution of this problem can be obtained only by giving to the Irish people the legislative and executive control of all purely Irish affairs, subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament."

## WHAT AN IRISH PARLIAMENT WOULD MEAN TO IRELAND.

Here, then, is "what Ireland wants": "Legislative and executive control of all purely Irish affairs, subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament."

In other words, we want an Irish Parliament, with an Executive responsible to it, created by act of the Imperial Parliament and charged with the management of purely Irish affairs (land, education, local government, transit, labour, industries, taxation for local purposes, law and justice, police, etc.), leaving to the Imperial Parliament, in which Ireland would probably continue to be represented, but in smaller numbers, the management, just as at present, of all Imperial affairs—army, navy, foreign relations, customs, Imperial taxation, matters pertaining to the Crown, the colonies,

and all those other questions which are Imperial and not local in their nature, the Imperial Parliament also retaining an overriding supreme authority over the new Irish legislature, such as it possesses today over the various legislatures in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other portions of the Empire.

This is "what Ireland wants." When she has obtained it, a new era of prosperity and contentment will arise. As happened when Lord Durham's policy was carried out in Canada, men of different races and creeds will join hands to promote the well-being of their common country. Responsibility, thrown for the first time for over a century upon the people, will have the same effect in Ireland as elsewhere. Trust in the people will effect as startling and dramatic a transformation of feeling and sentiment in Ireland as in South Africa. Those of us who have been struggling in this case for thirty years are thankful to feel that at last the fighting is practically over, and that all that remains is to settle the exact terms on which the Treaty of Peace is to be drawn up.

LEAFLETS ISSUED BY THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY

No.

- 1 Canada and Home Rule.
- 2 Record of Irish Local Bodies.
- 3 Manufacture of Crime in Ireland.
- 4 The Fact about Crime in Ireland.
- 5 The Irish Poor Law and the Blessings of English Government.  
By *Hugh Law, M.P.*
- 6 Police and Crime in Ireland, England and Wales. A comparison by *E. Haviland-Burke, M.P.*
- 7 The Money Argument for Home Rule. By *T. M. Kettle, M.P.*
- 8 Ireland, Scotland and Ulster.
- 9 The Land Question in Ireland considered as a Labour Question.
- 10 Political Reflections by an Irish Quaker.
- 11 What is Cattle Driving?
- 12 How Protestants are treated in Ireland.
- 13 What is meant by Home Rule?
- 14 A Canadian Imperialist on the Irish Question.
- 15 Ireland's Need. By *Stephen Gwynn, M.P.*
- 16 Why Home Rule is needed for Ireland and for England.  
*Stephen Gwynn, M.P.*

Also "What Home Rule Means," being twelve of the above neatly bound up in pamphlet form, with a Speech by Mr. John Redmond, M.P.

Also "Some Arguments for Home Rule." Speeches delivered by Mr. John Redmond in 1907, and edited by Professor Swift MacNeill, M.P.



## WILL ULSTER FIGHT ?

Will Ulster fight?

Judging by history, emphatically she will not. She has always threatened, and she never has fought. Ulstermen have a great belief in bluff, but they are reasonable persons.

When Catholic Emancipation became imminent the Orangemen talked exactly as Captain Craig talks to-day. The *Dublin Morning Post* of December 11th, 1828, reports Mr. Judkin Butler as concluding a speech thus :

Surrender ! no, we never will  
While Brunswickers have blood to spill.  
Our cause is glorious, and for that we'll fight.

Well, they did not fight, and so that crisis passed away. Forty years later came Church Disestablishment, a gross infringement of their claims, which were thus stated by the Rev. Henry Henderson, of Hollywood, before a great Orange meeting at Saintfield, County Down.

"It was right they should tell their English brethren the truth. It was right they should tell them that so long as there was Protestantism in the land, and a Protestant sovereign occupying the throne, *so long must there be Protestant ascendancy.*"

Again, on Tamnamore Hill, Co. Tyrone, he said :

"They would sacrifice their lives before they would allow their religious rights to be taken from them. Yes, with the blessing of God, they would do what their fathers did at Derry, Aughrim, and at the Boyne. So far as he was concerned, let there be no mistake. He spoke now not rashly, but calmly and deliberately. Mr. Gladstone and his co-conspirators *were driving the country into civil war.*"

At a meeting at Newbliss, Co. Monaghan, on March 20th, 1868 the Rev. John Flanagan said :

"If they ever dare to lay unholy hands upon the Church, 200,000 Orangemen will tell them it shall never be. Protestant loyalty must make itself understood. People will say, 'Oh, your loyalty is conditional.' I say it is conditional, and it must be explained as such. Will you, Orangemen of Ireland, endorse the doctrine of unconditional loyalty? (Repeated cries of 'No, never!') It appears wonderful that there is one thing upon which we can confidently throw ourselves, and which has been overlooked by nearly all speakers—I mean the Queen's Coronation Oath. She should be reminded that one of her ancestors, who swore to maintain the Protestant religion, forgot his oath, and his crown was kicked in the Boyne. (He then read the oath, and the questions put to the Archbishop of Canterbury at the time of the coronation.) Will a Minister dare to ask the Queen to perjure herself? Will any Minister come and ask us to surrender our rights? We must tell our gracious Queen that if she breaks her oath, she has no longer any claim to the crown."—(*Northern Whig*, March 21st, 1868.)

Mr. Plunket, Q.C., afterwards M.P. for Dublin University and now Lord Rathmore, spoke the following passage at a general Diocesan Conference held in the chapter-room of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, on March 31st, 1869 :—

"We appeal to our brother Protestants in England, Scotland, and Wales to stand by us in this last awful hour of our fortune. . . . We call upon them not to allow those provisions to be made by law which are calculated to hamper and injure our organisation in the future, and we call upon them *not to drive us again to that kind of material, physical resistance*, which accompanied the first protesting of our forefathers three centuries ago—which accompanied the second protest in this kingdom by our forefathers two hundred years ago—which accompanied the glorious struggle for liberty and Protestantism of our predecessors, and was a protestant act and word which they were willing to seal with their blood in martyrdom and battle, if need be, to protest against the oppression and the slavery of a system which they could not, and should not, and which their descendants never will, submit to."

Mr. A. F. Foster, Grand Master of the Orange Lodge, wrote as follows on February 5th, 1869, to the *Dublin Express*:

"It behoves all who love their country and countrymen of every denomination—all who love their God (who, though King of battles, is also God of peace)—to take warning and exert themselves earnestly, while it is yet time, to avert these calamities and the fearful scenes of bloodshed and carnage in a civil war."

Mr. Richard Lloyd, Deputy Grand Master, County Tyrone, blundered forth as follows on June 7th, 1869, on Tamnamore Hill:

"Their fathers had marched to the Boyne, and bled for their country. Their blood still ran in the veins of those whom he addressed. They were as many and *as ready, at the beat of drum, to go out and take their Minié rifles*, and march to that river, as their fathers did before them."

Many other speeches were delivered to the same purpose, yet nothing came of all this bluster.

#### WHAT CAPTAIN CRAIG'S PREDECESSOR THINKS.

Perhaps memory of these historic facts prompted His Honour Judge Rentoul, an Irish Protestant Unionist, to make in 1906 (when a measure of devolution was expected) a very remarkable speech.

Judge Rentoul had heard this clamour of Ulster fighting renewed in 1886, when the first Home Rule Bill was proposed. He had helped to renew it in 1893, since from 1890 to 1902 he sat as member for East Down, the constituency which Captain Craig represents to-day. Here, then, is what Captain Craig's immediate predecessor in title thinks of the matter. The report is from the *Irish Independent* of August 30th, 1906, and the speech was delivered at the Presbyterian Church with a Protestant clergyman in the chair. Judge Rentoul said:

"Inside twelve months, in all probability, there would come a very considerable change of government. Speaking as a politician of considerable experience, and speaking to the inhabitants of his

native parish, he firmly expressed the belief that no change would be made that would do them harm or injury of any sort whatever (hear, hear). *He always believed that the cry of, 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right,' was a wicked and lying cry.*

"Ten years ago, he said, he wrote to the papers on the subject saying such a cry was *not true*, and trying to point the real truth out. He always held that, simply as a political argument, attack on the Catholic Church were a foolish and ridiculous mode of procedure. They knew well that human nature lay at the bottom of the whole of them, and if the clergymen that they belonged to were attacked they would assuredly defend them, no matter whether they liked the individuals or not.

"He felt that in a country where the bulk of the population professed a religion different to theirs, the throb of the Orange drum right in the faces of their countrymen was wrong. When he went over to English platforms and talked about Ulster fighting, everyone laughed at them; *the thing was ridiculous and could not be done.*"

### THE DAILY MAIL REPORT.

This year, after the General Election, the cry revived. Ulster was not merely going to fight: she was arming. Dozens of exciting leading articles appeared in the London press. Then one paper, the *Daily Mail*, had the enterprise to send over a correspondent who should collect not rumours, but facts. Here is the first paragraph of his report, published on Jan. 19th, 1911:—

"No preparations are in progress at present anywhere in Ulster for armed resistance to Home Rule. The reports that large sums of money have been subscribed and large quantities of arms purchased with the view of concerted military measures—are mere reports. No arms are being imported either openly or surreptitiously beyond the normal demands of the trade."

Since then, there has been very little talk of Ulster fighting. The bluff had been carried too far.

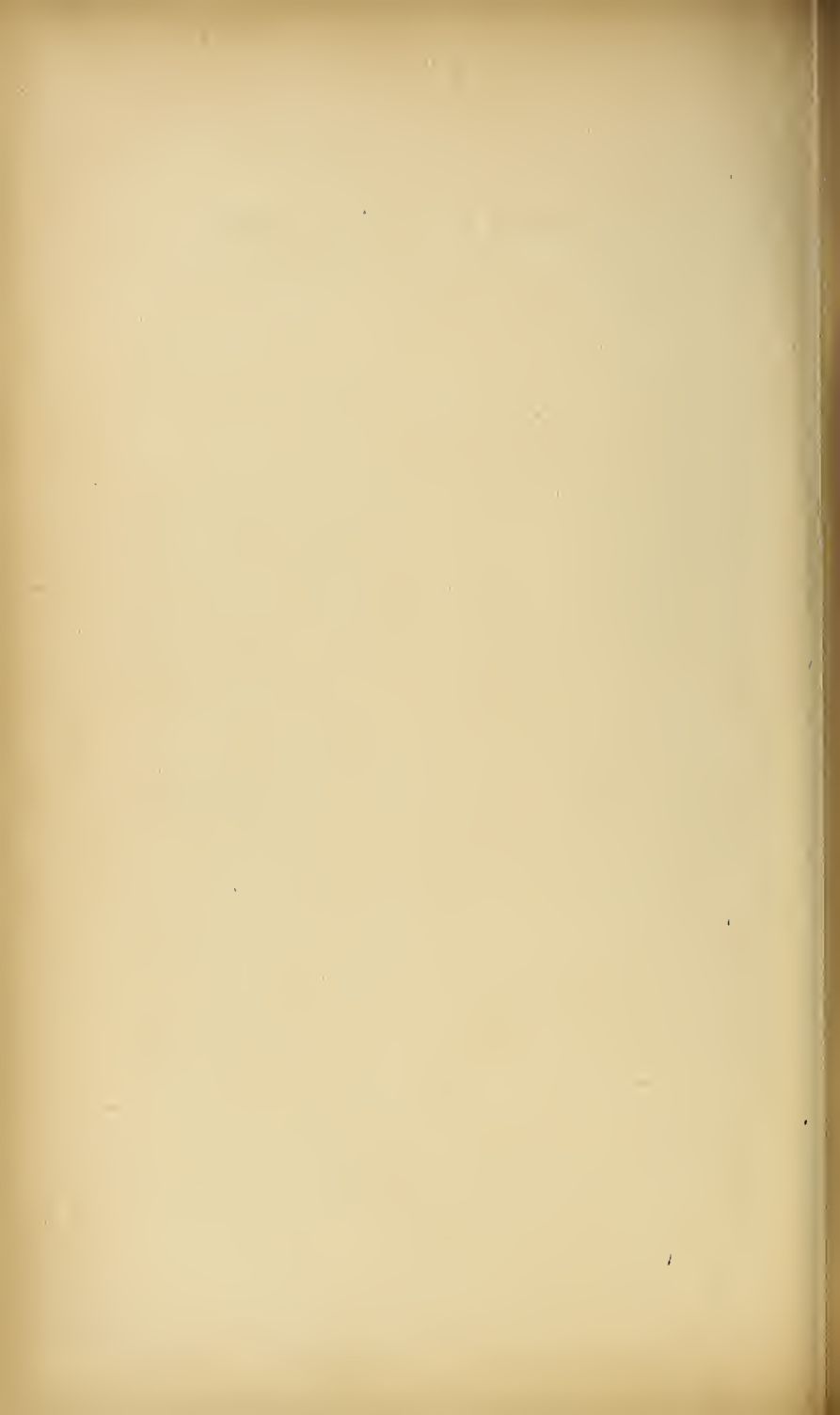


# IRISH PROTESTANTS AND HOME RULE . .

BY

JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P.

PUBLISHED BY THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY,  
2 & 4 GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER



# Irish Protestants and Home Rule.

A LECTURE DELIVERED IN THE ROTUNDA; DUBLIN, 29TH NOVEMBER,  
1886.

THE charge made against the mass of the Irish people of religious intolerance is, perhaps, the most insulting accusation which could be levelled against a nation struggling to be free, and, if proved, would go far, indeed, to justify the refusal of free institutions to a people who themselves had not conceived the fundamental ideas of freedom. Such a charge against any nation at this time of the nineteenth century to ordinary persons would seem a little exaggerated; but coming from the people of England against the people of Ireland, such a charge must seem to anyone who knows the facts, and has read the pages of history, little short of absurd and ridiculous. Still, the accusation was freely made against our people during the last elections. The English people were told by statesmen who well know the contrary to be the truth that it would not be safe to give Home Rule to Ireland, because Ireland was made up not of one nation but of two, and that the Protestant Irish nation, being in the minority, would suffer persecution and be at the hands of a National Parliament in Dublin containing a majority of Catholics. Absurd as this accusation is, there is reason to believe that it had considerable weight with many Englishmen, and it undoubtedly constitutes one of the difficulties which still stand in the way of the concession of self-government to Ireland. It consequently becomes our duty to expose its fallacy, to show its inherent impossibility, and to appeal to the pages of history in support of our argument.

I propose shortly to prove—first, that there are no two nations in Ireland to-day, and secondly, that all the history of the past disproves the assertion that Catholic Irishmen ever were guilty of religious persecution, and all the experience of the present shows them to be incapable either of intolerance or bigotry. I assert that there are no two nations in Ireland to-day—that all the people

of this land—Catholic and Protestant and Presbyterian—of Celtic or Norman, or Saxon extraction—are all children of one nation bound together not only by common interests, but by common traditions, memories, and history. In order to prove my assertion it is necessary briefly to glance at the history of Protestant patriotism in Ireland, and to show how the English Protestant colony became in fact and in substance incorporated with the native Irish, as the Normans had been incorporated with them before, and how what was established as an English garrison in the end became converted into the garrison of the national rights and liberties of Ireland. In tracing this story I will at one and the same time show how much Ireland owes to her Protestant patriots, and how strong are the bonds which unite into one nation Irishmen of every religious persuasion.

From 1691, for nearly one hundred years, the native Catholic masses were penalized and outlawed. They were banished from Parliament and deprived of the franchise; they could not possess property, or practise their religion, or educate their children. The leaders were in exile, fighting under the standards of foreign monarchs and those at home in Ireland, beaten to the ground, were hopeless and helpless. Curiously enough, what went by the name of “the Irish nation” was the colony of English Protestants who had undertaken the government of the country, who had become possessors of the lands of the Catholics, and who were so divided from the masses of the people by religion and sentiment that they seemed to think their only safety lay in forging penal chains for the native Irish. I think no history in the world affords a parallel to this extraordinary result which speedily followed.

Natives and Colonist coalesced. The latter, as Burke said at length discovered that they had a country, and became as Irish as the Irish themselves. The nation was consolidated by the fusion of the Irish of English blood with the Irish of Irish blood. The manner in which this happy consummation was brought about was characteristic of the treatment which Ireland had ever received from the government of England.

The Protestant colony was expected by England to enslave the Irish nation; but having done so, it was expected also to submit to slavery itself. “Your ancestors,” said John Philpot Curran



the Irish Parliament a hundred years afterwards—"your ancestors thought themselves the oppressors of their fellow-countrymen, but they were only their jailors; and the justice of Providence would have been frustrated if their own slavery had not been the punishment of their vice and folly." The Protestant colony had succeeded in completely suppressing the native Irish. It had absolutely excluded the Catholics from power. It had made the executive of the country exclusively Protestant; but when it aspired to freedom for itself, it was speedily taught that it was nothing more than the agent of England, and that the only freedom it could claim was the freedom to oppress and trample on the ancient Irish nation. In point of fact, as soon as the colony had succeeded in enslaving the Irish, England set to work to enslave the colony. The colony had deprived the Catholics of a share in Parliament. England thereupon robbed the Parliament of its independence. The colony had condemned the Catholics to poverty; England thereupon restricted the trade and destroyed the prosperity of the colony.

The claim of the English Parliament to control, direct, and bind the Irish legislature was of old origin. Poyning's Law, which enacted that no Bill could be originated in the Irish Parliament until the heads of it had been sanctioned by the English Privy Council, was, it is true, passed so early as 1495. But repeatedly the Irish Parliament had endeavoured, with more or less success, to free itself from the fetter. In 1640 it asserted its right to legislative independence. Later on, the Confederation of Kilkenny asserted the same right in a still more unequivocal manner. In 1689 the Parliament of James II. repealed Poyning's Act, and again asserted the legislative independence of Ireland. But after the triumph of William III. the Irish legislature definitely sank to the level of a committee of the English Parliament, and the more the colonists suppressed the liberties of the Catholics, the more England suppressed their own privileges and degraded their own Parliament. In 1699 a fatal blow was struck by England at the commercial prosperity of the colony. The woollen trade was practically suppressed. All exports of woollen cloths were prohibited except to England and Wales, and even this exception was delusive, for heavy duties, amounting to a prohibition, prevented Irish cloth being imported into England or Wales. All trade between Ireland and the colonies

was prohibited by the Navigation Laws. Mr. Lecky says in his *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* :—

“ Protestants then began to find that they were as little thought of as the Catholics. The suppression of the woollen trade brought ruin upon twelve thousand Protestant families in Dublin, and thirty thousand in the rest of the country. By her commercial laws England deliberately crushed the prosperity of the Protestant colony of Ireland, drove thousands of them into exile, arrested the influx of Protestant population from Great Britain, and inspired the Presbyterians of the north with a bitter hatred of her rule.”

In point of fact, a deliberate system was established to put down alike the political pretensions and the commercial prosperity of the Protestants of Ireland, who then found themselves in this extraordinary situation. They had, supported by England, practically enslaved the Irish people, and in return they were expected to calmly accept the position of slaves themselves. Then there was born in the breasts of those men the first spark of that sentiment of nationality which was destined to win for them and their country commercial freedom and legislative independence, and eventually to weld into one nation Irishmen of all creeds and of all bloods. This spirit at first was very timid, very narrow-minded and selfish. It never seemed to occur to these men that to constitute a nation, and to assert its independence, the concession of liberty to all Irishmen was essential.

At first their ideas of nationality included only the Protestants of Ireland. We shall see by-and-by how this idea fructified and developed, until, in the minds of Grattan and his colleagues, the Irish nation for which they had struggled included their countrymen of every creed. The first evidence of this growing spirit of revolt against English oppression was furnished by the publication of the celebrated *Case of Ireland Stated*, which was a book written by Mr William Molyneux, Member for Dublin University, in which he conclusively proved that England had no legal or equitable right to interfere in the legislation of the Irish Parliament. It was, in truth, as a voice crying in the wilderness. Men were amazed at its audacity, and English statesmen were horrified at what they called its revolutionary doctrines. The book was burned by order of the English Parliament by the hands of the common hangman, but the spirit of which it was an evidence survived, and from that day

ward the patriot party amongst the Protestants of Ireland may be said to have existed.

It was at this period of Ireland's history, when the idea of nationality was slowly developing in the minds of the Protestant colony, that there appeared upon the political stage the striking and eccentric figure of Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. Swift was one of the strangest characters in Irish history—an odd mixture of patriotism and narrow bigotry, of genius and eccentricity. He never made the slightest effort to mitigate the persecution of the Catholics; he never for an instant included them in his idea of Irish Nationality; yet he did as much, probably, as any man in history to consolidate the Irish nation; and he not only paved the way for, but he rendered absolutely inevitable, that fusion between the Protestant colony and the native Catholics which, in the end, won independence for the country. He urged the people to meet the restrictions placed upon their trade by boycotting foreign goods, and advised them to "burn everything English except their coals." He seized upon the question of supplying Ireland with a new copper coinage as an opportunity for vindicating the independence of the country; and in the *Drapier Letters* he boldly asserted the ideas which were rapidly maturing in the minds of the Protestants. He asserted the legislative independence of Ireland, and the nullity of those measures which had not received the sanction of the Irish Legislature. He avowed his entire adherence to the doctrine of *Jolyneux*; he asserted that Ireland was rightfully a free nation, which implied a right of self-government, "for government without the consent of the governed was the very definition of slavery." In vain England sought to insist upon Wood's halfpence. Swift, in fighting this issue, was fighting the battle of Irish independence. He persevered; he united the people of all creeds at his back; and in the end he carried his point. Speaking of this contest, Mr. Lecky says:—

"This contest deserves to be placed in the foremost ranks in the annals of the Irish race. There is no more momentous epoch in the history of a nation than that in which the voice of a people has first spoken, and spoken with success. It marks the transition from an age of semi-barbarism to an age of civilisation, from the government of force to the government of opinion. Before this time rebellion was the natural issue of every patriotic effort in Ireland; since then rebellion has been an

anachronism and a mistake. The age of Desmond and O'Neill had passed; the age of Grattan and O'Connell had begun."

Swift now became the idol and leader of the Irish people. He taught them their first lessons in self-reliance. He led them to victory when oppression had well-nigh broken their spirit, and when the exile of all their own leaders had robbed them of hope he held up before their eyes the possibility—soon afterwards to be in part realised—of a fusion of the two sections into one nation and consequently, in spite of his well-known intolerance and bigotry, he became the most universally popular man in Ireland. His ending was singularly tragic. The great controversialist, the energetic patriot, the brilliant wit, sank into his grave in a hopeless state of idiocy.

"Last scene of all,  
That ends this strange, eventful history,  
Is second childishness and mere oblivion."

Swift passed away, but the cause of Irish nationality which he had championed never afterwards passed away from the mind of either of the Protestants or the Catholics of Ireland.

Flood then came forward as the leader of the patriotic party and at one step we may pass on to the history of the Volunteer. In 1778 the Irish Parliament sanctioned the enrolment of a volunteer force for the defence of the country. Mr. Lecky thus describes what then occurred. He says:—

"Then arose one of those movements of enthusiasm that occur to or three times in the history of a nation. The cry to arms passed through the land, and was speedily responded to by all parties and by all creeds. Beginning with the Protestants of the North, the movements soon spread to other parts of the island, and the war of religions and of creeds, which had so long divided the people, vanished as a dream. The inertia produced by centuries of oppression was speedily forgotten, and replaced by the consciousness of recovered strength. From Howth to Connemara, from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear, the enthusiasm had passed, and the creation of an army had begun."

The Irish Volunteers were at first an exclusively Protestant organisation, but so anxious were the Catholics from the first to participate in the movement, that in the City of Limerick, where it was forbidden to bear arms themselves, they subscribed £800 to purchase arms for their Protestant fellow-countrymen. It was now that the public spirit in Ireland began at last to be truly National. Every



Grattan saw in the Volunteers a means of uniting Irishmen, and, owing largely to his exertions, Catholics were at last admitted into the ranks of the National army. Shoulder to shoulder, Catholic and Protestant Irishmen united to demand free trade and a free parliament. In the words of Flood:—"A voice from America shouted 'Liberty,' and every hill and valley of this rejoicing land answered 'Liberty!'" In 1780 the Volunteers obtained for this country a first instalment of liberty in the concession of complete free trade—that is, the freedom of their trade from all restriction placed upon it by any authority other than the legislature of Ireland. The next step was the assertion of the independence of the Irish Parliament from interference by England. Day by day the fusion of the English colony and the Irish nation was becoming more perfect; day by day the fell spirit of sectarian hate was dying out. The Volunteers declared at Dungannon, in Convention assembled, that:—

"We hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves, and we conceive the measure of relaxation of the Penal Laws against the Roman Catholics to be fraught with the happiest consequences of the Union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland."

And Grattan repeatedly voiced the determination of the leaders of the patriotic party to base liberty upon the recognition of the entire people. In one of his speeches he made this remarkable declaration:—

"So long as the Penal Code remains we can never be a great nation. . . . I would not keep two millions of my fellow-countrymen in a state of slavery. I desire not a Protestant settlement, but an Irish nation."

How Legislative Independence was won in 1782 everyone knows, and how the Protestant Parliament, having broken its own fetters, set themselves instantly to the task of admitting Catholics to their full rights will never be forgotten. The work of emancipation was slow, but sure. In 1793 Catholics were admitted to the franchise, the grand juries, the professions, and the University; and when, two years later, Lord Fitzwilliam arrived in Ireland we have that nobleman's own authority for the statement, "that the Protestants of Ireland had generally accepted and approved of a policy of complete and immediate emancipation."

Unfortunately, English statesmen had at this time determined to force a scheme of legislative union upon the country, and they knew that such a policy would be impossible if once the Catholics were admitted within the constitution. Primate Boulter, more than half a century before had said, "When Papist and Protestant unite good bye to English interests in Ireland." English ministers determined that this union should not take place. Accordingly, the policy of emancipation was wrecked, and an intolerant Irish faction was utilised for the purpose of stirring up religious animosities and driving the people into insurrection. The diabolical plan succeeded only too well, and Ireland was robbed of her Parliament.

But Irishmen do not forget that Protestants won the Parliament of '82; Protestants organised the Society of United Irishmen, and filled its ranks both before and after it became a revolutionary body. Protestants gave the franchise to Catholics in 1793; Protestants led the rebel armies in 1798; Protestants gallantly, but vainly defended Irish constitutional liberty in 1800.

It is true that all this time there had been an intolerant anti-Irish and anti-Catholic faction in Ireland. The men who in 1793 opposed the claims of the Catholics, who brought about the recall of Fitzwilliam in 1795, whose bigotry and fanatical oppression drove the people into arms in '98, who posed as the English garrison in 1800, and sold their country's liberty, and who from that day to this hour have ever been the despised tools of English misgovernment in Ireland—these men have never risen above the tactics or the aspirations of a faction. The Irish nation, ignoring faction, is bound together by devotion to the land that bore them, by hatred of oppression and love of liberty, and by the memory of the scenes when their forefathers, Catholics and Protestants alike, shed their blood in defence of religious toleration and national freedom.

I now pass to the statement, or rather the prophecy, that under a Home Rule Parliament the Catholic majority would persecute and oppress their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Grattan once said:—"You cannot argue with a prophet, you can only disbelieve him." In the case of this evil prophecy, we can happily in addition apply to it the test of experience and history.

When and where and how have Catholic Irishmen evinced a spirit of religious persecution and intolerance? If it be possible to show

I contend that it is, that Irish Catholics are almost the only people in the world's history who have never persecuted for conscience' sake, that when they had the supremacy in the past they never oppressed their Protestant fellow-countrymen, and that in matters in which they hold power to-day they make no distinction between men of different creeds—if it is possible to prove all this, what becomes of the evil prophecy of our enemies? There are four distinct times in the history of Ireland when the Catholics possessed supremacy and had the power to persecute and oppress their Protestant fellow-countrymen. These periods were (1) in the reign of Queen Mary; (2) in 1641; (3) at the time of the Catholic Parliament of 1689; and (4) at the present time, when Catholics have sufficient power in the commercial, social, and municipal life of Ireland to make a man's creed a disability to him if the spirit of religious intolerance were abroad. Let me briefly deal with these four periods.

In the reign of Mary the Catholics were suddenly restored from persecution to power. They were fresh from oppression, for conscience' sake, of the most horrible character. In England the change from persecution to power was marked by oppression of the Protestants by the Catholics. Mary burned to death her Protestant subjects. But the Irish Catholics did not persecute a single individual; and, on the contrary, it is admitted that the Corporation of Dublin of that day rented seventy-four houses, and invited over English Protestant merchants from Bristol, and when Mary's persecution ceased, sent them and their families back safely to their homes. Leland, a Protestant historian, writing on the subject, says:—

“Such was the spirit of toleration that many English families, friends of the Reformation, took refuge in Ireland, and there enjoyed their opinions without molestation.”

And a Protestant writer, Taylor, in his *History of the Civil Wars of Ireland*, testifies as follows:—

“The restoration of the old religion was effected without violence; no persecution of the Protestants was attempted, and several of the English, who fled from the furious zeal of Mary's inquisitors, found a safe refuge among the Catholics of Ireland. It is but justice to this unaligned body to add, that on three occasions of their obtaining the

upper hand they never injured a single person in life or limb for professing a religion different to their own. They had suffered persecution and learned mercy, as they showed in the reign of Mary, in the wars from 1641 to 1648, and during the brief triumph of James II."

I pass now to the second period of the Catholic power—namely, 1641. As a sample of what the British electorate were induced to believe last July, it will be interesting to you to hear a few words on this subject from a leaflet issued from Mr. Sidebottom, the successful Tory candidate for Hyde:—

"Q. Have the Irish ever had Home Rule, and how did they behave?"

"A. They murdered every Englishman and Protestant they could lay their hands on in 1641. They were set on by the priests, who said that Protestants were devils and served the devil, and that the killing of them was a meritorious act. Altogether they killed in that year 150,000 Protestants—men and women and children."

This puts in a somewhat exaggerated form a very common accusation in the mouths of your enemies. The story of a wholesale massacre of Protestants in the rising of 1641 has been repeatedly proved to be utterly groundless. Mr. Lecky, whose bias cannot be said to be in favour of either the Catholics or Nationalists of Ireland, speaks of it as follows:—

"The rebellion only assumed its general character in consequence of the resolution of the English House of Commons that no toleration should be henceforth granted to the Catholic religion in Ireland. It is this policy that drove the Catholic gentry of Ireland very reluctantly into rebellion. The rebellion was a defensive war, entered into in order to secure a toleration of the religion of the Irish people. . . . *It may boldly be asserted that the statement of a general and organised massacre is utterly and absolutely untrue.* As is usually the case with popular risings, there were in the first outbreak of the rebellion some murders, but there were very few, and there was nothing whatever in the nature of a massacre. . . . The rebellion was not one due to any single cause, but it represented the accumulated wrongs and animosities of two generations. All the long train of agrarian wrongs, from Mullaghmast to the latest inquisitions of Wentworth, all the long succession of religious wrongs, from the test of Uniformity of Elizabeth to the Confiscation of the Irish College under Charles, contributed to the result."



The Protestant historian, Leland, says :—

“ The Catholic priests laboured zealously to moderate the excesses of war, and frequently protected Protestants when danger threatened them, by concealing them in their places of worship, and even under their doors.”

And the history of Dr. Bedell, the Protestant Bishop of Dromore, who during a considerable portion of the rising enjoyed the respect of the insurgents, and on his death was followed to his grave by one of O'Neill's regiments, is proof enough of the absurdity and untruthfulness of the story of a general massacre of Protestants.

The rebellion culminated in the assembling of the Confederation at Kilkenny, which was really a Catholic Parliament, and our enemies will search its records in vain for any single measure evincing a spirit of persecution.

I pass now to the third period, that of James's Parliament of 1689. In this Parliament there were only six Protestant members in the House of Commons, and some ten or twelve in the House of Lords. Yet, so far were the Catholics from excluding Protestants from Parliament, that six Protestant Bishops sat in the House of Peers, and no Catholic prelate was admitted at all. This Parliament consisted, then, for the most part of Catholics animated by the memory of the most bitter wrongs. They were the sons of men who, without trial and without compensation, had been robbed of their estates. The confiscations of Ulster, the fraud of Charles, the atrocities of Strafford, were to them recent and vivid events. At last power had changed hands and rested with them. Now did they use it ? To persecute and oppress ? To retaliate for old wrongs ? No ! The first act of that Parliament was to establish perfect religious equality, and to guarantee to Protestants full liberty of professing, practising, and teaching their religion. On the evidences of religious toleration in the past history of Ireland, Mr. Lecky says :—

“ Irish history contains its full share of violence and massacre, but whoever will examine these episodes with impartiality may easily convince himself that their connection with religion has been most superficial. Religious cries have been sometimes raised, religious enthusiasm has been often appealed to in the agony of a struggle ; but the real causes have usually been the conflicts of races and classes, the struggle of nationality

against annihilation. Amongst the Catholics at least, religious tolerance has never been a prevailing vice, and those who have studied closely the history and character of the Irish people can hardly fail to be struck with the deep respect for sincere religion in every form which they have commonly evinced. Their original conversion to Christianity was probably accompanied by less violence and bloodshed than that of an equally considerable nation in Europe; and in spite of the fearful calamities which followed the Reformation, it is a memorable fact that not a single Protestant suffered for his religion in Ireland during all the period of the Marian persecution in England. The treatment of Bedell, a Protestant prelate, during the outbreak of 1641, and the act establishing liberty of conscience, passed by the Irish Parliament of 1689, in the flush of the brief Catholic ascendancy under James II., exhibit very remarkably this aspect of the Irish character."

The same spirit was displayed by Irish Catholics to the first Quaker mission; and it is recorded that in 1712 James Hoskins accompanied by several Dublin Quakers, went preaching his doctrine through Connemara, which was exclusively Catholic, without meeting with the slightest molestation. The experience of Wesley, half a century later, was similar. He has recorded in his journal that he found more respectful hearers amongst the Catholics of Ireland than in most parts of England; and he speaks in warm appreciation of "the tolerant spirit of the Catholics of Ireland."

One word now as to the present, and I have done. At the present day Catholics have not the power of persecution by fire or sword; but they possess a supremacy in many directions which, guided by a spirit of intolerance, could effectually harass and oppress the Protestant population. All the world knows how that power is used. When, in 1873, the representatives of the Irish people met in conference in this room to assert their demand for Home Rule, a resolution was unanimously adopted, and I am glad to remember it was proposed by my own father, in these words:—

"While we believe that in an Irish Parliament the rights and liberties of all classes of our countrymen would find their best and surest protection, we are willing that there should be incorporated in the Federal Constitution articles supplying the amplest guarantees, that no legislation shall be adopted to establish any religious ascendancy in Ireland, or to subject any person to disabilities on account of his religious opinions."

From that day to this the Catholic majority has acted upon that principle. The most Catholic constituencies in Ireland return to-day

protestant members to Parliament. Catholic cities elect Protestants to the highest civic honours. Catholic Corporations employ protestant officials ; and last, but not least, the leader of the Irish race, to whom his Catholic fellow-countrymen are bound by the strongest links of personal affection and political devotion, is a protestant Irishman. No ! we Catholic Irish men repudiate the accusation of intolerance with scorn and indignation. We do not even understand the meaning of the words religious bigotry. By the Irish nation we do not mean any class, or sect, or creed. By Irish independence we mean liberty for every Irishman, whether in his veins runs the blood of the Kelt, or the Norman, the Cromwellian or the Williamite ; whether he professes the ancient faith of Ireland, or that newer creed which has given to our country some of the bravest and purest of her patriots. We are banded together in a struggle for our National rights, and, as a Catholic Irishman, I assert my belief that never again would the Catholics of Ireland lift hand or voice to obtain an Irish Parliament did they not know that the edifice of National freedom which it would raise would be based upon the most perfect civil and religious liberty of every Irishman, of every class and creed.

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# “WHERE PARNELL STOOD”

BY

JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P.

PUBLISHED BY THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY,  
& 4, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER.



# WHAT WE MEAN BY HOME RULE

By John Redmond, M.P.

Reprinted by permission from "*T. P.'s Magazine*" for February,  
1911.

THE recent controversy concerning Home Rule has been marked by two statements persistently made, and both of them so ignorantly and unscrupulously untrue that it is impossible to imagine how anyone could be deceived by them; and yet, on Irish affairs, the most extraordinary and ridiculous absurdities often pass current, and it may be well to dispose of these two misstatements to which I refer once and for all.

The first misstatement is that the idea of Federalism as a solvent of the Irish question is something new—a sort of miraculous inspiration springing from the genius of the *Morning Post*, or Lord Dunraven, or Mr. Garvin, or Mr. Moreton Frewen, or perhaps, indeed, Mr. Wanklyn.

The second misstatement is that what is called "Parnellite Home Rule" is quite inconsistent with Federalism—is, in fact, its antithesis, and means, in its motive and necessary effect, separation.

Both these statements are absurdly, ignorantly, and shamefully untrue.

The history of what is called "The New Departure" proves this.

Proposals of Federalism go back, in reality, eighty years. Daniel O'Connell proposed the Repeal of the Union, but simple Repeal, everyone knew, could not meet the case; it meant going back to the status of Grattan's Parliament, and, not to mention other defects, Grattan's Constitution had one fatal blot, namely, that the Executive Government was independent of Parliament, and

went in and out of office with the majority in the English, and not in the Irish, Parliament. Everyone knew, therefore, that simple repeal could not meet the necessities of the case. The first person I believe, to propose a Federal Constitution was Mr. Sharma Crawford, somewhere about the year 1832; and immediately after O'Connell's release from prison in 1844, it was announced, with seeming authority, that the Whig leaders of the day had resolved to effect an alliance with O'Connell on the basis of carrying a Federal arrangement between the two countries. In October of that year O'Connell wrote a most remarkable letter to the Repeal Association in which he stated that plans for a Federal Union between the two countries had been proposed, and were then under his consideration. In this letter he said:—

“Both parties are agreed that those powers should be sufficient extensive to enable the Irish Parliament to protect the lives, liberties and property of the people. That it should have the power to enact all the laws to be in force in Ireland—in short, that it should be an efficient Parliament for all legislative, financial, and judicial purposes within His Majesty's realm of Ireland. The simple Repealers are of opinion that the reconstituted Irish Parliament should have the same power and authority which the former Irish Parliament had. The ‘Federalists’ on the contrary, appear to me to require more for Ireland than the simple Repealers do; for besides the local Parliament in Ireland having full and perfect local authority, the Federalists require that there should be for questions of Imperial concern, colonial, military, and naval, and foreign alliance and policy, a Congressional or Federal Parliament, which Ireland should have a fair share and proportion of representation and power.

“It is but right and just to confess that in this respect the Federalists would give Ireland more weight and importance in Imperial concerns than she would receive by the plan of the simple Repealers. For my own part, I will own, since I have come to contemplate these specific differences, such as they are, between ‘simple Repeal,’ and Federalism, I do at present feel a preference for the Federative plan, tending more to the utility of Ireland.”

Shortly after this declaration of O'Connell's, the unhappy differences between him and the Young Irelanders arose, followed by the famine, and then by O'Connell's death. After that a peril ensued when Constitutional methods practically disappeared altogether. It was not until after the Fenian Movement had been broken that the thoughts of Ireland again turned, under the



inspiration of Isaac Butt, to Constitutional agitation ; and when the Home Rule Movement, as it is now known, arose, it was on the basis of Federalism that Mr. Butt proceeded.

The movement took shape at the great Conference which assembled at the Rotunda, in Dublin, on the 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st November, 1873. There the basis of Home Rule was laid down, and, for the first time, Repeal of the Union was formally and definitely abandoned by the representatives of the Nationalists of Ireland, and a Federal Union proposed. From that date until now thirty-seven years have elapsed, and the demand put forward by Isaac Butt has never been in substance varied, and remains to-day the demand of the Irish people. As I will show later on, Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1886 was quite consistent with a general scheme of Federalism ; and his Bill of 1893, by the retention of Irish members at Westminster, would have created a new Irish Constitution ready, here and then, to form a part of a general Federal scheme whenever that system might come into existence. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Home Rule Conference in 1873 :—

“ I. That, as the basis of the proceedings of this Conference, we declare our conviction that it is essentially necessary to the peace and prosperity of Ireland that the right of domestic legislation on all Irish affairs should be restored to our country.

“ II. That, solemnly reasserting the inalienable right of the Irish people to self-government, we declare the time in our opinion has come when a combined and energetic effort should be made to obtain the restoration of that right.

“ III. That, in accordance with the ancient and constitutional rights of the Irish Nation, we claim the privilege of managing our own affairs by a Parliament assembled in Ireland, and composed of the Sovereign, the Lords, and the Commons of Ireland.

“ IV. That, in claiming these rights and privileges for our country, we adopt the principle of a Federal arrangement, which would secure to the Irish Parliament the right of legislating for and regulating all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, while leaving to the Imperial Parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting the Imperial Crown and Government, legislation regarding the colonies, and other dependencies of the Crown, the relations of the Empire with Foreign States, and all matters appertaining to the defence and stability of the Empire at large ; as well as the power of granting and providing the supplies necessary for Imperial purposes.

" V. That such an arrangement does not involve any change in the existing constitution of the Imperial Parliament, or any interference with the prerogatives of the Crown or disturbance of the principles of the Constitution.

" VI. That, to secure to the Irish people the advantages of constitutional government, it is essential that there should be in Ireland an administration for Irish affairs, controlled, according to constitutional principles, by the Irish Parliament, and conducted by ministers constitutionally responsible to that Parliament.

" VII. That, in the opinion of this Conference, a Federal arrangement based upon these principles, would consolidate the strength, and maintain the integrity of the Empire, and add to the dignity and power of the Imperial Crown.

" VIII. That, while we believe that in an Irish Parliament the rights and liberties of all classes of our countrymen would find their best and surest protection, we are willing that there should be incorporated in the Federal Constitution articles supplying the amplest guarantee that no change shall be made by that Parliament in the present settlement of property in Ireland, and that no legislation shall be adopted to establish any religious ascendancy in Ireland, or to subject any person to disability on account of his religious opinions."

Some of the details in these resolutions must, of course, be regarded as subject to alteration ; for example, the demand for the restoration of the Irish House of Lords is ludicrously out of date to-day, but the general principle of these resolutions expresses the demand of the Irish people to-day for Home Rule just as accurately as it did when the resolutions were passed.

In explaining these resolutions, Mr. Butt, in his speeches at the Conference said :—

" As to the Crown, it is not proposed to affect its prerogatives at all. The only change would be that, in exclusively Irish affairs, it would be guided by the advice of an Irish Parliament and an Irish Ministry. In all other affairs it would continue, as at present, to be guided by the advice of the Imperial Legislature. As to the Imperial Parliament, it would continue to have precisely the same supreme powers that it now possesses over all Imperial affairs—just as completely as if no Irish Parliament existed. Its jurisdiction would include every international transaction, all relations with Foreign States, all questions of peace and war, the government of the Colonies, the army, navy, and all that relates to the defence and stability of the Empire ; control of the Imperial customs and general trade regulations ; control of expenditure and supplies for all Imperial purposes ; power to levy general taxation for such purposes ; charge of the public debt and the Imperial Civil List ; and sovereign power within the limits of its attributes over individual citizens of both countries. But it should be set at

beforehand in what proportion Ireland should contribute to such expenditure—with what share of the public debt she is fairly chargeable ; what part of the Imperial Civil List she should pay ; and taxation should be adjusted not only as to amount, but as to mode, in such a manner that its burden would be equitably distributed throughout every part of the United Kingdom. Of course, Ireland would continue to be represented in the Imperial Parliament. For all Imperial purposes the two countries would continue to be a “ United Kingdom,” and to constitute in the face of other nations one Imperial State. As to the Irish Parliament, its jurisdiction would include every exclusively Irish interest ; education, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, public works, courts of justice, magistracy, public railways, post office, corporations, grand juries, and every other detail of Irish business and Irish National Life. . . . The sovereignty of both kingdoms would continue. and would be declared to be indissolubly united.”

With reference to this quotation of Mr. Butt’s, I wish again to safeguard myself as to the details, but I assert that the general principle underlying this proposal as explained by Mr. Butt embodies to-day, just as it did then, our present demand for Home Rule.

In face of these facts, is it not ludicrous to pretend that the suggestion of Federalism as a solvent of the Irish problem is something new ? It is as old as the hills.

Now, let me pass to the second misstatement with which I wish to deal. It is that what is called “ Parnellite Home Rule ” is inconsistent with a system of Federalism. Mr. Parnell was first elected to Parliament as a member of Mr. Butt’s party. He fully and completely accepted the Home Rule proposals of the Conference of 1873, and from that until the date of his death he never uttered one word in public or in private, antagonistic to a settlement such as the Irish nation were willing to accept in that year. In the year 1881, at the very height of the violence of the Land League Movement, Mr. Parnell more than once expressed the most moderate views on the question of Home Rule—views entirely inconsistent with the idea of separation. The following is portion of an interview between him and a Parisian journalist in that year :—

M. CORNELY : So far we have dismissed the disease. What about the remedy ?

Mr. PARNELL : There is but one—Home Rule, autonomy. We wish to enjoy the rights belonging to us as other subjects of the United Kingdom. We are tired of the position of pariah. In my soul and conscience I believe we shall win, and within a reasonable time.



M. CORNELY : I wish you may. But what do you want exactly ?

MR. PARNELL : A Parliament of our own—a Government of our own with a natural result—liberty. You will better understand me when I say that we should be assimilated to a state of things that exists in Canada.

M. CORNELY : And what control would the English have ?

MR. PARNELL : We would not cease to be subjects of the United Kingdom. The Queen would be our Queen. She would be the link that would attach Ireland to Great Britain. We would consent even to be governed by a Viceroy, provided there were no exceptional laws, and that the Viceroy had on more rights, no more arbitrary powers over us, than Queen Victoria has over her English or Scotch subjects. Political peace will never be obtained until the day when we are treated as a nation, or at least as a free colony, and when we shall have an Irish Parliament. The day when Ireland shall become like Canada, as I have told you, the day when the Viceroy, if Viceroy there shall be, shall have over Ireland no more rights than the Queen, of whom he is delegate, has over England.

In speaking on the Home Rule Bill in 1886, Mr. Parnell explicitly declared against Repeal of the Union, and in favour of a Subordinate Parliament. He said :—

“ We have always known since the introduction of this Bill the difference between a co-ordinate and a subordinate Parliament, and we have recognised that the Legislature which the Prime Minister proposes to constitute is a subordinate Parliament. . . . Undoubtedly, I should have preferred the restitution of Grattan’s Parliament . . . but I consider that there are practical advantages connected with the proposed statutory body, limited and subordinate to this Imperial Parliament as it undoubtedly will be, which will render it much more useful and advantageous to the Irish people than was Grattan’s Parliament. . . .

“ I understand the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament to be this—that they can interfere in the event of the powers which are conferred by this Bill being abused under certain circumstances. But the Nationalists, in accepting this Bill, go, as I think, under an honourable understanding not to abuse these powers ; and we pledge ourselves in that respect for the Irish people, as far as we can pledge ourselves, not to abuse those powers, and to devote our energies and our influences . . . to prevent those powers being abused.

“ The Imperial Parliament will have at command the force which it reserves to itself, and it will be ready to intervene, but only in the case of grave necessity arising.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ I believe that this is by far the best mode in which we can hope to settle this question. We look upon the provisions of this Bill as a final settlement of the question, and I believe that the Irish people have accepted it as such a settlement.”



On this point most valuable and interesting is the testimony of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes. I quote from Mr. Barry O'Brien's "Life of Parnell" :—

"Parnell (says Mr. Cecil Rhodes) was the most reasonable and sensible man I ever met.

"I first saw Parnell in 1888. I had closely followed the Home Rule Movement. It struck me in the light of local government.

"I always, even when I was at Oxford, believed in the justice and wisdom of letting localities manage their own affairs.

"Moreover, I was interested in the Home Rule movement, because I believed that Irish Home Rule would lead to Imperial Home Rule. I had met Mr. Swift MacNeill at the Cape, and I explained my views to him. I furthermore said that I was prepared to back my opinion on Home Rule substantially, which I did, for I sent Parnell £10,000 for the Home Rule cause.

"I came to England in 1888, and saw Mr. Swift MacNeill again, and he made arrangements for a meeting between myself and Parnell.

"We met at the Westminster Palace Hotel. After some preliminary conversation, Parnell said :

"Why, Mr. Rhodes, do you take an interest in this question ? What is Ireland to you ? "

"I replied that my interest in Ireland was an Imperial interest ; that I believed Irish Home Rule would lead to Imperial Home Rule.

PARNELL : "What practical proposal do you make ? What can I do for you ? "

RHODES : "I think that the Irish members should be retained in the Imperial Parliament ; first, for their own sake, next with a view to Imperial Federation, which is my question.

"(1) If the Irish members are excluded, nothing will persuade the English people but that Home Rule means separation ; that Home Rule is the thin end of the wedge ; and that when you get it you will next set up a republic, or try to do so. As long as the English people feel this, how can you expect to get Home Rule ? That is the political question as it affects you.

"(2) Next, there is the personal question, if you like, which affects me. I want Imperial Federation ; Home Rule with the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament will be the beginning of Imperial Federation. Home Rule with the Irish members excluded from the Imperial Parliament would lead nowhere, so far as my interests, which are Imperial interests, are concerned. Now, do you see my point ?

PARNELL : "Yes. I do not feel strongly on the question of the retention of the exclusion of the Irish members, but Mr. Gladstone does. The difficulty is not with me, but with him. He is strongly opposed to their retention. I have no objection to meeting English public opinion on that point, if Mr. Gladstone would agree. Do you ask me for anything else ? "

RHODES: "Yes. I want a clause—a little clause—a permissive clause, in your next Bill, providing that any colony which contributes to Imperial defence—to the Imperial Army or Navy—shall be allowed to send representatives to the Imperial Parliament in proportion to its contributions to the Imperial revenue. Then I think the number of Irish representatives should be cut down in proportion to Ireland's contribution to the Imperial revenue, so as to keep Ireland in line with the Colonies. I think that would be quite fair."

PARNELL: "I have no objection to your permissive clause."

\* \* \* \* \*

Ultimately it was arranged that I (Mr. Rhodes) should write a letter to Parnell setting out my views, and that he should send me a reply.

The negotiations between Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Parnell were brought to a close by the following remarkable letter:—

PARNELL TO MR. CECIL RHODES.

*June 23, 1888.*

DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 19th inst., which confirms the very interesting account given me at Avondale last January by Mr. MacNeill as to his interviews and conversations with you on the subject of Home Rule for Ireland. I may say at once, and frankly, that you correctly judged the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster to have been a defect in the Home Rule measure of 1886, and, further, that this proposed exclusion may have given some colour to the accusation so freely made against the Bill that it had a separatist tendency. I say this while strongly asserting and believing that the measure itself was accepted by the Irish people without any afterthought of the kind, and with an earnest desire to work it out with the same spirit with which it was offered—a spirit of cordial goodwill and trust, a desire to let bygones be bygones, and a determination to accept it as a final and satisfactory settlement of the long-standing dispute between Great Britain and Ireland.

I am very glad that you consider the measure of Home Rule to be granted to Ireland should be thoroughgoing, and should give her complete control over her own affairs without reservation, and I cordially agree with your opinion that there should be effective safeguards for the maintenance of Imperial unity. Your conclusion as to the only alternative for Home Rule is also entirely my own, for I have long felt that the continuance of the present semi-constitutional system is quite impracticable. But to return to the question of the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. My own views upon the points and probabilities of the future, and the bearing of this subject upon the question of Imperial federation—my own feeling upon the measure is that if Mr. Gladstone includes in his next Home Rule measure the provisions of such retention we should cheerfully concur with him, and

accept them with goodwill and good faith, with the intention of taking our share in the Imperial partnership. I believe also that in the event I state this will be the case, and that the Irish people will cheerfully accept the duties and responsibilities assigned to them, and will justly value the position given to them in the Imperial system. I am convinced that it would be the highest statesmanship on Mr. Gladstone's part to devise a feasible plan for the continued presence of the Irish members here, and from my observation of public events and opinions since 1885 I am sure that Mr. Gladstone is fully alive to the importance of the matter, and that there can be no doubt that the next measure of autonomy for Ireland will contain the provisions which you rightly deem of such moment.

It does not come so much within my province to express a full opinion upon the larger question of Imperial federation, but I agree with you that the continued Irish representation at Westminster immensely facilitates such a step, while the contrary provision in the Bill of 1886 would have been a bar. Undoubtedly this is a matter which should be dealt with in accordance largely with the opinion of the colonies themselves, and if they should desire to share in the cost of Imperial matters, as undoubtedly they now do in the responsibility, and should express a wish for representation at Westminster, I certainly think it should be accorded to them, and that public opinion in these islands would unanimously concur in the necessary constitutional modifications.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours truly,

CHAS. STEWART PARNELL.

From the foregoing, therefore, it is perfectly evident that Parnell was not demanding anything in the nature of separation, but, on the contrary, was asking for an Irish Constitution specially shaped so as to fit in with any general system of Federalism hereafter.

I claim to have shown by these citations, first that the Federal idea of a settlement of the Home Rule Question, so far from being new, dates from the year 1832, and that so far from such a settlement being inconsistent with what is called "Parnellite Home Rule," it would be quite consistent with every demand ever put forward by Parnell or his successors.

The one thing essential for us to be perfectly clear about is this: that while we are willing that our new Constitution should be so framed as to fit in readily with a general system of Federalism

later on, we must get *our* Constitution at once, and must not be asked to wait until the other portions of the United Kingdom have made up their minds to obtain Parliaments for themselves. In England I know of no such desire for Home Rule at all, which is perhaps quite natural, considering the fact that England possesses an overwhelming and permanent majority in the existing Parliament at Westminster. To ask Ireland, therefore, to postpone her claim until England, Scotland, and Wales were all ready to enter into a Federal arrangement, would be preposterous. Ours is the most urgent case. For Ireland, it is a matter of life and death, and we cannot wait. Subject to this consideration, I repeat we have no objection whatever to what is called Federalism, which, in reality, is nothing more or less than we have been demanding for Ireland for thirty years.

We stand, therefore, "where Parnell stood." Parnell stood where Isaac Butt stood, and Isaac Butt stood where O'Connell stood when he wrote his famous letter in 1844.

Ireland's demand is for full legislative and executive control of all purely Irish affairs, subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament. The Statute constituting the new Irish Parliament must settle the question of what are purely Irish affairs. Therefore that question rests in the hands of the present Imperial Parliament. The retention of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, and what number of them should be retained, must also, of course, be settled by the Imperial Statute. When such an Irish Parliament as I have indicated has been created, it will be there, a ready-made portion of any Federal system that Great Britain may create in the future. Let me again give a definition in as precise and definite words as possible of what we mean when we ask for Home Rule.

We mean an Irish Parliament with an Executive responsible to it, created by Act of the Imperial Parliament, and charged with the management of purely Irish affairs, such as land, education, local government, transit, labour, industries, taxation for local purposes, law and justice, police, &c., &c., &c., leaving to the Imperial Parliament, in which Ireland would continue to be represented, but probably in smaller numbers, the management, as at



present, of all Imperial affairs, such as Army, Navy, foreign relations, Customs, Imperial taxation, matters pertaining to the Crown, and all those other questions which are Imperial, and not local, in their nature; the Imperial Parliament also, of course, retaining an overriding supreme authority over the new Irish Legislature, such as it possesses to-day over all the various Parliaments in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other portions of the Empire.

The time has arrived when British statesmanship must set itself to work out the details of this great scheme of pacification for Ireland. In settling all these details Ireland will not be found unreasonable, but before coming to the details it is essential that there should be a clear understanding as to the principle of Ireland's demand, and it is for this reason that I have desired to clear up some of the most popular misapprehensions entertained in Great Britain as to what Ireland really wants.

J. E. R.



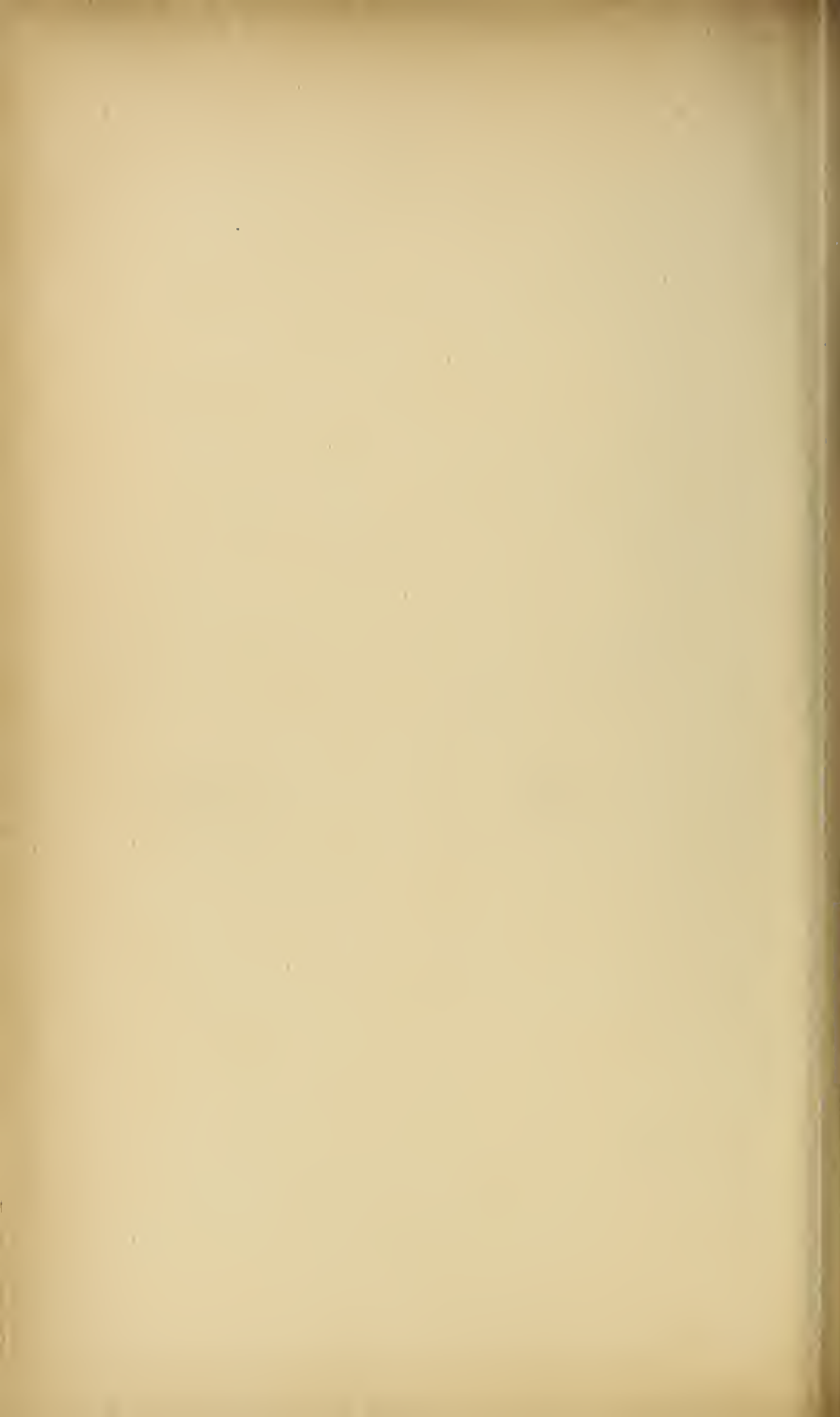
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Printed by Sealy, Bryers, and Walker, Dublin, and Published by the Irish Press Agency, 2, and 4  
Great Smith Street, Westminster.

A. 2374. 5/11.





## LORD ROSEBERY ON THE PREDOMINANT PARTNER

It is well to know exactly what was Lord Rosebery's real doctrine of the majority for converting the predominant partner.—Speaking at Edinburgh, on March 17th, 1894, he said:

“The other day—on the first night of the session—I had occasion to deal with the Irish question; and no man in my position can avoid dealing with the Irish question. (Cheers.) I thought that I had dealt with it with absolute frankness and absolute perspicuity, and my critics admit that I dealt with it with almost too much frankness and almost too much perspicuity; but, unfortunately, the interpretation that they put upon my words was not that which I put upon them in my intention. (Cheers.)

“What I said was that if we united to carry Home Rule we must carry conviction to the heart of England (cheers), and by those words I stand. (Cheers.) They are a truism, they are a platitude in the sense in which I uttered them, but, in the sense in which they have been interpreted, they bear a meaning which I, as a Scotsman, should be the first to repudiate. (Cheers.) Are we really to believe that in all the great measures which affect the partnership, which is called the United Kingdom, we are to wait for the predominant vote of England (Cries of “Never” and “No” and cheers.) Gentlemen, we should never carry anything. (Cheers.) Mr. Lecky will tell you in his history—extremely impartial at any rate as regards the party to which we belong—(laughter)—Mr. Lecky will tell you that the first Reform Bill was carried by Irish votes. The first Reform Bill was a much greater upheaval of the Constitution than any Irish Home Rule can possibly be, but it was carried by Irish votes. The present Government exists in the same way, and has carried the Parish Councils Bill by Irish votes. (Cheers.) We do not propose to sit on the banks of the stream of time and watch the stream pass by until it shall run dry in an English majority for the cause that we espouse. (Cheers.) What we mean to do is

what we have been doing ever since the Home Rule Bill was introduced in 1886. We are trying to bring conviction to the mind of the partner in our partnership that has the greatest population and the most votes. (Hear, hear.) That does not seem to me to be an entirely unnatural proceeding.

"I want you to understand that the operation of bringing conviction to the English conscience and the English mind, is one on which we have been engaged ever since 1886.

"What is the majority that was returned at the general election of 1886 against Home Rule in England? Now English constituencies, boroughs, counties, and universities, in 1886 returned 126 Home Rulers against 339 Unionists, a majority for the latter of 213. That was the English majority we had to knock down in 1886. In 1892 England returned 189 Home Rulers and 266 Unionists, showing that conversion had proceeded the length of reducing the anti-Home Rule majority from 213 to 69. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, we propose to go on reducing that majority. (Loud cheers.) We believe that we shall reduce it. (Hear, hear.) I go a great deal further than some of my timid critics on my own side. I believe that even if I had said—which I did not say—that I demanded an English majority for Home Rule, that English majority we shall get. (Cheers.) Sir, I must point out that if I had, however, meant that an English majority was necessary to the passing of Home Rule, I should have been uttering what is, on the face of it, an absurdity. (Hear, hear.) I suppose that all our opponents will concede that if to the next House of Commons we had brought a majority of 100 in favour of Home Rule, that would be a majority which would bring conviction to the minds of the House of Lords itself."

Lord Rosebery then went into figures and concluded by saying: "I think you will admit that **if we can have a majority of 100 outside England, and combining a majority of 45 against us in England, it is not necessary to demand an English majority for Home Rule.**" (Cheers.)

**The present majority for a Home Rule Government is 124; and the English majority against Home Rule is not 45 but only 15.**

Leaflet no. 22

# RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE UNDER HOME RULE.

SOME OPINIONS OF  
LEADING IRISH PROTESTANTS.

WRITTEN FOR PUBLICATION IN  
JUNE AND JULY, 1911.

*(Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged).*

TOGETHER WITH  
WHERE IS THE INTOLERANCE?

BEING SOME NOTES ON THE  
RECORD OF PUBLIC BODIES  
IN IRELAND.

COMPILED BY  
JEREMIAH MACVEAGH, M.P.

PUBLISHED BY  
THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY,  
2, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON  
PRICE, TWOPENCE.

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\*Those marked with an asterisk did not appear in the First Edition.

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# Religious Intolerance under Home Rule.

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## FOREWORD.

At every bye-election in Great Britain an army of speakers and canvassers, paid by the day on a generous scale, is imported from Ulster, and is employed on the ignoble work of slandering their own countrymen, and of painting lurid pictures of the intolerance which Protestants are likely to experience under Home Rule at the hands of a Catholic majority.

Henry Grattan said it was "impossible to argue with a prophet—one could only refuse to believe him"; and the vagueness of this particular prediction makes its refutation all the more difficult. It seemed to me, however, that the most effective method of reply would be to invite leading and representative non-Catholics in all parts of Ireland to state their views; and the replies to a circular letter are embodied in the following pages.

The list might be almost indefinitely extended, but sufficient statements are herein set forth to demonstrate the absurdity of the suggestion. A large number of Protestant clergymen hold similar views, but are unwilling to publish them, as the members of their congregations are divided in opinion on the subject. Many heads of commercial houses have also written me that the publication of their opinions might injure their business amongst Unionist clients, and that they therefore prefer to remain silent. That this discretion is not misplaced may be gauged from the following extract from a letter from a Circuit Steward of the Methodist Church, which was published in the *Belfast Evening Telegraph* of May 17th, 1911:—

"Some of our Methodist ministers may have a liking for Home Rule; but certainly if such men at the Conference show the slightest opposition to a resolution against Home Rule, we, the laymen, must take steps to remove such from our Society. We have the power, and we will certainly use it if necessary. I trust that a strong resolution will be drawn up and passed unanimously against Home Rule at our Conference."

It may not be amiss to set forth the fact that the EARL OF ABERDEEN, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and ex-High Commissioner of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, sent

the following telegrams to Mr. J. M. Henderson, M.P., during the General Election in December, 1910 :—

“ You are entirely at liberty to quote me as declaring to you that, after years of continuous residence in Ireland, watching affairs and meeting people of every class and creed, I am profoundly impressed as to the baselessness of alarm about the consequences of Home Rule.

“ On Home Rule for Ireland I repeat and emphasise the opinion of my former telegrams, especially regarding apprehension of religious intolerance. Numerous Protestant ministers in Roman Catholic parts of Ireland support me in this view.”

Lord Aberdeen, in those and similar pronouncements, was in accord with one of the most single-minded, devoted, and capable men who ever held the position of Irish Viceroy, the late EARL SPENCER, who, speaking at Chester in 1886, declared :—

“ I have had some experience of Ireland, and yet I do not know any specific instance where there has been the exercise of religious intolerance on the part of the Roman Catholics against their Protestant countrymen. There has been, I deeply regret to say, constant signs of bitter religious animosity. But where has it been shown? Not in those provinces where the Roman Catholics greatly preponderate, but in Ulster where more than one-half of the population belonged to the Protestant faith.”

I may add that another distinguished nobleman who has filled the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland as well as other not less important offices of State, the MARQUESS OF CREWE, writes me under date of 12th June, 1911 :—

“ It is evident that a renewed attempt is to be made to alarm public opinion in England, Scotland, and Wales, by excited forecasts of the dangers and disabilities which Protestants may expect to undergo under a system of Home Rule in Ireland. In 1886 and 1893 the animosity between classes, largely agrarian in its origin, was far stronger than it is at present, and the line of cleavage roughly followed that of religious difference. But even in those years, as I well remember, it was evident that the possibilities of intolerance in a self governed Ireland were deliberately and grossly exaggerated, with a party motive. Now, when the various classes know each other better and there is less occasion for friction, the attempt to excite religious discord will utterly fail, as I firmly believe. Even in the old days I often heard these melodramatic terrors ridiculed by sensible Unionists; and I cannot doubt that the number is now far greater of those who are willing to examine Home Rule on its merits, as a piece of political machinery, without endeavouring to raise a cloud of mistrust and prejudice.”



Lecky, the historian, who was himself an Irish Unionist M.P., wrote :—

“ Religious cries have been sometimes raised, religious enthusiasm has been appealed to, in the agony of a struggle; but the real causes have usually been the conflicts of races and classes, the struggle of a nationality against annihilation. Amongst the Catholics, at any rate, religious intolerance has never been a prevailing vice; and those who have studied closely the history and character of the Irish people can hardly fail to be struck with the deep respect for sincere religion, in every form, which they have commonly evinced.”

The letters embodied herein will, it may be confidently asserted, bring conviction to the mind of any fair-minded reader of the truth of Lecky's words.

In order to simplify reference on the subject, I have embodied in this Edition, not only a large number of further letters, but also details regarding the manner in which the Irish local authorities have used the powers conferred upon them by the Irish Local Government Act, from which it will be seen that *the only religious intolerance in Ireland is to be found in the North-east corner of Ulster, where an Orange majority predominates.*

A subsequent pamphlet will demonstrate that *there exists in Ireland to-day an Episcopalian Ascendancy under which, to the exclusion of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, the bulk of the Government appointments are in the hands of Episcopalians, who number little more than a tenth of the population, and whose opposition to Home Rule is really a struggle for the perpetuation of the Ascendancy of the Parson and the Squire.*

JEREMIAH MACVEAGH.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
21st August, 1911.

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## LETTERS RECEIVED.

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MR. EDWARD ARCHDALE, J.P., D.L.

(Deputy Lieutenant and ex-High Sheriff for two Irish Counties—  
Fermanagh and Tyrone.)

I have every reason to repudiate the idea that the grant of self-government to Ireland would result in the religious persecution of Protestants. There does not appear to be a grain of evidence in support of such a charge.

I consider the publicly expressed fears and forebodings of many North of Ireland Protestants in this respect are quite unfounded. They tend to foster ill-feeling and an unworthy state of panic as to the future of their country, which must be most injurious to her interests: and at the same time to create an entirely false impression of Ireland in the minds of the people of England.

My experience of my Roman Catholic countrymen, after more than 30 years' continued residence in Ireland, the latter 12 of them as a landowner and large employer of labour, and observation of their action on public bodies, convinces me that the charge of favouring persecution of Protestants in any shape or form is a most unjust one.

A few years ago, when arranging to sell their holdings to my Roman Catholic tenants, some of their clergy took part in the negotiations, and I always found them of great assistance in arriving at a fair settlement.

Some of the worthiest and most trustworthy men in my employment are Roman Catholics. They have always lived on the friendliest terms with my Protestant employees. No such thing as a religious quarrel has ever been heard of.

A few years ago they subscribed, of their own wish, to a wedding present for the Rector of this parish.

Neither from a political or religious standpoint have I any apprehension that Home Rule would result in the persecution of Protestants.

Castle Archdale, Irvinestown.

MR. JOSEPH ALEXANDER, LL.D.

(A Solicitor and Commissioner for Oaths in Londonderry.)

I see no reason to suppose that there will be any danger of intolerance under Home Rule, assuming that Home Rule was granted. Speaking for myself, as a Protestant, I may say that I have always lived on the very best terms with all my Catholic neighbours in this

district, and I think all my friends could say the same. Some of my truest friends, and I might also say clients, have always been Catholics. So far as this part of the country is concerned, there is absolutely nothing in this cry of intolerance.

Castle Street, Londonderry.

MR. JOHN ANDERSON, J.P.

(Gorticar House, Clonelly, Co. Fermanagh.)

I am a Methodist, living in the Northern portion of County Fermanagh, almost on the border of County Donegal, and have an intimate knowledge of the conditions of life, religious and political, prevailing in both counties. It is with complete confidence I give expression to the opinion that the establishment of an Irish Parliament will not have, as one of its consequences, the religious persecution of Protestants. I have been living and moving amongst Roman Catholics all my life, many of whom I regard as my best friends, and I have never seen bigotry or intolerance exhibited by any of them. I am a member of the local District Council since its establishment by the Local Government Act of 1898, and I can testify to the fair-mindedness and impartiality of my Roman Catholic colleagues. From my experience of the working of the Local Government Act, I believe the granting of large powers of Self-Government would be conducive to the best interests of Ireland, and that those powers would not be used for the promotion of sectarian objects.

As showing the spirit of fair play that prevails amongst the Roman Catholic population, I might mention that at the recent triennial election under the Local Government, in a division of the County Donegal, where the Roman Catholics in proportion to Protestants are about to three to one, they returned the son of a Protestant rector as their representative in preference to a Roman Catholic, who contested the seat. There are many such instances. During recent years nearly all the great burning questions that have agitated the minds of Irishmen have been settled, or are in course of settlement. The settlement of the Land Question, which produced such bitter conflict amongst various sections of Irishmen, is nearing completion; the University Education Question has been settled, to the mutual satisfaction of all religious creeds; the question of Irish Government alone remains. I believe the establishment of an Irish Parliament to deal with Irish domestic affairs would tend to allay any religious animosity that may still exist, and would unite Irishmen of all religious creeds in the desire to promote the welfare of their native land, and repair the ruins of the Irish Nation, for the love of which Protestants and Catholics have alike in the past shed their blood.

Gorticar House, Clonelly.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM, M.P.

(A Congregationalist, who has been a Nationalist Member for over a quarter of a century.)

My personal experience speaks for itself. Living in the City of Limerick, where my co-religionists are in an insignificant minority I was elected year after year by my Catholic fellow-citizens as Chairman of the Board of Guardians, and afterwards as M.P. for West Limerick. In 1910, at the request of my Parliamentary colleagues I stood as a candidate for the Harbour Division of the Irish metropolis. My opponent was a Catholic Nationalist, but the question of religion was never raised, and I was elected by a majority of 2,613. The fact is that, when a Protestant candidate in Ireland is straight on the political issue, his Protestantism, far from being a disadvantage, is a positive asset. Religious intolerance is foreign to the nature of Irish Catholics.

26, Ashmount Road, Hornsey Lane, N.

REV. JOHN A. BAIN, M.A.

(Presbyterian Minister, Westport, Co. Mayo.)

It is not improbable that there may be local outbursts of intolerance occasionally in the future, as there have been in the past, but these will become less frequent with the growth of the spirit of tolerance which has gone on steadily in recent years.

I do not anticipate any general official or unofficial persecution of Protestants under Home Rule. One of the most important features in the history of Ireland during recent years has been the growth of a spirit of mutual tolerance. And among the Roman Catholics in the South and West, there has developed recently a decided impatience of clerical domination, and even a strong anti-clericalism which will make religious persecution increasingly difficult.

The Manse, Westport.

PROFESSOR W. F. BARRETT, J.P., F.R.S.

(For nearly forty years Professor of Experimental Physics in the Royal College of Science, Dublin.)

During the years I have lived in Dublin, I have mixed with all classes and creeds and all sorts and conditions of Irishmen, have travelled and lectured in various parts of the country, and have never experienced any intolerance on the part of Roman Catholics.



Nowhere have I met with a more cordial welcome and greater hospitality than in Cork and in the South West of Ireland, where the Protestants are in a small minority, and where they laugh at the fears of their co-religionists in Ulster.

On the other hand, I could give several instances of intolerance occurring some years ago from the Protestants of the North that would be incredible in England. For instance, soon after I came to Ireland I was asked by the local Literary Society to give a scientific lecture in Enniskillen; and for this purpose the then only available building, the Orange Hall, was engaged; but when it was found that some Catholics had taken tickets for the lecture, the Orangemen, I was informed, took all the seats from the Hall; and at the last moment placards had to be issued asking everyone who attended and wished a seat to bring their own chairs, and this was actually done by the large audience that assembled!

Again, some years afterwards I was invited by the Protestant clergyman of a parish on the North side of Dublin to give a lecture in aid of a local Protestant charity. The day before the lecture this clergyman heard I was a Liberal and Home Ruler, whereupon he announced that he must forbid the lecture on that account, and wrote to me that he would never allow a Home Ruler to enter his lecture room! Yet he was a most estimable and kindly man. Again, a former Chairman of a Protestant Evangelical Society in Dublin, who was an Orangeman, an earnest, godly man, refused to sit on the same committee with an orthodox and earnest Methodist Minister because the latter had ventured to urge that there was much to be said on behalf of Home Rule!

These are only samples of the many instances that could be given of Orange intolerance, and it cannot be wondered at that professional men and tradesmen in Belfast and Dublin, who happen to be Home Rulers, dare not let their political views be known, as they would inevitably suffer. I am glad to know that much of this Protestant intolerance has now passed away in Dublin, and many instances of the kindly feeling between Protestants and Catholics, outside a corner of Ulster, could be given by every one living here. It is, however, amazing to find so many excellent Nonconformists throughout Ireland still wedded to a belief in the bogies and the shibboleths of the Tory creed.

6, De Vesci Terrace, Kingstown.

MR. RICHARD M. BARRINGTON, J.P., M.A., LL.B.

(One of the largest employers of agricultural labour in the County of Wicklow.)

I have no fear of religious intolerance under Home Rule; and have every confidence in the good sense of my Catholic neighbours and fellow-countrymen.

Fassaroe, Bray.

MR. FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER, M.R.I.A.

(A Lawyer in Belfast, well known in literary and historical circles, and amongst the first of Irish Antiquaries.)

I have no fear whatever of any Catholic intolerance in Ireland under any form of Government. I know my countrymen too well and intimately to even think of it. If Protestants were even less in number than they are, they have nothing to fear, far less than Catholics would have under a dominant Presbyterian or Anglican synod. The latter may have some fear of retaliation on account of their antecedents, which, however, are mostly forgotten and forgiven by the majority of their fellow countrymen. I have never yet met an instance where an outlying Protestant, as such, did not receive even more consideration than his Catholic neighbour. Persecution by Irish Catholics was never practised and never will be.

In my opinion, both Catholics and Protestants in Ireland would work together loyally and harmoniously for the common good of their common country were it not for interested parties who, with an inexplicable moral twist, deem it advantageous to strain every nerve to keep them apart, and so weaken the aims and hopes of the Irish people as a whole. When both creeds find a common basis to work from, nothing but emulation and striving to outdo each other in the service of their country will surely ensue.

Ardrigh, Belfast.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BOULGER.

(Cork.)

I am a Cork Presbyterian, and for the last eleven years have been living in the immediate neighbourhood of this metropolis of Munster, and where the Roman Catholics outnumber the Protestants (according to 1911 Census) by 15 or 16 to 1, and yet during all this time I have never heard the faintest whisper of religious intolerance, to say nothing of persecution; and I would be amongst the strongest opponents of Home Rule if I thought its advent in any way threatened such a disastrous state of affairs. On the contrary, I look forward with confidence in the continuance of the present amicable relations between the rival religions, and to many other blessings and advantages which the granting of Home Rule will carry in its train.

Mahonville, Blackrock, Cork.

SIR CHARLES H. BRETT.

(A prominent Belfast Solicitor.)

I have not, and have never had, the slightest fear of religious intolerance under Home Rule.

Gretton, Malone.

MR. W. H. BROWN, B.Sc., M.A., LL.B.

(Barrister-at-Law.)

Personally, I think there are no grounds for the assertion heard from so many Tory platforms—that Irish Protestants are in danger of persecution on account of their religion. Apart from a handful of fanatical enthusiasts who are found in all creeds and in all countries, and who ever confound secretarianism with religion, there are, I believe, no bodies or sections of Irishmen who do not respect and revere the purely religious beliefs of their neighbours, however much they may personally differ from them. I have lived in each of three Irish provinces, and have visited the fourth, but I have never met with an instance of persecution for his religion's sake. On the contrary, I have both read and known of many instances, in districts by no means Protestant, where Protestants have been treated not only with civility and respect, but have been regarded even with affection.

The fine letter of the Rev. Mr. McCutcheon, of Kenmare, which went the round of the Press last December, sufficiently marks the state of calm and good feeling in that district. The enthusiastic demonstrations of congratulation from the Roman Catholics of West Kerry on the appointment of the present Protestant Bishop of Limerick in 1907 openly attested the kindly natures of his fellow countrymen. And if the South and West be so friendly and so appreciative, how little indeed must be the prospect of persecution—least of all in that part of the North which is predominantly Protestant.

Bella Vista, Stradbrook, Blackrock.

MR. J. ANNAN BRYCE, M.P.

(Brother of the Right Hon. James Bryce, His Majesty's Ambassador to America and ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland.)

I may claim to know something of Ireland. My grandfather and uncle were Presbyterian Ministers in Ulster: my father lived more than half his life there, and my mother's family belongs to Belfast. During the last fifteen years I have spent many summers in the South of Ireland; I have lately acquired a *pied-à-terre* there. As a Member of the Dudley Commission I had occasion to visit many districts of the West and North-West, where the population is mainly Catholic. I do not believe that under Home Rule there would be the slightest danger of intolerance on the part of Catholics towards Protestants in the Catholic parts of Ireland. I have not heard of any instances of intolerance, and can give a case to the contrary from my own experience. In a parish of West Cork which I know, and of which the population is almost exclusively Catholic, there is an Agricultural Committee, of which the Chairman is the Catholic

priest and the Vice-Chairman the Protestant Rector. Three other members of the Committee are Protestants, and the remainder Catholics. All work together in the utmost harmony.

In my opinion, the result of Home Rule will be not to increase but to diminish the influence of the priests in secular affairs. It was natural that in the past their influence should be great. They come from the peasant class, have a fellow feeling with its ills, and were the friends (indeed, the only friends) of that class in its long social struggle. They possessed the natural influence given by a better education; and, in fact, in many parts of Ireland the priest was the only educated man whose advice and help the people could obtain. After all, their power has, perhaps, not been so great as that of the parson in rural England, wielding, as the latter does, the temporal weapon of the deprivation of coals and blankets—a weapon probably more potent in some cases than any mere spiritual menace of what may happen in a future state. Since the Local Government Act of 1898 it has not been found that the priest interferes unless in the rare cases where there is a question of personal morality, and then not always with success. So far, therefore, from Home Rule meaning Rome Rule, my belief is that, under Home Rule, the influence of the clergy in political matters will continue to decline, and on that very ground many of the clergy are believed to be lukewarm or hostile towards Home Rule.

35, Bryanston Square, London, W.

MR. J. F. CAMPBELL, J.P.

(A Surveyor and Valuer in Garvagh, Co. Derry.)

I am an Episcopalian, and have lived for over 50 years in a district in Co. Derry, where the Catholic religion is embraced by over half the population; and I have relations living in other parts of Ireland where the Catholic people are in the majority; and I consider it only fair to say, regarding a much maligned people, that our united testimony is that never at any time did we experience any treatment from our Catholic neighbours showing the slightest tendency to religious intolerance.

My fixed belief is—were it not for the un-Christian teaching of certain divines (who still hanker after the flesh-pots of Egypt) to ignorant or unthinking partisans, and the influence of a few Presbyterian clergymen who have disregarded their ordination vows, Protestants would, long ere this, have ceased to parade the Battle of the Boyne, and Catholics would have forgotten the Treaty of Limerick.

Gortacloughan, Garvagh.



## MR. JOSEPH CARR, J.P.

(A Landowner and prominent Ulster Liberal.)

I have no fear of Roman Catholics treating Protestants unfairly under self-government. I have always received the greatest kindness from Roman Catholics, and I am convinced that they will work harmoniously with Protestants for the common good of our country.

Goccan Lodge, Killyleagh.

## MR. ALEXANDER J. CRICHTON, J.P.

(Deputy Lieutenant and ex-High Sheriff of Co. Sligo.)

I settled down in the county about twenty and a half years ago, and am firmly convinced that whenever differences arise between Catholics and Protestants, they owe their origin to political causes. Outside politics, the most cordial relations prevail between all, more specially so when good work has to be done. It appears absurd to me to suppose that under Home Rule all Catholics would be united against all Protestants. I have been for some years on the Committee of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, and I have invariably found that, when it came to vote on any question, Protestants and Catholics were found voting together against their co-religionists. It is certain that the success of most of the co-operative societies is largely due to the fact that Protestants and Catholics have not found it difficult to work together for the common good. Nor does this relate only to co-operative effort. The Irish Industrial Movement is happily supported by all parties, and its promoters never enquire whether goods were made by Protestant or Catholic hands. Their only concern is to promote Irish industry and Irish prosperity. Believing that Home Rule would promote Irish prosperity, I feel confident that it would benefit Irish Protestants even more than Irish Catholics, for, speaking generally, the standard of living is higher among Protestants, and this higher or more comfortable standard can only be maintained and further improved by a development of Ireland's resources. But while I believe that Home Rule in the long run is certain to benefit all classes, I must add my belief that a Home Rule which would for a time perpetuate the existing divisions between Catholic Nationalists and Protestant Unionists might, so far as Protestants are concerned, only slightly better the existing situation, for both Catholics and Protestants in Ireland should look forward to a reconstruction of parties, according to which both will be found working together, some for Radicalism, and some for Conservatism, and according to which all ancient feuds will be forgotten, even if replaced by newer divisions, without which no healthy political organ can exist.

Carrowgarry, Ballysodare.

MR. WILLIAM C. CARR.

(A well-known County Down Agriculturist.)

As one of the minority, I have no fear of Home Rule. I believe that the scales of justice will be more evenly balanced under self-government than they are under the present system.

Bellevue, Killyleagh, County Down.

PROFESSOR CROFTON.

(Professor of Pathology in the National University of Ireland.)

I have never noticed the slightest sign of religious intolerance on the part of Roman Catholics in Ireland—very much the contrary, in fact.

I have spent all my College and University days amongst Catholics and have never received anything but the greatest kindness and consideration from both professors and students; and now that I am one of the staff of University College my experience is just the same—invariable kindness and consideration, and readiness to help me in every way.

I hope my colleagues hold me in as much esteem and affection as I do them.

National University, Dublin.

MR. W. M. CROOK.

(Formerly Editor of the London "Echo.")

I gladly accept the opportunity of bearing testimony to the marked absence of intolerance that, in my own experience, I have found among my Irish Catholic fellow-countrymen. My father and both my grandfathers were Irish Methodist ministers. A Methodist minister changes his residence every three years, and so it came to pass that, during my earlier life, I lived in each of the four provinces in Ireland, residing in Sligo, Ballymoney, Drogheda, Bandon, Waterford, Belfast, Dublin, and Limerick. I saw no religious intolerance in Ireland except in Belfast, where the Orangemen were fiercely intolerant. When, as a young graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, I began to speak in public in favour of Home Rule, I not only found no intolerance of my religious opinions, but I formed the deliberate opinion that it was an advantage to be a Protestant. I do not think that any more tolerant religious body exists in Europe than the Irish Catholics. Catholic constituencies in Ireland elect Protestant representatives much more freely than Protestant constituencies in Great Britain elect Catholics. Individual cases of intolerance there may be, and doubtless are, in Ireland. But the religious record of Irish Catholics as a whole is one of the most creditable in history. It will bear the fullest examination. If English Protestants have any doubt as to the religious toleration

of Irish Catholics, they have only to go and live among them, and they will find their groundless fears completely dissipated. It is a cruel injustice to play on the fears and prejudices of English Protestantism by repeating this absolutely baseless slander.

Devonshire Club, St. James's Street, S.W.

MR. J. R. CROZIER, J.P.

(Merchant, Ederney, County Fermanagh.)

My experience for the past ten years is that, where any intolerance or persecution prevails, it is caused by our Protestant inhabitants. I am in business and have taken a prominent part in public affairs, and I find the Catholics peaceable and honourable, and with a harmonious feeling towards their Protestant fellow-countrymen. I agree with Mr. Young in saying that where religious friction is found, it is amongst the Protestants in North East Ulster. I hope the day is dawning when all classes will unite and go hand in hand for the welfare and prosperity of Ireland, and keep such an evil spirit outside of our political affairs.

Ederney, Enniskillen.

MR. JOHN CROZIER, J.P.

(Lay Representative of Enniskillen District at the Methodist Conference.)

I was born and brought up in South Fermanagh, and am a member and office-bearer of the Methodist Church. When a young man, just out of my teens, I was filled with shame and indignation at the want of toleration, fair play, and brotherly kindness shown by Ulster Unionists (who looked upon themselves as the salt of the earth) towards their Catholic fellow-countrymen. At that time (about thirty-five years ago) in Fermanagh, the Boards of Guardians, and all other Boards, gave all positions of emolument and honour to Protestants. Believing, as I did then (and still believe), that there should have been a fair proportion of these emoluments, etc., given to Catholics, I could not continue to subscribe to the Unionist faith, and submit to be led by the nose, and do as I was told; consequently, I was no longer needed in that camp. I consider it a libel against any Catholic countrymen to say that they will not treat their Protestant fellow-countrymen fairly, and with toleration, in the future.

South Fermanagh has been represented in the Imperial Parliament for the past fifteen years by Mr. Jordan, a Methodist, where the Nationalists have about 600 votes' majority. I have been elected Rural District Councillor for Nationalist divisions for the past twelve years, and I have been elected chairman of the Enniskillen Board of Guardians for the past six years, getting every Nationalist vote in the Union. I have met publicly and privately almost all the Catholic priests in the County Fermanagh, who have at all times treated me with the greatest courtesy, kindness and consideration. If space would permit, I could multiply instances of kindness and

toleration by Catholics and Nationalists. Nothing pains or humiliates me so much as to find my co-religionists continually libelling my Catholic fellow-countrymen, and prating about our inability to govern ourselves.

Blacklion, Co. Cavan.

MR. JAMES CROZIER, J.P., C.C.

(A Justice of the Peace for the County and for the City of Dublin; and Member of numerous public bodies.)

So far from expecting any religious intolerance from my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, should the Home Rule Bill become law, my anticipations are in exactly the opposite direction. For the last 53 years I have lived amongst the people of the Arran Quay Ward, which contains the largest number of Catholic voters in the city. Though an Irish Protestant, I have been chosen by the electorate to represent them on practically every Public Board in Dublin, including, amongst others, those of the North and South Dublin Unions, the Richmond District Asylum, the Town Council, &c., and have been appointed by the last-named body, in which by far the great majority of the members are Roman Catholics, as one of the visiting justices of His Majesty's Prisons, as well as on the principal committees of the Corporation. I am pleased to number amongst the Roman Catholic clergy many personal friends, and am happy to say I have always enjoyed their confidence and support at any of the elections which I have contested. These actions on the part of my fellow-citizens, who differ from me from a religious point of view, shew no spirit of intolerance, and I am quite certain that in the future the Protestants in this city will enjoy from their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens the same tolerance and confidence that has always been shown them in the past.

Montpelier House, Dublin.

CAPT. THE HON. OTWAY F. S. CUFFE.

(Son of the late Earl of Desart, Gentleman-Usher to the King, and ex-Mayor of Kilkenny.)

I do not see why Home Rule—whatever its advantages or drawbacks to the country may be—should in any case change the nature of the people. Whatever else, therefore, I may anticipate as resulting, should a Home Rule measure be passed, I most certainly do not anticipate any religious persecution of the Protestants in the South of Ireland at the hands of their Roman Catholic fellow countrymen. My reason for saying so is merely based on my own personal experience in the part of the country in which I live. I have taken a somewhat active part in local affairs, and so far from having met anything in the nature of bigotry or intolerance, or want of co-operation on those grounds from the people, who are, a vast majority of them, Roman Catholics, I have never come across anything of the kind, and in proof of this I



may add, notwithstanding the fact that I am not a Roman Catholic, I have twice been unanimously chosen Mayor of the City of Kilkenny by a Corporation consisting exclusively of Roman Catholics. I think it is right to state that I never at any time have taken any part whatsoever in politics.

Sheestown House, Kilkenny.

MR. W. H. DAVEY, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

(Editor of the *Ulster Guardian*.)

As one of the younger generation of Ulster Protestants I repudiate with shame and indignation the suggestion that, under self-government, the Protestants of Ireland would be in any danger of persecution because of their religion. Both past and present history shows the utter baselessness of such a monstrous supposition. Leading Protestant historians, such as Leland, Taylor and Lecky, have stated in the most explicit terms that religious intolerance has never been a characteristic of the Irish Catholic. To-day, whenever Catholics are in the majority, his religion is absolutely no bar to the advancement of an Irish Protestant either in official, professional, or business circles. County Councils in the South are stocked with Protestant officials. Southern towns are full of prosperous Protestant merchants. Such a state of things could not exist among a people who possessed even a latent spirit of sectarian bigotry. We can only prophecy about the future from our knowledge of the past and the present; and those Irish Protestants who profess alarm as to their lot under Home Rule, do so in sheer ignorance of past history and present circumstances, or because the politician and zealot in them outweighs the patriot. My Irish Catholic fellow-countrymen would be more than human if they did not feel some bitterness at having thus to defend themselves against a charge which might be more properly laid at the door of those of my own faith.

It is, therefore, the sacred duty of all Irish Protestants in whom love for their faith includes also a love of justice and of country, to bear evidence to the truth as they know it; and I, as a Protestant, an Ulsterman, and above all, an Irishman, welcome this opportunity of doing the little I can to expose as foul and false a slander as has ever been levelled against a generous and kindly race.

Rosemary Street, Belfast.

MR. HENRY JAMESON DAVIES, J.P.

(Landowner: High Sheriff of Wexford County.)

I have had innumerable opportunities in a public life of fifty years of noticing the absence of any prejudice on the part of Catholics in the South-east of Ireland against their Protestant fellow-countrymen. In the County Wexford, at any rate, a large number of the traders are Protestants, and a very small number of their customers are of that belief. Consequently, if Catholics had any wish to unduly favour their co-religionists, nothing would be easier than to leave the Protestant shopkeepers and transfer their business

to Catholics; but such is not the case, as Protestants do a most flourishing trade. Personally, I have always met with the greatest courtesy from my Catholic neighbours, and have not the slightest fear of any change for the worse from Home Rule. On the contrary, when that question is finally settled, I look for better feeling and greater prosperity in the whole of Ireland.

MR. ROBERT DAVISON

(A County Derry Landholder.)

As a Presbyterian living in a Roman Catholic district in the County of Derry, and who vehemently opposed my Catholic neighbours on the Gladstonian scheme of Home Rule, I am bound to say I have never seen or experienced any instances of intolerance, religious or political, on their part. My experience of Roman Catholic fair play and fair-mindedness has, indeed, led me to do what I thought in my youthful days to be an impossibility—namely, to be thoroughly convinced that self-government for Ireland is an absolute necessity if ever the Irish people are to be reconciled to the British Empire, and religious fanaticism to die a natural death.

The unwillingness and opposition of North Ireland Protestantism to admit the claim of Roman Catholic Nationalists to a share in the government of their country, in proportion to their numbers and tax-paying capacity, is the greatest blot on the fair fame of an otherwise just and even generous-minded community; but the old spirit of ascendancy, fostered by centuries of religious and political domination, dies hard. Nevertheless, I believe, even in Ulster it is almost *in extremis*, and, under the tolerant attitude of a Home Rule government, the hour of its dissolution cannot be long delayed.

Ballynease, Belfast.

MR. ST. CLAIR M. DOBBS, J.P., D.L., M.C.C.

(A prominent Ulster Unionist.)

I am a strong Unionist and a strong Protestant, and have never concealed my opinions. I live in a district almost entirely Roman Catholic and Nationalist. Nearly all my farm hands, etc., are Catholics. In the fifteen years I have been here I have met and mixed with my Catholic neighbours and friends in every conceivable way. Yet I can truly say that I have never had even a cross word with anyone in the countryside because of our different opinions on religion and politics. There is, in short, no such thing as party spirit or intolerance on either side in this parish; nor has there ever been, I believe, in spite of occasional efforts by outside agitators to stir it up.

Personally, I am not in the least afraid that my Catholic fellow-countrymen would ever persecute Protestants, simply because they were Protestants. What I do object to is the power claimed and exercised by the R. C. Church on various matters which, I think,

ought to be left to the laity. This feeling is, of course, shared by many Catholics, and, I believe, by many of the R. C. clergy themselves. I feel, therefore, that your pamphlet to some extent misrepresents the so-called religious objection to Home Rule, which is largely anti-Clerical, not anti-Catholic.

I may add that to judge from those I have had the pleasure of knowing, the Irish priests are a body of men, of whose personal character and professional work any Irishman may well feel proud. It is the claim of their Church as a system to temporal power which I think bad for Ireland.

Portnagolan, Cushendall.

MR. C. C. DUNCAN, J.P.

(One of the most substantial Farmers in Kildare.)

It is with pleasure I testify to the amiable tolerance of Roman Catholics in South Kildare towards all denominations of Protestants. I have lived amongst them as boy and man for 46 years, and I never heard a wrong word; neither have I seen a wrong act said or done by any Roman Catholic towards a Protestant. I may tell you my people belong to the Presbyterian kirk in Athy, yet my best friends are Catholics. Shakespeare has said: "Touch my purse and our friendship has ended." But it was not so with my Catholic friends, who guided me as a young man through hard-set times till I sailed into comparatively smooth waters. All through these anxious times their purse was open for my needs, and their advice was kindly and helpful.

Roman Catholics in County Kildare are as three to one of Protestants, yet they vote 37 per cent of Protestants into positions of power and emolument. I consider that a great sign of tolerance, seeing the power voters have under the Local Government Act. Moreover, some Protestants in the old time of Protestant ascendancy were not over-scrupulous as to their treatment of their fellow Catholics, who were ground down under unjust penal laws, and not in a position to object. It would be only human nature to expect Catholics to harbour some revenge when their day of power came, but I am happy to bear witness that since the Act was passed (and every one knows it is the half-way house to Home Rule) the people here have lived amiably together without a sign of revenge or intolerance.

Snugborough, Athy.

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P., P.C., C.M.G., &c.

(Under Secretary of State for the Colonies in the last Unionist Government, His Majesty's Lord Lieutenant for the County of Limerick.)

Having lived in Ireland for many years, and having read with great interest the History of Ireland in all its aspects, I feel I can safely repudiate the suggestion of religious intolerance under Home Rule. I think I make my view clear in "The Legacy of Past Years," a book which I have just published.

“Nothing is more remarkable in all the stained and chequered pages of Irish history than the absence of religious persecution, and the deep respect for sincere religion in every form evinced by the people. The original conversion of the nation to Christianity was almost bloodless. No scenes of violence marred the efforts of the hosts of Irish missionaries that for generations laboured in Gaul and Northern Europe. Dominion and politics had no part in their work. They laboured for religion only, and trusted solely in the persuasion of their own zeal. Protestants flying from the persecutions of Mary in England found safe shelter in Catholic Ireland. The witch mania that caused so many cruel deaths in Protestant Britain and most Catholic countries was scarcely felt in Ireland. Quakers persecuted in Protestant England traversed Catholic Ireland unmolested, preaching the most extreme form of Protestantism. Wesley found respectful listeners in Ireland, and spoke of the docile and tolerant spirit in which he was received. Protestant clergy, scattered over the wildest and most purely Catholic districts, lived in security even in the worst periods of organised crime. Ireland has ever been a faithful daughter of the Church of Rome. Catholics have always been in an enormous majority, and yet, in spite of the persecutions, devastations, and confiscations under which they suffered at the hands of a Protestant people, in spite of the penal laws and indignities, the Irish have never shown a retaliatory spirit even when the Sovereign of the two countries was Catholic, and Catholicism was a dominant factor in government. During the period of Protestant persecution in England under Mary, not one Protestant suffered for his religion in Ireland. One of the first Acts of the Catholic Irish Parliament during the short period of Catholic ascendancy under James II. was to introduce, and pass, a Bill establishing liberty of conscience.

“I believe the fears for the minority to be groundless; but, be that as it may, they can be effectually dispelled. The minority cannot be guaranteed exceptional treatment founded on religious, racial, or class ascendancy, and they ought to be ashamed to demand it; but they can be guaranteed equality and fair play, and for more than that they have no right to ask.”

22. Norfolk Street, Park Lane, W.

MR. HUGH ECCLES, J.P.

(A Justice of the Peace for Co. Derry.)

Speaking as an Ulster Protestant, I have no fear whatever of anything in the shape of religious intolerance being a result of the establishment of a Home Government, and I am glad to be able to say that the same feeling is becoming much more prevalent in Ulster than it was. The intelligent section of the Protestant community treats the idea of persecution as a joke, and, as education increases, the spirit of tolerance and broadmindedness will prevail. In this locality there has always been harmony between



the different creeds, and no sectarian differences have interfered in their social and business intercourse; and, if Home Rule were an accomplished fact to-morrow, I am certain that the same friendly relations would continue to exist. Nor for the life of me can I see how a Legislature can make laws beneficial to one sect and injurious to another. The Protestant Ulster members will, I imagine, be much more powerful in a Home Parliament than they anticipate, and will be able to do more good than they have ever done in St. Stephen's.

Hanover Gardens, Coleraine.

MR. T. N. EDGEWORTH.

(Secretary of the Longford County Council.)

My personal experience has been that, in the absence of firebrands on either side, Catholic and Protestant get on well together in Ireland. I am a Protestant: I have earned my living by the not necessarily popular calling of a land agent since 1875, and as Secretary to the old Grand Jury of County Longford, I was transferred to the County Council, who had power to dispense with my services without assigning any reason. The Council asked me to continue to act as their Secretary, which I was glad to do, and for the past six years they have further shown their confidence in me by sending me (along with the Catholic Bishop) as one of their nominees on the Committee of Management of Mullingar District Lunatic Asylum. The Asylum Committee have further honoured me by electing me Vice-Chairman. The County Council is wholly Catholic—the Asylum Committee chiefly Catholic.

I could give a good many more examples within my own knowledge, but I have confined myself to my own case.

I should add that my treatment is in no way a reward for political support. I have taken no prominent part in politics; but up to date I am not convinced that relaxation of the bonds (financially especially) which join us to our wealthy neighbour, England, would benefit Ireland. I think this confession is due to the public bodies mentioned.

Cherbury, Booterstown.

COLONEL SIR NUGENT TALBOT EVERARD, BART., H.M.L.

(A leading Irish Landlord, and His Majesty's Lord Lieutenant for the County of Meath.)

Apart altogether from the political question, I consider it my duty, in response to your appeal, to state my experience as an "isolated Protestant" living among Roman Catholics in the County Meath.

For forty years I have been associated with my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen as a Magistrate, Poor Law Guardian, Grand Jurymen, and County Councillor, and I can testify to the spirit of

religious toleration that prevails in a county where Protestants constitute an extremely small proportion of the population. On committees and councils I have come in contact with all sorts and conditions of men, and I can truly say that, notwithstanding the existing of acute political differences, even in the most troublesome times, sectarian animosities were conspicuous by their absence.

Randalstown, Navan.

MR. WILLIAM FARRELL.

(A substantial Farmer in Co. Down.)

For about 25 years I have been Hon. Secretary of the Barony of Dufferin Farmers' Association, and am intimately in touch with its members. This Association appointed a deputation, consisting of six of the largest farmers—everyone of them Presbyterians—to attend Mr. John Dillon's meeting in Downpatrick in 1885 to show that our sympathies were with his views, and to give him the influence of our support. I was one of the deputation. Since that time our sympathies and support were extended to the Land League and National League. We have no great dread of our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, and when Home Rule is granted there will be no more loyal and industrious district than the Barony of Dufferin.

Ballygoskin, Killyleigh.

MR. W. J. FENNELL, J.P.

(A leading farmer in Kildare.)

Personally, I am not in the least afraid of any religious intolerance under Home Rule or otherwise; in this County, at all events, all creeds live on the very best terms; and I find that on local Councils, or wherever we meet, some of my staunchest friends are, and always have been, Irish Roman Catholics. I do not consider that the question of creed should at all enter into politics.

Burton House, Athy.

DR. CHARLES FORSYTHE, J.P.

(A Medical Practitioner in Coleraine for 40 years.)

I am decidedly of opinion that there is not the remotest danger of religious persecution of Protestants in the event of an Irish Legislature being conceded. Members of my family have spent the greater part of their lives, some of them in Co. Tyrone, others in Co. Donegal, where the vast majority of their neighbours were Irish Catholics, and they hold the same opinion. It is only in the North-east corner of Ulster that religious intolerance manifests itself

among a section of Unionist Protestants. I remember when no one could be elected to the Belfast Municipal Council unless he was a Protestant and a Tory. Even there matters are not quite so bad now. The educated Protestants in this district are quite alive to the benefits which would accrue to this country by a liberal measure of self-government, and the efficient and impartial way the County Councils have conducted their business is an additional argument in favour of an Irish Parliament.

Brookeville, Coleraine.

#### MR. ROBERT GIBSON

(One of the leading Butter Merchants of the South of Ireland.)

I have lived for 67 years in the Catholic districts of Tipperary, Cork, and Limerick. I have never in the least cloaked my real Protestant sentiments, and I have been a Freemason for 55 years, and always have expressed pleasure and satisfaction at being one. I have plenty of dear friends amongst both creeds, who have never failed to do me a good turn when they had an opportunity of doing so. As for bigotry and intolerance with regard to religious questions, my experience has always been that, in Ireland, the bigotry and intolerance has always been much more displayed by Protestants than by Roman Catholics. Every man in Ireland who has studied the financial relations question, as between Ireland and Great Britain and the existing system of government, only does his duty to his country by doing all in his power to keep such very ill-informed people out of place and power, no matter whether they are Protestants or Catholics.

That is the only form of intolerance that exists amongst Southern Irishmen to anything like a marked degree.

It is so strong in men's minds at present that, if the choice lay between the soundest Roman Catholic Churchman in Ireland, who proclaimed himself a Unionist; and a Turk, who was for righting Irish grievances and giving us Home Rule, I am certain the Turk would obtain (and rightly so) the vast majority of the Catholic votes. It is absolutely certain that, if the contest lay between a Protestant Nationalist and a Catholic Tory, the Protestant would obtain at least 9 out of every 10 Catholic votes. I can assure you that the Tory British "Cawtholic" is more despised and detested by the vast majority of the Catholic population of Southern Ireland than is the most rabidly Protestant Orangeman.

Protestants who live amongst large Catholic communities, and who give to them the respect which is most justly their due to both the people and their religion, always obtain the same respect for themselves and their religious opinions, that they are willing to grant their Catholic fellow citizens. They are not entitled to ask more, and they are never offered less.

Limerick.

MR. WILLIAM GIBSON, J.P.

(A Magistrate and Farmer in County Down.)

I am an Ulster Scotch Protestant. For over 30 years I have thought it wise to support the Irish Parliamentary Party, because that Party helped me as an agricultural tenant out of the hands of the extortioner. Solomon said that the righteous are as bold as a lion. Hence *I have no fear* to vote the occupiers of Ireland the right to rule themselves, because *that right is just*. And who is afraid of justice? Solomon answers again: "The wicked!" "The wicked," he has said, "flee when no man pursueth." If the wicked are afraid it is of themselves they are afraid.

Drumdonald, Ballyronev, Banbridge

MR. R. GINN.

(Merchant, Castlelyons, Fermoy, Co. Cork.)

Few have had more opportunities of testing Catholic toleration than I have had. Coming here twenty-five years ago, a stranger and a Northern Protestant, I started business on a small scale, and, thanks to the patronage of my Catholic neighbours, I have succeeded beyond my expectations.

In 1901 I bought a small property, with ten existing holdings, and some tenants refused to pay the rent they were paying to the former landlord. These I proceeded against at law, yet I have had no trouble with the people, and my tenants, my neighbours, and myself live on the friendliest terms.

I have not the least doubt that if Home Rule was granted to-morrow it would not make the slightest change in my dealings with my Roman Catholic neighbours, as, if they wanted to injure me, there was nothing to prevent them doing so for the past twenty-five years. The parish priest is one of my best customers.

Castlelyons, Co. Cork.

RIGHT. HON. R. G. GLENDINNING, P.C., J.P.

(A leading Linen Manufacturer in Belfast, Liberal ex-M.P. for North Antrim, and Member of His Majesty's Privy Council for Ireland.)

I have no cause for thinking that the granting of a measure of self-government to Ireland would be followed by any attempt on the part of Roman Catholics to persecute their Protestant fellow-countrymen. I am established in this opinion by the fact that, in those parts of Ireland where Roman Catholics are in an overwhelming majority, Protestants are fairly and generously treated, and find the door to preferment and public favour as open to them as to their fellow Roman Catholics. The oft-repeated assertion of the leaders of the Unionist party to the effect that, under Home Rule, Protestants would be deprived of their cherished civil and religious rights



liberties, and privileges, and would be subjected to all manner of pains and penalties on account of their faith, is controverted by those who have resided in Roman Catholic districts, and are, therefore, competent to express an opinion on the subject. Clergymen of all sections of the Protestant Church, Protestant traders, and Protestant farmers, artisans and labourers who have spent their lives at the very heart and centre of the most Catholic communities in the country, bear willing testimony to the moderation, the forbearance, and the considerateness of their Catholic neighbours, and aver that in those districts where Protestants are fewest in numbers and farthest apart, the relationship of the creeds is of the most cordial character.

I am ready to admit that the inauguration of the new order of things may not pass without an ebullition of feeling on the part of the extremists of the Unionist party. There will certainly be wild and whirling words by the demagogues which may possibly lead to a recrudescence of a spirit of sectarian bitterness and strife, and to a repetition of those acts of mob violence which have so often in the past sullied the fame of the Northern province.

But I have a lively hope that only a brief experience of the new regime will be required to convince the thinking and observant men of the Orange democracy that the fears with which their leaders filled their minds were entirely groundless. I am of opinion that, before many years of Home Rule have passed, Irishmen varying in religion and in politics will be found more solidly united than in any period within the past one hundred years. In coming together on equal terms, and in the blending of thought and effort in the noble task of legislating for the good of their native land, Catholics and Protestants will get to know each other better; and, in the fuller knowledge and the clearer light, old misunderstandings and estrangements will be removed, suspicion and mistrust will disappear, and those fateful passions that in the past have operated so prejudicially upon our people, and so disastrously upon our country, will die and be forgotten, and mutual respect and goodwill will mark the relationship of Irishmen in the new era of enlightenment and progress soon to dawn.

6, Adelaide Street, Belfast.

MR. H. F. S. GOOLD-VERSCHOYLE, J.P., B.L., R.D.C.

(A County Donegal Landlord.)

As I have recently been elected as District Councillor by a mixed electorate, I am pledged to confine my attentions to Gas and Water, and to take no active part in politics.

I think I am at liberty to say, however, that many Protestants in this district, while not wishing their toleration to be construed into approval of a separate Parliament, have explicitly assured me that they have always found their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen the

best of neighbours. I believe that not a few of these Protestants hold that the passing of a Home Rule Bill would not necessarily alter this happy state of things. Protestant opinion seems however to be divided on this point at present, and the hopeful ones find it more prudent to keep their beliefs to themselves for fear of being boycotted by their less tolerant co-religionists.

When I offered myself not long ago for election on the District Council as a Protestant who would give his attention to local interests without reference to party politics, I was pleased to find in what a kindly spirit my candidature was received by all. As my return shows that many Catholics must have voted for me, I, for one, have no cause to complain of religious intolerance.

I have always held that the first essential condition of Ireland's prosperity, be her laws framed in Dublin or Westminster, is the frank co-operation of all creeds on a democratic basis.

I also feel very strongly that every Protestant who is true to the principles of his creed is a democrat at heart, and that Irish Protestants have more to fear from the reactionaries of their own church and from Toryism in all its forms, than from the Catholic people.

Dunkineely, Co. Donegal.

MR. HENRY H. GRAHAM, J.P.

(Ex-President of the Baptist Union of Ireland and a Justice of the Peace in Belfast.)

I have the greatest pleasure, as an Ulster Protestant, in expressing my sincere conviction that the danger of religious intolerance under Home Rule is purely fictitious.

In those parts of Ireland where Catholics are in an overwhelming majority, the number of posts at the disposal of the County, Urban and Rural Councils which are filled by Protestants is much greater than their numerical strength would warrant. Protestant merchants and shopkeepers in the South and West of Ireland, who are almost mainly dependent upon Catholic customers for their support, enjoy a measure of prosperity which entirely disposes of any suggestion of persecution.

I have never come across a case where it could be shown that any fellow-Protestant of mine suffered the slightest intolerant treatment from his Catholic neighbours, and I am quite confident that if Ireland receives a measure of self-government this happy state of things will continue unchanged.

Clonlea, Belfast.

MR. J. ERNEST GRUBB, J.P., M.C.C.

(Chairman of the Carrick-on-Suir Urban Council; ex-Chairman of County Tipperary County Council; and an extensive employer of labour at Carrick-on-Suir, Clonmel, and Waterford.)

I have lived all my life in this district. I am 67 years of age and I cannot remember any acts of intolerance by Roman Catholics.

on Protestants. In this town (Carrick-on-Suir), the percentage of Roman Catholics is about 98, yet I and others who are not Roman Catholics have been elected on public boards during these years by our Roman Catholic constituents. In this district Protestants have been elected to posts carrying considerable salaries by public boards of almost exclusively Roman Catholic members. I can recall seven or eight comparatively recent instances of such elections.

In our County I believe many more Protestants would be elected on public boards if Protestants took more interest in local government. To the best of my belief only three non-Catholics sought election on our County Council, and they were all elected. Three or four Protestants, within a few years, took over farms near here previously occupied by Roman Catholics. They have all lived in harmony with their Roman Catholic neighbours.

I have seen Protestant preachers at our Fairs, listened to quietly by considerable numbers, without any sort of molestation. I do not express any opinion on the question of open-air preaching or its desirability. I do not believe that the excellent relations which have so long existed between Roman Catholic and Protestant can be disturbed by the establishment of an Irish Legislature. It appears impossible that such a change in the government of our country could bring about religious intolerance.

Carrick-on-Suir.

MR. ROBERT HALL, J.P.

(Proprietor of one of the largest Boot Factories in Ireland.)

I am a native of Wigan, Cumberland, and came over to Ireland 5 years ago. From that time till now I have been in business in Castlewellan, where more than one-half of the population are Catholics. Half of my work-people are Catholics. I have found them very friendly and obliging, and they treat me and my family with the greatest of respect. I have for all these years received nothing but kindness and good-will from the Roman Catholics. I have found that they respect a man more if he is true to his faith and attends to his place of worship; and of the several clergymen and priests, I have found them kind and courteous, and I have lived as neighbour to one for over 30 years. When I have had trouble, they have all and have given me their kind sympathy. On the passing of the Local Government Act I was elected for the Castlewellan Rural District, and, as the great majority of the electors were Catholics, I must have got a good deal of support from them, and I believe if my health and business would allow me I would be returned again by them. With this experience of the past, I cannot but express, with the utmost confidence, my opinion, that there is no fear of the religious persecution of Protestants. If Protestants

be true to themselves and to their faith, they will be respected. That has been my experience. I am a Methodist. I do not fear Home Rule.

Castlewellan, Co. Down.

REVD. JAMES O. HANNAY.

(Mr. Hannay is an Episcopalian Clergyman in County Mayo, and a distinguished author and journalist.)

Irish Protestants have certain grounds for fearing unfair treatment and their fears deserve careful and respectful consideration. There are, however, I think, needless, for Irish Protestants are quite strong enough and vigorous enough to make any attempts to bully them extremely unwise and unsafe.

The Rectory, Westport.

REV. J. M. HAMILTON, D.D., M.A.

(Ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.)

I have lived in Dublin for nearly fifty years. I have always received the utmost courtesy and kindness from my Roman Catholic neighbours, and I have no fear of persecution in the future, no matter what the political changes may be.

Donore, S.C.R., Dublin.

RIGHT HON. SIR DAVID HARREL, P.C., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., I.S.O.

(Under Secretary of State for Ireland till 1902, Ex-Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Police, Chairman of the Railway Strike Peace Commission in 1911.)

It is difficult to express an opinion or to offer a forecast of the subject of Religious Intolerance under Home Rule without more accurate knowledge than there is at present available, of the proposals to be brought before Parliament.

My conviction is that a change in the government of Ireland provided that change be conceived and carried out on sound financial principles, would not adversely affect the position of religious minorities.

As regards Home Rule, I believe this great question to be one in which sentiment, valuable National asset as it is, must wait upon the constituents of material prosperity. It should be the business of all Irishmen of all religions and all parties to see to it, that the relations between Ireland and the other portions of the United Kingdom, at the financial send-off, should be definite, inclusive, and such as to give to Ireland an absolute sense of confidence in her ability to go on and prosper.



This consummation can only be obtained by a united front. Past history too clearly discloses the consequences which have attended divided interests. Catholic against Protestant, landlord against tenant, sentiment against business, have resulted in Ireland's being obliged to take what was given rather than that of which she stood in greatest need.

In the revolution of the last thirty years, an extended Parliamentary Franchise, a Local Government Act, and various Land Acts, have endowed the Irish people with a power and authority which even patriotic Irishmen in former times never contemplated. It must be admitted that these great responsibilities have been accepted with reasonableness and self-restraint. Greater freedom with its attendant greater responsibilities would raise a situation which Irishmen could meet without misgiving, but the task must not be made impossible by inadequate resources.

With common interests the intercourse between Protestant and Catholic would be free, the apprehensions of Protestants that they are to be ruined by taxation would disappear, and sectarian distinctions would, no doubt, cease to be regarded as grounds for distrust and suspicion.

As regards the generosity of Irish Catholics, I have a title to speak. I owe it entirely to non-official Catholic friends that I was placed in positions of trust and responsibility in which it has been my privilege to contribute to those changes which have been a benefit to my fellow countrymen.

I do not know that I ever had anything to recommend me beyond a deep sympathy for the cheerless, often hopeless, condition of the small tenant farmer; his interests and position still remain a matter of sincere concern to me.

Shankill, County Dublin.

MR. SAMUEL HARRIS, R.D.C.

(Chairman of the East Limerick Executive of the United Irish League.)

I am one of the Protestant minority of the South of Ireland who are said to be in danger if Home Rule is granted to Ireland, but, strange to say, although I am surrounded by the men who are to persecute me when granted the management of our own affairs, I look forward to that time with the greatest pleasure. The electors of Uregare E.D. of Kilmallock Rural District have elected me to represent them on the Council during the past nine years, although there are only three Protestant electors in the division out of a total of 150, and this is only one of many proofs that I have received of the trust and confidence placed in me by my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen; and I know that I voice the feelings of the vast majority of Southern Protestants when I say that we are treated with the utmost

kindness and respect by our Catholic neighbours; and that we are quite confident that the same pleasant relations will continue to exist in the future under Home Rule as have hitherto existed amongst us.

Adamstown, Knocklong.

MR. GEORGE M. HARRIS.

(Clerk to the Justices, Kilmallock.)

I am a Protestant, and am a member of the Synod of the Diocese of Limerick. I have lived in this hotbed of Nationalism for fifty years, and for the last twenty-nine years I have acted as Clerk to the Justices, the majority of whom are Catholics. My position has, therefore, afforded me exceptional facilities for discovering any acts of religious intolerance, if such existed, on the part of the Catholic community towards my co-religionists.

In the Synod of the whole county I have never heard mentioned a single act of intolerance. Immediately prior to the Boer War, I remember reading of an English Captain in South Africa, who, when asked what were their grievances, replied: "We have to look in the English Press to find them," and so too with us, Protestants in the South.

I have a vivid recollection of the Fenian rising in 1867. When the police barrack was surrounded by the Fenians, and the town was in their hands, several of their number had been shot dead, and, even at that remote period, if the Catholics had any desire to show their hostility and ill-will towards the Protestants, they never had such a chance of so doing, as the only two Protestant families resident in the town were entirely at their mercy.

I saw their Captain pass through the streets; our door was open, and yet an angry word was never said to one of us; neither was our home molested. I resent, and protest against, the suggestion of intolerance as an insult to a brave and patient people, who, whatever their failings may be, have borne themselves as men, alike in prosperity and adversity, and whose broad-minded spirit of toleration might, with advantage, be copied by their critics.

Deebert, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick.

MR. EDMUND HARVEY.

(A retired Land Agent in Waterford.)

I have lived for more than sixty years in my native city of Waterford, in the South of Ireland, in intimate and friendly association with Catholics, who form about nine-tenths of the population of said city, and I find it difficult to recall any single instance of religious intolerance on their part towards Protestants. Consequently, I have no fear of any attempt at religious persecution of Protestants,

or non-Catholics, taking place under an Irish Home Rule Government. Religious dissensions are almost entirely unknown in Ireland, outside of Ulster (in which province more than half the population are Protestants), and even in Ulster such dissensions tend to lessen as time progresses.

Waterford.

CAPTAIN THE HON. FITZROY HEMPHILL, J.P. B.L., L.C.C.

(Son of the late Right Hon. Baron Hemphill, P.C.)

In my opinion, there is not the least danger of Protestants suffering any loss or injury by the grant of a full measure of Home Rule to Ireland. Anyone who is acquainted with Ireland will know that Protestants have always been well able to protect their own interests, and have, indeed, been successful in obtaining the best paid appointments in Ireland, so much so that, to be a Catholic, or a Liberal Home Ruler, has almost been a disqualification for appointment whether under a Liberal or Tory Government.

I am well acquainted with most parts of Ireland, and in the West, South and East, Catholic and Protestant live and work side by side without any idea of disagreement due to their religious beliefs. In the North where, in some parts, there is a Protestant majority, a certain amount of religious intolerance has been displayed, but for most part it consists of an annual demonstration, and when that is over the Protestants and Catholics are as good friends as ever.

My father, the late Lord Hemphill, for many years represented North Tyrone in the House of Commons. This is a constituency of a mixed character, and he was supported both by Protestants and Catholics. When I visited North Tyrone I never found any display of religious intolerance from either denomination. I may add that the present bishops and heads of the Catholic Church in Ireland are exceptionally broad-minded. I venture to think that at no time in Irish history have so many men of ability and capacity been included their number, and I feel convinced that their powerful influence would be brought to bear against any display of religious intolerance by members of their own Church.

There is one thing quite certain: When the House of Commons grants to Irishmen the right to govern their own country, all Irishmen who are devoted to their own country will have only one aim and idea, irrespective of class or sect, and that will be to promote the prosperity of Ireland.

15, Iddesleigh Mansions, London, S.W.

MR. FREDERICK W. HIGGINBOTHAM, J.P., T.C., M.I.C.E.I.

(Surveyor for the Earl of Howth's Estate.)

I am a Civil Engineer and Architect, and have been practising in Dublin, and the country generally, for several years. I have never found that the fact of my being a Protestant has interfered with my obtaining work from Catholics. In fact, I find, on analysing the list

of my clients, that 56 per cent. are Catholics and 44 per cent. Protestants. Being in the public positions of a Member of the Municipal Council and a J.P., the public are well aware of my religion.

COLONEL W. M. HODDER.

(Late of the Royal Engineers.)

I know of no cases of religious intolerance, not to speak of "persecution," by Irish Roman Catholics of Irish Protestants. It is inconceivable that such should take place under Home Rule. As for boycotting on account of religion, this could be done much more easily at the present time than under a responsible Irish Government. Whenever, to my knowledge, boycotting has occurred, it has been invariably on account of politics or agrarian grievances, and religion had nothing to do with such cases.

When Home Rule comes the Irish people will find that they have plenty to do in regenerating their country from the terribly low state to which it has sunk owing to the iniquitous over-taxation, coercion and neglect since the Union. In their own interests, all parties in Ireland will be forced to unite, and work together, in order to accomplish this. Further, I am sure that the future parties in the Irish Legislature will *not* be guided by religious distinctions; and that once the bad influence of "English" rule has disappeared from politics in Ireland, there will be plenty of scope for the whole of the Protestants in Ireland to enjoy a greater liberty and exercise a far more important influence in the affairs of their country than ever has been the case since that Act of Union passed.

The suggestion that the rest of Ireland would tax the industries of the North is ridiculous; on the contrary, a central government, with the regeneration of Ireland as its object, is more likely to give them assistance in their present hard struggle for existence.

Ringabella, Carrigaline, Co. Cork.

MR. DAVID C. HOGG, H.M.L.

(His Majesty's Lord Lieutenant for the County Derry.)

I have lived 50 years in Ireland. In my opinion an Irish Parliament will not endanger Protestants in any shape, form, or fashion. Dunnfield, Londonderry.

MR. WILLIAM HOLLIDAY, J.P.

(High Sheriff of Limerick.)

I entered the firm of J. & G. Boyd, Ltd., Limerick, 45 years ago as an apprentice, and am now Managing Director. I owe my position chiefly to the kindness and support I have received over all these years from my Catholic fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen; therefore, I cannot for a moment think or believe that, if a measure of Home Rule is granted to Ireland, my interests, or those of my co-religionists, will suffer in the slightest degree.



This city, perhaps the most intensely Catholic in the Empire, has, for the last five years, nominated each year a Protestant High Sheriff. On my re-election to the office in January last, a Roman Catholic gentleman of position and influence, especially clerical influence, contested the position; the Corporation, however, consisting of forty members, all Roman Catholic, by a substantial majority, placed my name first on the list to be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant. On the following Sunday evening two city bands, followed by a considerable body of workers, marched to my residence in the suburbs, and serenaded me, loudly cheering and congratulating me on my victory.

The chief Catholic manufacturing and industrial concerns in this city have Protestants controlling chief positions. Then again, the Harbour Commissioners, consisting of seventeen members, eleven of whom are Roman Catholics, the majority of whom for a great many years past have been Roman Catholic, were pleased, when vacancies occurred, to elect to the chief positions, namely, Harbour Engineer and Secretary, Protestants, replacing Roman Catholics.

I do not profess to be a politician, and I have yet to be converted to the belief that Home Rule, as commonly understood, will be good for this country, but I am a believer in giving Ireland greater power in the management of her own affairs. It seems to me ridiculous that, when an Act of Parliament is necessary for the purpose of building a railway or bridge, or other public work, the public bodies of this country are compelled to spend vast sums of money in Parliamentary and legal fees, sending witnesses at great expense to Westminster: therefore, whatever shape or form Home Rule takes, the English people may be perfectly satisfied that we here in the South and West will be loyal to the authority placed over us, as we have been in the past.

Limerick.

MR. MILES RICHARD HOPKINS.

(Manufacturing Silversmith and Jeweller.)

I never heard in the county in which I was born (County Carlow) any such thing as ill-feeling or persecution by Catholics of any kind whatsoever. On the contrary, wherever my relations and friends had the education and judgment, they got positions of emolument and trust in the country, although the population was, and still is, practically all Catholic.

O'Connell Street, Dublin.

LIEUT.-COL. W. HUTCHESON-POE, C.B., D.L.

(Ex-High Sheriff of Co. Tyrone and of Queen's Co.)

Since my retirement from active service, more than twenty years ago, I have resided almost continuously in Ireland, during which time I have been intimately connected with men of all denominations in the administration of local affairs.

I have never found the smallest disposition on the part of those who differed from me in religion, and who constitute the great majority, to allow sectarian influence to affect or prejudice their action. On the contrary, I have known instances where Protestant minorities have received special consideration, and more generous treatment, from the very fact of their being, so to speak, dependent on the goodwill of those of another persuasion.

The exclusion of the great majority of Protestants from all share in local government—which every fair-minded man must deplore—is due, not to their religion, but solely to the fact that their political views are at total variance with those of most of their neighbours.

When considering this phase of the question, moreover, it must not be forgotten that the terms “Unionist” and “Nationalist” synchronise to all intents with those of “Protestant” and “Catholic,” and that up to the introduction of the Local Government Act in 1898, every vestige of power had been in the hands of the former creed. Had the position been reversed, and the Unionists become, for the first time, the dominant power in 1898, I greatly question whether the Catholics (and Nationalists) would have experienced any better treatment than has been accorded to the Protestants (and Unionists).

Be this as it may, however, I have every confidence—now that the settlement of the Land and University questions has removed the two most fruitful sources of controversy—that, should it be found possible to frame a fair and reasonable measure of Home Rule upon a sound financial basis, so far from there being any fear of religious persecution, the natural good-feeling, warmth, and generosity of the Irish character will ensure the fair representation of every section of the community.

MR. WILLIAM HUTTON, J.P.

(A popular Farmer in the County of Down.)

I am a Presbyterian farmer, in my seventieth year, have lived here within two miles of Grey Abbey (where lie the bones of the Protestant patriot, Revd. Mr. Porter), and I never knew a single instance of religious intolerance by my Roman Catholic neighbours. I am sorry I cannot say the same for the other side, and the worst for of it is preached from the *pulpit*. I have always been a Radical Home Ruler, but within the last twelve months have been in the chair in the Carrowdore Orange Hall on the Labourers' Cottage question, and acted as collector in Newtownards chapel, and also in Ballycran, where many broad-minded Protestants were present. I have every reason to believe there are strong signs that the unreasonable fear of Roman Catholic intolerance is disappearing.

Ballygrangey House, Cuningburn, Newtownards.

MR. DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D., D.LITT.

(President of the Gaelic League.)

I have for the last 17 years taken an active part in a great popular organisation, spreading over every county in Ireland, and consisting of 600 or 700 branches, and, perhaps, some 50,000 members. I may say with absolute truth that during all this time none of us who were working in this organisation ever thought of inquiring what was the religion of his fellow-worker. A gentleman with whom I have been co-operating for years, under the impression that he was a Catholic, turned out to be a Protestant; and one whom I had taken to be a Protestant, turned out to be a Catholic. I myself am a Protestant, yet I have been annually re-elected President of the Gaelic League for the last seventeen years. Indeed, I do not believe that there was a single vote in any of our 600 or 700 branches which was affected by religious or polemical considerations. The only thing asked for was that a man should be a good Gaelic Leaguer and a good Irishman.

I have often heard people talk of religious bigotry, so I suppose it exists. But if it does exist, it is not in the Gaelic League. And I thank God that I have myself been fortunate enough never to have come across it to any extent, even in private life.

Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon.

MR. T. F. HARVEY JACOB.

(An active Member of the Society of Friends.)

I have come across very little religious intolerance among Catholics and a great deal among Protestants. Any cases I have known of Protestants suffering for their religion in any way were directly and unquestionably caused by Protestant bigotry. I am quite convinced that any full measure of self-government would very soon begin to lessen sectarian animosity in Ireland.

20 Newtown Hill, Waterford.

MR. W. J. JOHNSTON, B.L., M.A., LL.B.

(An Ulster Presbyterian, Liberal Candidate for South Derry, and elected to the Pembroke Urban Council by a Catholic majority.)

The history and works of the Catholics of Ireland—to those who take the trouble to investigate the matter—speak for themselves. The prosperity of Protestant merchants and professional men who live in the South and West of Ireland, where they form only a small percentage of the population, bear striking testimony not only to the tolerance but to the generosity of the Irish nature, and the working of the Local Government Act, 1898, proves conclusively that there is no more tolerant people in the world than the Irish people as a whole. Everyone who knows Ireland is aware that all the great popular movements of the last seven or eight hundred years were political or civic, and not religious in their character, and the political leaders of the people have not infrequently run counter to the desires and policy of their spiritual leaders. Even during the course of the present movement, inaugurated by Mr. Parnell in

1879, there have been numerous examples of that phase. I need only mention two of them—the case of the Parnell Testimonial in 1883, and the Plan of Campaign in 1887. In both instances the ecclesiastical authorities set their faces against the popular will, and in both cases they were worsted.

I rejoice exceedingly that I see eye to eye in the matter of Irish self-government with the vast majority of my fellow Presbyterian throughout the world. The majority of the Presbyterians in Scotland and England and in our self-governing Colonies, including Australia, Canada, and South Africa, clearly recognise the righteousness of the Irish demand. Even the Presbyterians of Ulster, one hundred years ago, were heart and soul with the popular movement in this country. I am quite content to believe that this great mass of world-wide Presbyterian opinion is right, and that the small Tory clique in Belfast, which, for the last forty years or so has been exploiting Irish Presbyterianism for its own purposes, is wrong. As a matter of fact, the General Assembly has been convicted of inconsistency by its own confession. It has always insisted upon complete independence in matters ecclesiastical, recognising that Irish Presbyterianism has interests quite distinct from those of Scotch and English Presbyterianism; but, at the same time, the Assembly—or the majority of its members—refuses to agree to the demand of the Irish citizens as a whole for a small measure of Home Rule as to matters secular.

Had it not been for certain malign influences which have been at work in Ulster for many years, the democratic genius of Irish Presbyterianism would have brought the members of that Church into close association with the present Irish movement. Such a union of forces, when it takes place, as it will, in the not distant future, will be good for both parties to the arrangement. It worked well in the Sixties and Seventies when disestablishment and a just land system were the modest reforms that were being fought for. There is no reason why it should not work well in the future.

The clap-trap suggestion that the Catholics of Ireland would act intolerantly towards their Protestant fellow countrymen has done duty so long and so often on Tory platforms that one would almost have expected that it had long ago spent its force. It was the main argument against Catholic Emancipation early in the nineteenth century, and it was shrieked from hundreds of platforms at the time of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. It even was trotted out as a reason against the extension of the Ballot Act to Ireland. It is now doing duty as the last surviving "argument" against Home Rule.

If the Tories themselves took up Home Rule—as they pretended they would do in 1885, as they were quite ready to do in 1902, and as their own Press urged them to do in 1910—this ludicrously false suggestion would never be heard again from one of their platforms. In 1898, when Lord Salisbury boldly swept away the local government of the counties



by the Irish landocracy, and substituted for it a system of popular government, no one said a word. Not even in Sandy Row was a protest raised that the Protestants in the South and West would be unfairly treated in the matter of representation and appointments. Even in December last, when the London Tory Press was advocating Federal Home Rule, the comments of the Belfast Press on that proposal were remarkably mild. No Irish Protestant believes in his heart that his Catholic fellow countrymen would oppress him. In truth and in fact, the suggestion is merely a Tory device to catch votes, and it will be promptly dropped when the Party managers think that it has served its turn.

32, Elgin Road, Dublin.

MR. RICHARD JONES, J.P.

(Member of the Dublin Corporation, and Chairman of the Richmond District Lunatic Asylum.)

I cannot too strongly deprecate the attempt now being made to alarm the British electorate on the score that religious intolerance would be exercised by the Catholics in Ireland as a consequence of Home Rule.

My personal experience, and the experience of a lifetime spent in intimate association with my Catholic fellow countrymen in all parts of Ireland, convince me that such a fear is absolutely groundless. I represented for nine years in the Corporation of Dublin the largest Ward in the City, the electorate of which exceeded six thousand voters, more than four-fifths of whom were Catholics. During that period I had to face three hotly contested elections; in each case my opponent was a local Catholic with strong claims, yet on all three occasions I was returned by an overwhelming majority of Catholic votes.

I have the honour to be Chairman of one of the most representative Boards in Ireland, that of the Richmond District Lunatic Asylum, comprised of representatives from Dublin City and the three Counties of Dublin, Wicklow and Louth—all of which are Catholic constituencies. I have held that position without interruption since the year 1900, and each year that honour has been conferred on me by the votes of my Catholic colleagues. On the School Attendance Committees (I have been a member of one since they were formed) Catholic Priests and Protestant Clergy sit side by side in the most intimate and friendly relations, sharing alternately the duties of presiding, and never has any question of religious difference been allowed to produce even the appearance of friction.

In all my life I have never known in Ireland a case where a Protestant suffered any disability, loss or inconvenience *on account of his religion*.

I should like to add—It is my sincere conviction that the greatest safeguard which Protestants will have under a system of Home Rule

in Ireland will be the clergy of the Catholic Church. In no other country in Europe is the relation between clergy and laity so close and so strong as it exists in Ireland; nor can one find a body of men so intensely devoted to their own Faith, and, at the same time so kindly disposed and gently tolerant towards those who differ from them in religious belief.

Rathdown House, Phibsborough.

MR. JEREMIAH JORDAN, J.P.

(Ex-M.P. for South Fermanagh.)

I am a Wesleyan Methodist, and have been engaged in commerce for more than half a century. I have not merely not concealed my religious opinions—I have proclaimed them from hundreds of platforms, and am proud of them.

Yet, I have never received, at the hands of my Catholic countrymen, anything but kindness, trust and honours. They have been amongst my best customers in business, and Catholic electors have placed me in every post to which they could elect me. I have sat on the Local Boards; and I have been elected to the Imperial Parliament for several constituencies in which the Catholics form 90 per cent. of the population. I retired from Parliament at the last election on grounds of health and age, but if I had desired to remain I might have done so for the rest of my life.

Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh.

MR. WALTER KAVANAGH, J.P., D.L.

(A leading Irish Landlord, ex-M.P. for Co. Carlow, Deputy Lieutenant and ex-High Sheriff of Co. Carlow, and Chairman of Carlow County Council.)

I should like to express my firm belief that religious intolerance on both sides has almost vanished in Ireland, and that under a Home Rule Government my co-religionists have nothing to fear. Too much is made out of so-called religious differences in Ireland. As a matter of fact, they are, for the most part, political differences such as exist in every country. But because it happens that, for the most part in Ireland, Nationalists are Catholics, and Unionists are Protestants, every election and every appointment is put down to religious influences, when they are, as a matter of fact, only the result of the political majorities.

However, be that as it may, I should like to bear my testimony to the tolerance and forbearance of my Catholic fellow-countrymen. As a Protestant-Unionist, I was elected as Chairman for two years by the Catholic-Nationalist members of a Board of Guardians. Then, when the Local Government Act came into force, I was also elected, under the same circumstances, and, after a contest, to the Carlow County

Council, and was subsequently elected Vice-Chairman of that body. Since I have become a Home Ruler, I have been elected Chairman of the Carlow County Council, and Member of Parliament for the same county.

Many other instances can be given of the willingness of the people of this country to elect and appoint those who differed from them in religion, but who agreed with them in politics. Can anyone ask more of them? Can anyone show an instance in England of a Conservative constituency returning a Liberal, or *vice versa*? Toleration is good, but it has its limits. Irish Nationalists cannot be asked to do what English Conservatives or Liberals will not do, and never have done. But putting aside altogether the political side of the question, and taking the religious side only, I do not believe that Protestants have any reason for misgivings at the prospect of an Irish Parliament, nor do I see any signs of uneasiness, as to the political future, in the Protestant Church itself, and I believe that, with the removal of that great question which at present divides Irishmen into Nationalists and Unionists, Protestants will have full security for their religion and their interests, and will have their fair share in the government of the country.

MR. S. R. KEIGHTLEY, LL.D., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

(A leading Ulster Liberal, and Liberal Candidate for South Derry.)

It is difficult for an Ulster Liberal who has taken any considerable share in Ulster politics to deal with the allegation of intolerance on the part of the Catholic people of Ireland dispassionately and without indignation. The charge is as false as it is unfounded. For ten years I have taken part in practically every Liberal fight in the province. I have contested three hard-fought elections myself. I have been brought into the most intimate connection with priests and people. I have had the amplest means of judging their hopes and aspirations, and one of the dearest memories of my life is the enthusiasm and loyalty with which my Catholic fellow-countrymen have supported me, a Liberal Presbyterian. Intolerance and religious bitterness are foreign to the genius of the Irish race. The Protestants of Ireland have nothing to fear from Home Government.

On the other hand, in my opinion, that measure, and that measure alone, will ultimately create a homogeneous people, and will bridge the gulf which still, unfortunately, separates Catholics and Protestants in the North of Ireland—a gulf opened and widened by the Orange Institution.

I will only add that the English people can have no idea of the power for evil which a great secret society, quasi military in its organization and nominally religious in its aims, can exercise—an institution which carries the bitterness and fanaticism of the 17th century into the 20th. The best part of Protestant Ulster is weary of its domination.

The Fort, Lisburn.

## MR. E. F. VESEY KNOX, K.C.

(A prominent Member of the Parliamentary Bar, ex-M.P. for West Cavan and for Derry City.)

I was for nine years a member of Parliament, elected almost entirely by Catholic votes. Since I retired from Parliament, thirteen years ago, I have taken no part in politics, but I have always spent part of the year in Ireland, and have kept in close touch with all things Irish. I cannot refrain from adding my testimony to that of so many of my Protestant fellow-countrymen, that the fear of religious persecution under Home Rule is absolutely groundless. I do not believe that many educated Irish Protestants entertain this fear. They have other objections to Home Rule—many of them worthy of discussion; some, perhaps, fit to be met by compromise—but the religious fear is merely a bogey for use on the platform.

No other people in the world believe in their religion more strongly than the Irish Catholics, and none are so ready to acquiesce in others retaining their own faith. History explains this paradox. The Irish Catholic has fought for his faith. He has the instincts of a soldier. He respects the opponent who is as obstinate as himself in adherence to a hereditary cause. He no more expects the Protestant to change his religion than he expects to change his own.

This gives a sound basis for mutual toleration which covers most of the relations of ordinary life. Mixed marriages are the rare exceptions. The Irish Catholic is a strong party man, as indeed is the Irish Protestant. This may lead him to occasional unfairness towards people who ought, as he thinks, to be of his own way of thinking, but are not. But I have never known of a single case in which a Protestant has suffered because he was a Protestant, either in politics, in business, or in the professions.

Many years of close and affectionate personal relations with the Catholic clergy have led me to hold most firmly that they will prove in all essentials a Conservative element, with whom, before Home Rule has been many years at work, the Protestants of property will be in close alliance.

Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

## MR. RICHARD LATCHFORD, J.P.

(A prominent Merchant in Tralee.)

At this time of day, it is simply nonsense for Protestants to talk of danger of persecution at the hands of their life-long friends, the Catholics. No such fears are ever spoken in the province of Munster. I never heard it, and I am 69 years of age. I have lived all my life amongst Catholics, and got a good living amongst them, and in a great measure from them, though they all know me to be a



Protestant. I have never received anything from them but the greatest kindness. I believe that the advent of Home Rule will mean a higher degree of toleration on both sides than we have ever enjoyed before, though the want of it was never known in Munster.

Tralee, Co. Kerry.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS LOUGH, M.P., P.C., H.M.L.

(His Majesty's Lieutenant for the County of Cavan, and a Member of His Majesty's Privy Council in Great Britain.)

My family and their ancestors, who were Protestants and Non-conformists, have lived for many generations in Ireland in the midst of a population in which members of the Roman Catholic Faith largely predominate. So far as I have been able to ascertain, they have never been molested by Catholics in their business relations or the practice of their religion. They have enjoyed quite as much freedom as they would have done in any other part of the United Kingdom—probably more. The fear that there would be any persecution in Ireland under a well-advised system of Home Rule is quite fanciful. Intolerance up to the present has mainly been on the side of the Protestant minority who desire to maintain their supremacy, but I have no doubt that all parties would welcome the advent of circumstances in which the memory of evil days might be forgotten, and when the practice of the widest spirit of mutual toleration and neighbourliness would become universal.

14, Dean's Yard, Westminster Abbey.

SIR HUGH MACK, J.P.

(A leading Belfast Linen Merchant.)

I have never at any time entertained the slightest fear that the grant to Irishmen of the control of their own domestic affairs would result in the persecution of the Protestant minority on account of their religion. During the period of fifty years and over that I have been in business, I have never found that Protestants residing in or trading with the South and West of Ireland had any ground to complain of religious intolerance; and I firmly believe that any change in the direction of local self-government, far from retarding, would promote the growth of tolerance among all creeds and classes.

Dalboyne, Lisburn.

MR. ROBERT F. MACK.

(An extensive Corn Miller in Cork.)

I have a business experience of over 25 years in Cork, the capital of the Catholic South, and I do not remember a solitary instance of religious intolerance on either side. On the other hand, I know of many instances where public positions and appointments in the gift

of Catholics have been accorded to Protestants. At the present moment, the High Sheriff of this City, and several Councillors, besides many servants of the public in different public bodies, who are Protestants, owe their positions to the votes of their Catholic fellow citizens. Why, at the last General Election a Protestant was returned as member by Catholic votes in a neighbouring constituency, and the very latest public appointment in Cork, as Chief of our Technical College, has been given not only to a Protestant but to an Englishman. And I am glad to add that I know of many Protestant merchants who are undertaking new ventures, new enterprises, new factories; and in their corporate capacity some of the Protestant communities of Cork have recently erected, and are contemplating erecting, further halls and schools. To my mind this does not spell intolerance.

This religious question never arises, and there is really a grave responsibility resting on any men or organs that make these assertions, as you can readily understand the danger that this very effect may be created by their foolish and quite unfounded fears.

St. Dominick's Mills, Cork.

MR. ROBERT MORRISON.

(An extensive Farmer in Co. Down.)

I have a confidence and a respect for every man who fears God, honours the King, and loves his neighbour, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, and the lack of the spirit in our leading Ulster Protestants has alone been the cause of our country's emigration, land wars, and poverty. I am a Presbyterian, and over 50 years of age. I have done what I could in my humble sphere for my country. I have no fear of religious persecution with Home Rule, but with a gladsome heart would welcome the day when religion and politics would be dissolved.

Glasswater House, Crossgar, Co. Down.

MR. WILLIAM MACAFEE, BARRISTER AT LAW.

(Graduate of Dublin University, Liberal Candidate for North Antrim.)

I am extremely glad to have an opportunity of placing on record, as an Ulster Presbyterian, my firm conviction that the fear of Roman Catholic intolerance or persecution alleged to be entertained by Protestants in Ireland, if it really is entertained to any appreciable extent, is wholly baseless and unjustifiable.

In addition to my belief that it is always safe to trust the people, I base my opinion on the following grounds:—

Firstly, I look to the teaching of history as to the tolerance displayed by Irish Roman Catholics towards Protestants at various

periods when the former had ample power and opportunity to persecute Protestants mercilessly, if so inclined.

Secondly, I rely on the numerous instances, some of which are within my own knowledge, in which, during recent years, purely Roman Catholic bodies have appointed Protestant candidates in competition with candidates of their own religion, to offices of profit within their gift.

Thirdly, I cannot ignore the fact that almost all the clamour for protection of scattered Protestants in the South and West of Ireland against the alleged danger of persecution by their Roman Catholic neighbours comes from a section of Ulster Protestants. On the other hand, testimony has frequently been borne by Protestants of all classes who are resident in Roman Catholic districts in the South and West, as to the amicable relationship existing between them and the Roman Catholics among whom they live, and the friendship and kindness displayed to them by the latter. In fact, many of them have publicly expressed a wish that this clamour in Ulster should cease, as they fear that by stirring up sectarian bitterness it may have the effect of creating hostility to Protestants, of which they would otherwise have no fear. I have never known of any instance in which a Protestant was persecuted, boycotted, or in any way molested by Roman Catholics on the ground of his religion.

Currysiskan House, Ballymoney.

MR. HUGH McALLISTER, J.P.

(An extensive Builder and Contractor in Co. Antrim.)

I am a Methodist, and have, in the course of my business, come in contact with my Catholic fellow-countrymen in different parts of Ireland. I am happy to say that my associations with them have always been of the most cordial and pleasant kind, and amongst them are to be found some of my best friends. I certainly have no fear with regard to any persecution or intolerance at their hands, but look forward with bright hopes to the day when Irishmen of all creeds and classes will agree to meet and discuss means for the Prosperity and well being of the Old Country.

40, Kerr Street, Portrush, Co. Antrim.

MR. EDWARD B. McCALDIN, J.P.

(A prosperous Merchant in Newbliss, Co. Monaghan.)

As a Presbyterian, I am happy to say that my associations with my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen have always been of the most cordial and pleasing kind: and amongst them are to be found my best friends and neighbours.

Being brought up and engaged in business all my life, I have always enjoyed a liberal share of their support; and I certainly have no fears with regard to any religious intolerance on their part—even under the proposed Irish Legislature.

Newbliss, Co. Monaghan.

MR. THOMAS McDOWELL

(Secretary, Ulster Liberal Association, Belfast.)

I gladly accept the opportunity of expressing my conviction of the utter groundlessness of the prophecies and assertions that are being made that the Protestant minority in Ireland will suffer persecution and intolerance at the hands of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen if a measure of self-government be granted to Ireland. My own experience and the history of Ireland go to show that the Irish Catholics, whilst renowned for their devoutness and devotion to their own faith, have ever been tolerant of the opinions of others. I have no fear whatever that the civil or religious liberty of any Protestant in Ireland would be in the smallest degree interfered with under Home Rule. The commercial success of Protestants in the South and West, the experience and testimony of clergymen of the different Protestant denominations provide overwhelming and irrefutable proof that all the disasters that are being foreshadowed are purely imaginary, and that the statements (made and disseminated for purely political purposes) are as baseless as they are calumnious.

The old regrettable prejudices and mistrust are, I am glad to say, gradually passing away, and I cannot conceive of anything more calculated to dispel the remnant still left than a National Assembly where Irishmen of all creeds would meet to discuss measures for the promotion of the prosperity and well-being of their common country.

29, Rosemary Street, Belfast.

PROFESSOR J. G. SWIFTE MACNEILL, M.A., K.C., M.P.

(Professor of Constitutional Law in the National University of Ireland.)

I am one of the Irish Protestant minority, the son and grandson of Irish Protestant clergymen of the late Established Church, of which some of my predecessors have been dignitaries. I have been for four and twenty years the representative in the House of Commons of South Donegal, one of the most Catholic constituencies in the British Empire. On the occasion of my first election for South Donegal in February 1887, I was opposed by a Catholic gentleman, a Unionist, whom I beat by some thousands of votes. I am, moreover, the holder of a Chair in the National University of Ireland, an institution mainly established for the purpose of enabling the young



people holding the faith of the great mass of the Irish race to receive the advantages of University education without any violation of conscience or danger to faith or morals. The University authorities have placed me, and not me only but several other Protestants, in positions of trust for the teaching of their students. They have, moreover, appointed me Clerk of Convocation. One of the duties of this office is to act as Assessor to His Grace, the Chancellor of the University, the Most Rev. William Walsh, D.D., Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

I may, perhaps, say that I have received superabounding kindness, affection, and sympathy from my Catholic fellow-countrymen. The fact that I kneel at a different altar has never for an instant prevailed to create any estrangement between us. On the contrary, I think I can trace many delicate and touching evidences of the kindness and consideration they have lavished on me to the fact that I, a Protestant, have thrown in my lot with them to work for the salvation of a common country and the good of its people, whether they be Catholics or Protestants.

I desire to say that the persons who, without knowledge of Ireland, charge the Irish Catholic people with intolerance, recklessly libel a nation, while the persons who, with knowledge of the country, advance this charge, are deliberately and consciously guilty of atrocious falsehood. The testimony of history, as well as their own experience, must be the refutation of those calumniators. Taylor, a Protestant writer, says in his history of the "Civil Wars of Ireland" in reference to Irish Catholics: "It is but justice to this maligned body to add that, on the three occasions of their obtaining the upper hand, they never injured a single person in life or limb for professing a religion different to their own. They had suffered persecution and learned mercy as they showed in the reign of Mary in the years from 1641 to 1648, and during the brief triumph of James II." Mr. Lecky, the Unionist historian, and representative of Dublin University, who was a protagonist in the opposition to Home Rule, bears similar and striking testimony to the absence of religious intolerance in Catholic Ireland.

17, Pembroke Road, Dublin.

MR. JOHN McKEE.

(A leading Solicitor in County Down.)

As a North of Ireland Presbyterian, my belief for many years past has been that if Ireland had legislative self-government it would speedily become the most loyal and most *Conservative* portion of the great British Empire. To my mind, religious intolerance of any kind under such circumstances is absolutely unthinkable. I am of opinion that you could easily get the testimony of many Unionists themselves that they have no fear of religious intolerance

if Home Rule were granted. They, no doubt, honestly believe that the present system of government is best for the country, but, except for a comparatively small and uneducated section of the Orange order, no one pays any heed to the nonsense that Catholics will oppress or try to injure their Protestant fellow-countrymen.

Mayfair, Arthur Square, Belfast.

REV. WILLIAM MACKEOWN

(Presbyterian Minister, Scots Church, Cork.)

It is now nineteen years since I came to live in Cork, and during that time I have never experienced, and have never known, an uncivil or unfriendly act done by a Roman Catholic to a Protestant on account of his Protestantism.

It was my privilege when I first undertook Ministerial duty in this city to live for seven years, as paying guest, in a Roman Catholic home, where I made many acquaintances, both priests and people, and formed many friendships, that exist to this day. Indeed, seldom have I a pleasanter evening than when a priest drops in for a friendly chat, or to inquire for me or mine if sickness has been in the home. But to live in the midst of such kindness, and to enjoy such friendships, and then to be asked to say that I have no fear of intolerance or persecution is rather incongruous. No Protestant who has lived for any length of time in the South and has mingled with the people has any such fear.

It is only in Ulster that people talk of intolerance. It is only in Ulster that unfriendliness exists; and I have no hesitation in saying that the cause is not to be found among the Roman Catholic people, who are by nature courteous and kindly.

In my pastoral work I am constantly visiting members of my church in Roman Catholic firms and factories. I have always been welcomed, and have always been permitted—sometimes at considerable inconvenience—to speak to the person whom I desired to see. Frequently I have had to investigate cases where it was asserted that men had been dismissed from their employment because they were Protestants. I have never found one such case to be true. The fear of Roman Catholic intolerance or persecution under Home Rule is a pure bogey, invented by minds that are embittered by hate and prejudiced by political partisanship. If Englishmen could only realise that there are four provinces in Ireland, and that only in Ulster is there any bitterness, intolerance, or persecution, surely they would not permit themselves to be misled by this nonsensical cry of Roman Catholic intolerance.

I have never taken an active part in politics, or stood on a political platform, but I am glad of this opportunity of testifying not only to the friendliness but to the extreme kindness of the Roman Catholic people among whom I have lived for nearly twenty years.

Scots' Church, Cork.

REV. W. J. NELSON,

(Formerly Rector of Bannow, Co. Wexford, and Rector of Stratford, Co. Wicklow.)

As an English parson who served for thirteen years and a half in Ireland, I am glad to have an opportunity of bearing testimony to the unfailing courtesy and kindness I always received from my Roman Catholic neighbours.

I went to Ireland in 1895, feeling that Home Rule would mean danger and difficulty for the Protestant minority. My experience, as Chaplain of Ballyfin, Queen's County; Rector of Stratford-on-Slaney, Co. Wicklow, and Rector of Bannow, Co. Wexford, has led me to see that I had taken quite a mistaken view of the situation. Never once did I find any trace of intolerance on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy and people towards the lonely and isolated Churchfolks in the South of Ireland. On the contrary, they were treated with every consideration, and actually encouraged to attend their own services. More than once have I known Mr. John Redmond go out of his way to show kindness to Irish Protestants. Narrowness and bitterness I have seen in Ireland, but it was not on the side of the Roman Catholic majority. Cases of religious boycotting there may have been, but they came from the enemies and not the supporters of the Nationalist cause.

Like so many Englishmen who have lived in Ireland, I have become a Home Ruler by conviction. Once Irishmen are allowed to manage their own business and develop their neglected country, political and religious differences will vanish, and men will work together for the common good. Roman Catholics and Protestants will dwell together in brotherly love, and English Churchmen and Nonconformists need have no fear as to the treatment their co-religionists will have when Home Rule comes, at the hands of the Roman Catholic majority.

Treneglos Vicarage, Egloskerrey, Cornwall.

CAPTAIN CECIL NORTON, M.P.

(Assistant Postmaster-General.)

Religious intolerance under Home Rule is, in my opinion, a bogey used by some, with personal or political interests to serve, to frighten electors in Great Britain who have little or no knowledge of the Irish people. As an Irishman born and bred, whose Puritan forefathers migrated from Worcestershire to Ireland nearly 300 years ago, and who have lived where members of the Roman Catholic Church largely predominate, I venture to assert that the Protestant settlers have been more prone to religious intolerance than their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen.

As the grandson of Captain Theophilus Norton, who, about a century ago, was Grand Secretary of the Orange movement in Ireland, I have some knowledge of the religious animosity once prevalent throughout our country. It is but natural that some Irish Protestants should fear retaliation on account of their antecedents, but this feeling I believe to be on the decline. The influence of the Catholic priesthood in secular affairs—no longer what it once was—is likely to be still further diminished as a result of Home Rule. Much of the past trouble in Ireland has been due to to agrarian rather than to religious motives, and recent legislation has mitigated this.

Home Rule, once established, must lead to a union of Irishmen, of every creed and class, and those who are not prepared to co-operate in the patriotic work of furthering the welfare of their native land will only prove themselves unworthy of their birthright. Personally, I have a firm faith in the future prosperity of my country.

2, Onslow Gardens, London, S.W.

MR. MURROUGH O'BRIEN.

(Retired Chief Land Commissioner for Ireland.)

As a non-Catholic, I have not the least apprehension of any persecution or unfair treatment of Protestants by their Catholic fellow citizens. I have never experienced or known of anything of the kind.

During my whole life circumstances have placed me on intimate and often friendly terms with Catholics of every class. I have had ample opportunities of observing the relations of Protestants and Catholics in the more Catholic parts of Ireland. I see Protestant traders, artisans and professional men dealt with and consulted on their merits, and not on the ground of their religion. They live and thrive on Catholic support. The apprehension of religious persecution or unfair treatment seems to me absurd, nor do I see how such would be possible under a democratic Irish constitution.

As for myself I should resent the imposition of so-called "safeguards" or "guarantees" such as I see spoken of. They are not needed by Protestants, would be an insult to Catholics, and suggestive of the very practices for the prevention of which it is proposed to impose them.

MR. THOMAS PATTON, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

(Son of Rev. S. Patton, of Londonderry.)

I have a good knowledge, both from a professional and private point of view, of the City of Derry, and of the Counties of Derry, Donegal and Tyrone. My invariable experience of the Catholic



people there is that they are infinitely less bigoted than their Protestant brethren, and my experience has been the same in every other part of Ireland. The action of bodies like the County Council of Donegal, since the Local Government Act put power in their hands, has been marked by consistent tolerance to the Protestant minorities. For generations the district of which I speak was, by the savage and unrelenting bigotry of a Protestant minority, kept aflame with the fires of racial and sectarian strife.

No action of the Catholic people can give ground to the slightest suspicion that they, who, through two centuries were courageous in their resistance to oppression, will be vindictive when trusted with power. The subject is a small and squalid one, and I think it deplorable that Ulster Protestants can be found willing to go over and vilify their neighbours in Great Britain. I would like to add that I write as a Presbyterian.

74, Pembroke Road, Dublin.

MR. C. H. PEACOCK, J.P.

(A Wexford Magistrate and Landowner.)

I am in a position to state, particularly for this part of Ireland, that there is not a scintilla of evidence of the Catholics of Ireland having shown an intolerant spirit to their Protestant fellow-countrymen.

Since the Local Government Act has been extended to Ireland, and responsibility has been thrown on the electors, an anxiety has been shown to select the best men from amongst those who have evidenced a desire to associate themselves with the people for the advancement of the country, and that selection has been made without taking into consideration any man's creed. I consider this cry about religious intolerance is a political and partisan cry on the part of so-called Unionists. I myself am an elected representative on many public Boards in this country, and I have the honour of being Chairman of several representative bodies.

Belmont, Wexford.

RIGHT HON. LORD PIRRIE, K.P., P.C.

(Chairman of the world-famed firm of Harland & Wolff, Ltd., Shipbuilders, Belfast, which pays £20,000 a week in wages, and employs more labour than any firm in Ireland. Lord Pirrie is an ex-Lord Mayor of Belfast and ex-High Sheriff both of Co. Antrim and Co. Down, and ex-President of the Chamber of Shipping.)

It is with the utmost confidence that I give expression to my opinion that there is no fear that the impending inauguration of an Irish Legislature will have, as one of its results, the religious persecution of Protestants.

In existing circumstances, there is nothing to prevent Irish Catholics from exercising, were they so disposed, a certain amount of persecution of Protestants where the latter are in a minority; but happily the records of Irish Catholics show, that so far from there being any persecution of this character, the greatest generosity has been displayed towards such Protestants, in that they have been accorded positions of honour and emolument far beyond the ratio to which they were entitled upon any populative basis.

On the other hand, I confess with shame that in the past the spirit of religious intolerance has been and is even now, although in lesser degree, prevalent amongst a portion of the Unionist population of Ulster. Happily the evidence that this unfortunate spirit is on the wane is indisputable, and one is not without hope that the present-day laudable tendency to draw a proper line between Religion and Politics, and the softening influence of a more intimate association with their Catholic fellow-countrymen and with the world in general, inducing, as they must do, feelings of tolerance more in accord with the spirit of the age in which we live, may in time reduce to insignificance the possibility of religious friction, and tend to unite in one harmonious body the Protestant inhabitants of Ulster with the rest of their fellow-countrymen in a common desire to promote the credit and welfare of their common country.

24, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.

RIGHT HON. SIR HORACE PLUNKETT, K.C.V.O., P.C., D.C.L., &c.

(A Member of the last Unionist Government, Unionist M.P. for South Dublin, 1892-1900. Head of the Department of Agriculture for Ireland, 1899-1907.)

For some years I have taken no part in politics and should naturally hesitate to give public expression to my opinion upon an issue avowedly raised for the purpose of clearing the way for Home Rule.

But the question of religious bigotry should not figure in this controversy. If the evil exists it can make life quite as intolerable under the present as under any other constitutional arrangement. The truth is, religious bigotry does not disturb the life of that part of Ireland to which your question relates, and has not done so in my memory. Some think that this tolerance is to be attributed to the conviction on the part of the great majority of my countrymen that those who disagree with them in matters of religious belief will be adequately punished in another place. But in earlier times religious persecution never disgraced Ireland as it did most European countries. The Penal Laws were political rather than religious measures.

I do not say that there have not been and will not be again individual instances of bigotry in "the South and West"; but in nearly every such case of unfair discrimination it will be found that politics, and not religion, were the determining cause.

I remember thinking, when Mr. Lecky convulsed the House of Commons by citing the case of two dispensary doctors who "died of *delirium tremens* and were both appointed upon religious grounds," that it was far more probable that the grounds were political, or else that the deceased were the beneficiaries of ordinary jobs.

As I have stated publicly more than once, I have never observed that the fact of being a Protestant was a disadvantage to a man in Irish public life.

Lastly, if any acute religious issues are to be raised in the future, they are far more likely to be between lay and clerical influences than between denominations.

Plunkett House, Dublin.

MR. S. C. PORTER, M.A., LL.B, B.L.

(A barrister practising in Dublin and Belfast, and well known for the deep interest which he takes in social and economic questions.)

I believe there is no danger whatsoever of religious intolerance under Home Rule. My work brings me into contact with all classes and conditions of people, and I have never heard of a single case in which a Protestant has been persecuted by his Catholic neighbours on account of his religion.

I am acquainted with Presbyterian and Methodist clergymen who have spent most of their lives in the South and West of Ireland, and they assure me that they have never met with anything but the greatest kindness and respect from their Catholic fellow-countrymen.

The allegations of persecution which are being industriously circulated in Great Britain are cruel, wicked, and malicious slanders.

Protestant and Catholic no longer confront each other in hostile armies. Conflicting interests no longer divide us. The spirit of racial antagonism and religious hate has passed away for ever. We live in a new Ireland.

I welcome the advent of self-government. By no other means can we strengthen our National character or develop our National resources. By no other means can we secure the co-operation of Irishmen of every creed and class in the noble work of building up a happy, prosperous and United Ireland.

Chichester Buildings, Belfast.

HIS HONOR JUDGE RENTOUL, K.C., LL.D.

(Judge of the Central Criminal and City of London Courts; Unionist Member for East Down, 1890-1892.)

I cannot be so discourteous as to leave your letter unanswered, as we were for so many years fellow-members of the House of Commons.

You ask me if I believe, in case Home Rule was granted, that the majority in Ireland would indulge in religious persecution of the

minority. To answer that question would be to indulge in prophecy; and having prophesied once before about Irish affairs, and having been proved to be entirely right on that occasion, I had better retire on my laurels.

I can only say that I have spoken on many hundreds of Unionist platforms in all parts of England and Scotland, and have spoken for and with a large proportion of the Unionist Members of each of the four Parliaments in which I sat, and for, at least, half of the Members of the Governments of my Party; and there are two arguments which I never used in my life, nor was, I believe, ever on the platform with an English Member who used them, nor did any man for whom I spoke ever wish me to use them. These arguments were—(1) That there would be danger of religious persecution in Ireland if Home Rule were granted; and (2) that “Ulster would fight, and Ulster would be right” if Home Rule were granted. I thought we had a strong enough case, and enough solid arguments, without using arguments which, so far as I could learn, English audiences did not believe in, and which I thought weakened the good arguments which we had.

I always hoped for a compromise, or a truce, honourable to both parties, because I believed that before twenty years the Nationalists would regret Home Rule as much as, if not more than, the Unionists. You, of course, do not agree with me in this view; but many Nationalists and many Unionists in Ireland believe that if St. Patrick’s Day processions and 12th of July celebrations got a holiday, a great step towards religious toleration would be taken—especially as those celebrations take place *heroically* in the districts where the opponents are few. If the celebrations must take place, let us have the St. Patrick’s Day celebration in the heart of County Down and the Orange celebrations in Tipperary. That would be extremely manly, at any rate, though possibly a little exciting.

I have a very large number of relatives in Ireland who are strong Unionists, and all Protestants. Nearly all of them live in the counties of Donegal, Tipperary, Longford, and Cork, and they all declare to me that religious persecution is the very last thing they fear or regard as possible—but this does not make them in the least degree more favourable to Home Rule. I do not suppose that this is a reply that will satisfy you; but as I have always felt more at home with Irishmen of any creed or class than with men of any other nationality (well and kindly as England has treated me), and as I hope and believe that the day will come when no Irishman will take a pride in insulting a fellow-countryman, either because of his politics or religion, that is why I write as I do. The less any of us refer to the past history of Ireland the better. Most men in Ireland are of the religion into which they happened to be born, and most men are of the political creed which they happened to adopt at a very early age and rancour or hatred about religious creeds is strong proof of the absence of genuine religion of any sort; and political intolerance



only proves a total ignorance of how many foolish things have been done by every political party. There is possibly one thing in which you and I may agree entirely, and that is—that religious persecution of any kind has always degraded the party that indulged in it in any country in Europe, more than all the other blackest pages of that country's history have done; and, therefore, it is sad to suggest it as a probability with regard to a nation which all Irishmen are so extremely ready to describe as the most generous nation on the face of the earth. Those who honestly differ from us in religion or politics are, according to our view, to be pitied, and it is said that pity is akin to love; so, knowing that, you pity me and I pity you.

44, Lexham Gardens, Kensington, W.

#### PROFESSOR RISHWORTH.

(Professor of Civil Engineering in University College, Galway.)

Although I dislike to take part in any political controversy, still I cannot refuse to state my experience of Catholic toleration.

I was born and brought up in County Galway, in a district where probably more than 95 per cent. of the people are Catholics, and during the last twenty-five years I cannot recall a single instance of a Protestant in the district being subjected to any annoyance on account of his religious views. As for my own family, since my grandfather went to reside there, sixty years ago, they and I have received nothing but kindness, courtesy and support from our Catholic neighbours and friends.

My nomination last year to the Professorship of Civil Engineering in University College, Galway, by the Governing Body of that College is only a further proof.

I might add that had I any fear of religious intolerance in the future, I should not have given up a Civil Service appointment abroad to return to the West of Ireland.

University College, Galway.

#### MR. JOHN H. ROBINSON, A.B., T.C.D.

Having never experienced anything but kindness, courtesy and fair play from the majority in this country, I do not anticipate any change in the event of Home Rule.

4, St. Patrick's Terrace, Cork.

#### MR. JOHN C. ROLLINS.

(Hon. Sec., Irish Patriotic Union, Belfast.)

I have held several business appointments in different parts of Ireland, before coming to Belfast, viz., Galway, Tyrone and Cavan,

in all of which the Roman Catholics are in a majority, yet they are more generous to Protestants when filling up appointments than Protestants are towards Roman Catholics, as the following table shows:—

| County. | Population. |            | Percentage. |       | Paid Officials. |       | Percentage. |       |
|---------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------------|-------|
|         | Catholic    | Protestant | Cath.       | Prot. | Cath.           | Prot. | Cath.       | Prot. |
| Galway, | 180,000     | 12,000     | 94          | 6     | 50              | 11    | 81          | 19    |
| Tyrone, | 82,000      | 68,000     | 55          | 45    | 5               | 47    | 10          | 90    |
| Cavan,  | 79,000      | 18,000     | 80          | 20    | 30              | 26    | 53          | 47    |
| Antrim, | 40,000      | 156,000    | 26          | 74    | 5               | 60    | 8           | 98    |

I have taken the above counties, as I resided for some time in each of the first three, and am now residing in the latter. During my time in County Galway, Ballinasloe, one of its chief towns, had a Wesleyan Methodist as Chairman of its Town Council. The County Inspector was a Roman Catholic, and his wife was a Protestant. I have seen him walk with his wife to the Protestant Church, and then go on by himself to Mass in the R.C. Church. There were several leading families in a like position. The grand-daughter of a Protestant Archbishop of Dublin was married to a Roman Catholic attorney practising in Ballinasloe, where Roman Catholics and Protestants live in the most perfect harmony. A relative of mine has lived there for more than 30 years. She is the widow of a Church of Ireland clergyman, and is living on private means, so that she could live anywhere, and yet she prefers staying there. I know another family from Ulster that has taken up residence there and would not come back.

Religious persecution is unthinkable; it is impossible. I have only known of one case of religious persecution, and it was directed against myself, and I will state the particulars as briefly as possible. I was Minister's Church Warden (of the Church I have attended for the past 20 years) for the year 1909-10. When the House of Lords rejected the Budget of 1909-10, and brought about the general election of January, 1910, I took the side of the candidates here that were in favour of the Budget, and against the unconstitutional and arbitrary action of the peers, viz., Messrs. R. Gageby, North Belfast, Unionist; T. H. Sloan, South Belfast, Unionist; and J. Devlin, West Belfast, Nationalist. For thus exercising my civil rights, I was vigorously boycotted by my Pastor, my fellow Church Wardens, and the members of the Select Vestry of the Church in which I had held every office open to a layman. My name was expunged from the "Parish Magazine." I was prevented from discharging the duties of Church Warden. Members of the Select Vestry passed my pew when taking up the offertory at the Sunday services, one of them being a police constable in uniform. My presence at the Vestry meetings was ignored, and the meetings formally opened and closed, no business being transacted. I was and am still ostracised by the Rector and members of the Select Vestry.

This un-Christian conduct caused me to consider the political situation from a new standpoint, and removed my prejudice by showing me that the civil and religious liberty that we always were boasting about, only existed so long as the individual acted in harmony with the views of the majority. I saw that the men who boasted of being the descendants of those that resented the tyranny and arbitrary powers of James II. were fighting in favour of the tyranny and arbitrary powers of the House of Lords at the bidding of the Tory Party. On examination, I found their opposition to Home Rule was not based on reason, but in the interests of the Tory Party. The more I examined, the more I was convinced that Home Rule for Ireland and Home Rule for Scotland, England and Wales, is the policy that will promote the best interests of each and also of the Empire. In conclusion, I am glad to state that even here in Belfast there is a rapidly increasing and growing opinion in favour of Irish self-government, and that intolerance and bigotry are fast dying out.

204, Duncairn Gardens, Belfast.

MR. HOWARD ROWE, J.P.

(Mayor of Wexford.)

There seems to me not the slightest cause for thinking Protestants would be persecuted by an Irish Parliament. These fears have been excited and fostered for political purposes; their source and origin will be found in the Rent Office of the Landlords.

My life has been spent in Wexford, and I can testify to the harmony and good feeling that exists amongst all creeds and classes here. It is an intensely Catholic town, and a very religious people. I am myself a Methodist, so are two esteemed members of the Corporation, and I have been elected this year to the Mayoral Chair with marked public approval, so that I am qualified to give an opinion as to the character and disposition of the people, and the probability of religious persecution. My opinion is, there would be no religious persecution under Home Rule, and that, on the contrary, there would be a better spirit and a greater tolerance in matters of religion.

Protestant traders carry on through the South and West of Ireland many large and lucrative businesses and professions through the support of the Catholic people, and Protestant farmers live in kindest relations with their neighbours, and are now happy and secure in their holdings under the beneficent measure of Land Law Reform, which Ireland enjoys through the action of the Nationalists. I am convinced that, under Home Rule, the best and ablest men would be elected to Parliament; impartial justice would be administered and freedom of opinion secured to all classes. Therefore, I would welcome self-government, believing it would assuage and in time remove existing animosities and powerfully conduce to the general welfare.

The Mayoralty, Wexford.

## MR. GEORGE W. RUSSELL.

(The brilliant writer, and an active worker in the Irish Industrial Revival.

In reply to your enquiry as to whether there would be religious intolerance under Home Rule, I believe human nature will be the same as it ever was, and the minority will always persecute the majority in the future as in the past. All minorities are full of virulent feeling until they grow near to nature's ideal, which is that the pairs of opposites shall be equally balanced. The greatest danger I see under Home Rule is that my co-religionists will never stop bullying the Catholic majority, and trading on their generosity and good feeling, until they get every place of honour and profit which is worth accepting. I never found myself that the fact that I was a heretic made any difference in the relations of the orthodox with me, or, if there was a difference, it was all in my favour.

17, Rathgar Avenue, Dublin.

## MR. W. J. RUTTLE.

(A prominent Londonderry Liberal.)

For the past 27 years I have had a good deal to do with Irish Roman Catholics, and I have only received at their hands the greatest kindness. Why should I now fear them when they come into that power which is theirs by right? They are very largely in the majority in Ireland, but they do not all think alike, and, in my opinion, the Irish Protestant members will be much more powerful in the Irish Parliament than ever they have been in the British

43, Clarendon Street, Londonderry.

## MR. THOMAS SCOTT, J.P.

(Belfast.)

An Irishman, I have been associated all my life with Roman Catholics in Ireland, and our social relationship has always been the happiest. For upwards of forty years I have had a large and extensive business connection amongst them, and although of religion different from that of the majority of my fellow-countrymen I have never found the semblance of religious intolerance, but have ever been treated by them with the greatest respect, courtesy, kindness and impartiality. As a Presbyterian, this has been my experience. For me to state otherwise would be to malign and do injustice to my fellow-countrymen.

Hannaville, Greenisland, Co. Antrim.



REV. R. HERBERT SEWELL, B.A.

(Minister of Great George Street Congregational Church, Liverpool.)

I was born, and spent all my earlier years, in the city of London-erry, where my father was a Protestant clergyman, and ever since have been in the habit of paying frequent visits to all parts of Ireland. As a result, I have come to the conclusion that no people in the world have so deep a reverence for all varieties of religious faith as have the Catholics of Ireland. Their devotion to their own is shown by their endurance and constancy in times of cruel persecution; their respect for that of others by a readiness, very wonderful in the light of history, to elect Protestants to posts of power and emolument, in Parliament, and in the local governing bodies.

My experience is that whatever religious intolerance there is in Ireland must be looked for in the districts where the Catholic is in a hopeless minority, and at the hands of those misguided so-called Protestants, who have been led by interested parties into looking on the Catholic as a natural enemy. For their own purposes, the landlords fostered the feeling, knowing that a union of Catholic and Protestant would be fatal to agrarian despotism. A similar policy misled some of the Belfast employers to do the same. Happily for our common Christianity, this state of things is passing away; and I believe that once an Irish Parliament is established, Catholic and Protestant will be found working harmoniously together in the service of their country.

Falkner House, Falkner Square, Liverpool.

MR. ABRAHAM SHACKLETON.

(A well-known Flour Miller and Corn Merchant.)

I was born and bred a member of the Society of Friends. I lived for 43 years at Ballitore, County Kildare, where my ancestors settled, on emigrating from Yorkshire about 200 years ago. I have since been a citizen of Dublin. I have for 70 years been engaged in commercial pursuits, and have come in contact with all classes of my countrymen. My family and myself have never had cause to complain of the attitude or conduct of our Catholic countrymen. Seeing that the world generally has outgrown and given up the practice of religious persecution, I am at a loss to understand why some people anticipate that such should be revived in Ireland under Home Rule. Such evil ways existed in former times in all sects and churches. Our Quaker predecessors suffered death and imprisonment by the Puritans in New England in the 17th century. My direct ancestor, Richard Shackleton, was imprisoned in York Castle for two years for his religious opinions. He was only one out of thousands. Servitus was burned by the Calvinists at Geneva in the 16th century. Why Irishmen should, any more than American, Englishmen and

Swiss, now re-introduce religious intolerance and persecution, I am utterly unable to understand. I have no fears of such a result from Home Rule.

23, York Road, Rathmines.

SIR ALEXANDER SHAW, J.P.

(Proprietor of the Limerick Bacon Factory, Ex-President of Chamber of Commerce.)

I was born in Limerick 64 years ago, and have lived there all my life since. I am an Episcopalian, a Parochial Nominator for a couple of parishes, a Synodsmen and a People's Churchwarden for St. Mary's Cathedral. My father and mother were both strong Presbyterians, and came to Limerick from Belfast about seventy years ago. My father was always grateful to the Roman Catholics of Limerick for the kindly reception he got and their treatment of him, and during his lifetime in Limerick he established a very large and important business. I have succeeded to that business. There is not a single Protestant among the ordinary operatives there are two or three amongst the engineers, and about half the clerical staff are of that persuasion. We all live and work in perfect harmony, and any suggestion as to myself personally having any fear of religious intolerance from my Roman Catholic neighbours under Home Rule is disposed of by the fact that twenty-five years ago I was President of the Limerick Protestant Home Rule Association. Although both my tongue and my pen have been quiet of late, I have never changed my opinion as to the desirability of Home Rule.

As only about 5 per cent of the population of Limerick County is Protestant, Presbyterian or Methodist, surely we would have been swept into the sea long ago if there was any truth in the cry of religious intolerance, which is a bogie of the most absurd kind; and it astonishes me that the Northern men, who are shrewd enough, have not seen this long ago. Their brethren in the South have nothing to be afraid of, and should they ever have to do so they are well able to take care of themselves. There are Roman Catholics amongst my most trusted employees and dearest friends and it gives me great pleasure to testify as I have done.

Derravoher, Limerick.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS SHILLINGTON, J.P., P.C.

(A prominent Linen Manufacturer in Belfast and Portadown, and a Member of the Privy Council in Ireland.)

If I am to express a candid and sober judgment on the effect which may be expected to follow upon the establishment of self government in Ireland on the position of Protestants in this country

am compelled, as the result of long and serious study of the subject in all its aspects, to state that I believe that their position will be greatly improved by it.

So far from conducing to the disadvantage of Protestants, I am convinced that the satisfying of the aspirations of the Irish people by granting to them self-government will place the Protestant population of the country in altogether better and more desirable relations towards their fellow-countrymen than they now occupy.

It is a great misfortune for any form of religion that it should be exploited by, and be dragged into the service of a political party, and be used by it for its political purposes. To that position Protestants in Ireland have been degraded by the Unionist Party. Unfortunately, it has been for many years the policy and practice of that Party to stimulate and foster, to the utmost of their ability, amongst Protestants, aversion towards, and distrust of their Roman Catholic neighbours. Constantly from Tory platforms it is proclaimed that Protestants in this country are the army of occupation in England. "The English Garrison," they are taught to call themselves. The terms "Protestant," "Loyalist," "Unionist," are used on these occasions, and also in the Unionist Press, as interchangeable and synonymous. At great public meetings composed entirely of Protestants, to which Catholics are never invited, religion and politics, Protestantism and Unionism, Loyalty and Toryism are inextricably mixed up together by the speakers. This pays the Unionist Party, in a political sense, and hence large sums of money are contributed and expended on these demonstrations; but, with the establishment of self-government, it will no longer pay the Unionist Party to carry on this vicious and mischievous propaganda.

Moreover in the adjustment and development of parties that is certain to take place under a Home Rule government, two parties, at least, probably more than two parties, will be evolved, each of which will, from time to time, look towards Irish Protestants for such political support or assistance as all political parties are glad to avail themselves of on terms; and thus Protestants will hold a very strong position and be able to influence and frequently to determine the course of events.

Independently of the foregoing considerations, I am strongly of opinion that the fears expressed by some Protestants of persecution under a Home Rule government are chimerical and groundless.

Portadown.

MR. HENRY SMYTH.

(Formerly Member of the Harborne School Board, Member of the Harborne Local Board, and Guardian of the Poor in King's Norton Union.)

Born in the West of Ireland 86 years ago, of Protestant parents, my father a well-known Orangeman, Freemason, and Churchwarden,

my family might well have been considered fit subjects for ill-usage and general antipathy on the part of the Catholics, of whom several were constantly in our employment; but nothing of the kind ever occurred to us.

On the contrary, we were always on the most friendly terms with our neighbours, nine tenths of whom were Catholics. In that respect indeed, I have none but pleasant memories of my early days in Ireland. And now, in the evening of my life, it gratifies me to be able to say that these happy relations with the Catholics of my old home continue to the present hour. The assertion that the grant of Home Rule would result in ill-treatment to Protestants in Ireland I regard as a wicked slander, begotten of ignorance or sectarian animosity.

32, Stanmore Road, Edgbaston.

MR. LINDSAY TALBOT-CROSBIE, J.P., D.L.

(One of the leading Irish Landlords, and a Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Kerry.)

Mr. William Moore, M.P., has declared that the only effective method of opposing Home Rule is the cultivation of sectarian animosity. The financial difficulty, he says, will have but little weight with the British democracy, as they will regard any additional charges as merely putting "an extra screw on the Dukes. The Separation bogey is also played out, according to Mr. Moore, who rightly concludes that the most effective imposture will be an appeal from the persecuted Protestants to their English and Irish religionists for protection from the tyranny of their Catholic enemies. As this expedient will be worked for all it is worth, the collecting of independent testimony, such as you propose, is of the utmost importance.

If the testimony of personal experience will bear any weight in refuting a calumny upon our fellow countrymen, I gladly give it. That experience extends over a long life now, and I assert with perfect confidence that neither I nor my forbears have ever been subjected to the faintest antagonism from our Catholic neighbours on account of difference of creed. So far from seeking the support of the Orange Lodges, the scattered Protestants of the South strongly deprecate being exploited by the Northern party for the furtherance of their own political objects. Some little time ago, when this question was before the public, I wrote to the Press and challenged the production of a single case in which any Protestant in Kerry had suffered in purse or person on account of his creed. To this day the challenge remains unanswered.

Ardfert Abbey.



DR. EDWARD THOMPSON, J.P., F.R.C.S.I.  
(Ex-M.P. for North Monaghan.)

For the past forty years I have had an extensive and very intimate professional experience of the Irish people, of all classes and creeds, and I am glad to be in a position to affirm that on neither side, except amongst a small minority, does religious or political bigotry extend very deeply. As a rule, Protestants and Roman Catholics get on very well together, and are glad to help one another. I have known very many examples of the friendliest feeling existing between them. If Home Rule is granted, it should be an easy matter to so frame the new Constitution that Protestants and Catholics should have equal rights and opportunities. In any case, I am convinced the Protestants, conjoined with a very considerable number of well-to-do and influential Roman Catholics, are sufficiently strong in influence and numbers to thoroughly protect themselves and safeguard their interests.

Omagh, Co. Tyrone.

GENERAL SIR ALFRED E. TURNER, K.C.B

(On the staff of Lord Spencer when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from 1882 to 1884; Private Secretary to Lord Aberdeen when Lord Lieutenant in 1886; and Commissioner of Police for the Counties of Cork, Kerry, Clare, and Limerick for several years, up to 1892.)

I am able to give the result of my experience as to the information you ask.

I never came across a case of religious intolerance, far less of persecution, on the part of Roman Catholics, priesthood or laity, towards Protestants, though I heard of several, which, upon investigation, proved groundless.

The troubles in Ireland at that period were all due to agrarian, in no way to religious, sources.

I should say there was far more religious animosity on the part of the Protestants towards the Roman Catholics than *vice versa*—the result of the old leaven of Protestant ascendancy, which, like all hereditary and inherent consciousness of imagined superiority, dies very hard. I am quite certain that there is no fear whatever of religious intolerance towards non-Catholics under Home Rule, and that, outside a portion of Ulster, no such detestable form of religious bigotry exists in Ireland, which, in this case, is not due to Catholics. The bogey of religious persecution is displayed to alarm the Protestant electors of the United Kingdom, who may rest assured that there is about as much reality in the cry as there is in the mirage of the desert.

Carlyle House, 16 Chelsea Embankment, S.W.

MR. THOMAS HENRY WEBB.

(Dublin.)

I am a member of the Society of Friends, and have lived my life in the city of Dublin, and been actively engaged in mercantile and other transactions, and brought into close relationship with all classes of my fellow-citizens, the great majority of whom are Roman Catholics. I have no recollection of ever having suffered any inconvenience, prejudice, or disability on account of difference of religion, nor can I call to mind any friend of mine who, on that account, has suffered disadvantage. Very many of my employees have been Catholics, and have given me faithful service. I believe Protestants in Ireland who are free from sectarian feelings and prejudices are trusted and esteemed by their Catholic neighbours, and as free and untrammelled in religious matters as in any other country.

80, Harcourt Street, Dublin.

MR. WILLIAM WHALEY.

(A well-known Co. Down Farmer.)

I, as a Protestant, have ever looked upon the cry of religious intolerance as a fine election dodge manœuvred by a few practised hands in their own selfish interests. I should be astonished if it were taken up seriously. Nearly all my Protestant friends look at the matter as I do, and they have just cause. Catholic Emancipation, Disestablishment of the Church, and Local Government raise the same cry, and Protestantism in Ireland is as strong to-day as ever it was. I have no fear of religious intolerance from the Catholics under Home Rule.

Knockboy House, Waringstown, County Down.

MR. JAMES WILLIAMSON, B.L.

(A native of Armagh and Liberal Candidate for East Down.)

The cry that Home Rule will lead to religious intolerance on the part of the majority of the people of Ireland against their Protestant fellow-countrymen, is intended for English consumption, and I greatly fear is not sincere. I have lived in the North of Ireland for many years, but for the past 16 years in Dublin, and have mixed very freely with my Catholic fellow-countrymen, have trusted them, and been trusted by them. In my experience I have never seen a Protestant either persecuted or interfered with on account of his religious views. The Catholics of Ireland are a warm-hearted, generous people, and so far from displaying religious intolerance when Home Rule is granted, I believe they will accord to the Protestant minority a fair and even generous part in the government of our beloved country.

Dublin.

MR. GEORGE WOLFE, J.P., M.C.C.

(Formerly a large Landowner in two Irish Counties.)

I feel sure there is no man in Ireland more convinced of the fact that in Home Rule alone lies the possibility, or rather the certainty, of the country of prosperity than I am myself. I am a Protestant, as all my people are, and have always been. My family has been settled for many centuries in Kildare, and many members of it have at different times held the most important county offices. I have myself been High Sheriff, and am a Justice of the Peace, and, since the Local Government Act came into force, have been a County Councillor and a Rural District Councillor. I have never received anything but kindness from my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. I was formerly a landowner in counties Kildare and Limerick, and parted on the best of terms with my tenants when they bought their farms. I served in the army for 11 years, both in Infantry and Cavalry regiments, and I have been a Home Ruler for 25 years.

Forenaughts, Naas.

MR. W. WALLACE WOODS, J.P.

(General Merchant and large Property Owner in Kilrea, Co. Derry.)

My candid opinion is that a large proportion of the threatened opposition to an amicable settlement of the Irish question is due to misconception. For party purposes, agitators from the platform, supported by newspapers and leaflets, circulated in Ulster and across the Channel, declare emphatically that the granting of Home Government to Ireland means separation, and that the lives and property of Protestants will suffer at the hands of their fellow Catholic countrymen. If there were a shred of evidence that separation from England was contemplated or asked for, if there were any reason to apprehend the slightest danger to the lives and property of the Protestant minority under the new administration, I would be found in active opposition. Separation from England is not, and never has been demanded; it is, as one of our ablest statesmen has said, "Unthinkable, and the dream of a fool."

As regards the fear of injury or persecution, which some Protestants express the actions of the Catholic people in days of less enlightenment lend no colour to this belief; and I feel satisfied that when additional responsibility is placed on the shoulders of Irishmen, all creeds and classes will join hands, and work harmoniously for the common welfare of their native land.

Kilrea, Co. Londonderry.

MR. ARTHUR N. WRIGHTSON, B.A., B.E., T.C.D.

(Churchwarden of St. John's, and son of the late Vicar of Lusk.)

I wish to express my full conviction that the Protestant population of Ireland have nothing whatever to fear from intolerance or persecution from their Catholic fellow-countrymen in case of a Home Rule measure becoming law in this country.

I am a Protestant, and the son of the Protestant Vicar of Lusk, Co. Dublin, a large parish, containing a very great number of Catholics, and very few Protestants; and I am glad to say that differences of religion had not the slightest effect in hindering us from enjoying the intimate friendship of our Catholic neighbours. When my father died he was carried to his grave on the shoulders of the people among whom he lived and died every one of whom was a Roman Catholic. This does not look like religious intolerance—does it? In my long experience of Ireland and Irish affairs, I can say truthfully that there is no ill-feeling of Irish Catholics against Protestants on account of their religion; and that any disagreement which I have noticed has been entirely due to political questions.

For my part, I consider that I am more safe from religious persecution under a Catholic majority than the reverse—as the only persecution of a religious nature which I know of at present is that of a section of *Protestants* in the parish of Sandymount against members of their own Church, because the services of the Vicar are not carried out in accordance with their own notions.

186, Merrion Road, Dublin.

MR. SAMUEL YOUNG, M.P.

(Belfast distiller, who pays as much to the Revenue every year as the total Income Tax levied in Ulster.)

I have now passed my ninetieth birthday. I have lived under four sovereigns. I am a Belfast Protestant, and have been engaged in commerce for three-quarters of a century. I can, therefore, claim to know something about my Catholic countrymen and my fellow-Protestants.

I have for nearly twenty years represented in Parliament a constituency in which my co-religionists do not number ten per cent. of the electorate, and my predecessors in the same county were the late Mr. Joseph Biggar, also a Belfast Protestant, and Mr. Vey Knox, now an eminent member of the Parliamentary Bar, a Protestant closely related to an Irish Primate and to an Irish Peer.

All three were elected for the Catholic county of Cavan by Catholic votes, because they were Nationalists; and not one Catholic vote



as ever cast against any of us. There have been three Catholic bishops in succession in Cavan since I was first elected, and I enjoyed the personal friendship and support of all of them, and of every Catholic priest in the constituency. If that be "persecution," I should like some more of it.

The only religious intolerance in Ireland is to be found in the North-East corner of Ulster. No Catholic has ever been allowed to be Mayor of Derry, where the Catholics equal the Protestants in population; or to be Lord Mayor of Belfast, where the Catholics form a third of the population. It is the same story where the Orange element holds the majority. I have never yet heard of an Ulster Protestant constituency electing a Catholic Unionist to Parliament; but I have known dozens of Protestant Nationalists elected by Catholic constituencies, and hundreds of Protestants who received costs of honour or emolument from Catholic majorities.

Derryvolgie Avenue, Belfast.

*Several interesting letters from prominent Protestants which reached me whilst the book was going through press were too late for insertion in the volume.*

J. MACV.

## APPENDIX.

*The following statements of opinion were not sent in reply circulars, but are taken from other sources:—*

VERY REV. CANON COURTENAY MOORE.  
(Rector of Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.)

CANON MOORE, in a letter published in the *Guardian* of June 30<sup>th</sup> 1909, wrote:—In this parish some time ago the Local Board or Council elected an English lady-nurse, who was also an English Churchwoman, to the chief position in the local Union. The same authorities elected an Engineer, who is a member of the Irish Church, little later on to the position of District Surveyor. Another young man, also a member of my congregation, was elected Petty Session Clerk, though there was a Roman Catholic candidate in the field. Furthermore, a few years ago, a young man from the North came here and started business as a grocer; he also is a member of the Irish Church. He has done exceedingly well; he is a good and obliging man of business, and, so far from being boycotted, he is doing the best trade in the town in his own line—even the nuns and Christian Brothers patronise him. Let me say a word about myself. I am not a Home Ruler, yet I have, without the slightest solicitation on my own part, been unanimously elected a member of the County Committee of Technical Instruction, of which the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese is Chairman.

VERY REV. CANON FLEWETT.  
(Rector of Mallow, Co. Cork.)

Speaking at the Protestant Church Conference in Belfast on October, 11<sup>th</sup>, 1910, CANON FLEWETT, said:—If we get Home Rule we do not anticipate any dire disaster to the Church in the South; and I am glad to bear testimony to the kindly consideration and the cordial generosity which have always been extended to me by Catholic neighbours in the County Cork. I cannot believe that this happy relationship would be altered under a Home Rule Government. What we do fear is that some stupid Government will arise and impose upon us a bogus Home Rule, which will not satisfy Nationalist aspirations, and which will only plunge the country into another period of unrest and unsettlement.

REV. J. M. ROBINSON.

(Rector of Avoca, Co. Wicklow.)

In his book, "Facts from Ireland," REV. J. M. ROBINSON writes:—I believe all that is wanted to make good friends of the North and South is for the representatives of both sides to meet together and now each other better, and this they would do in a Parliament in Dublin. They will never do it in Westminster, for there are too many side issues drawing them apart. There are hot politicians in both parties; but wherever the best men have met, the result up to the present has been friendliness, respect and co-operation. I have no doubt but that the pick of the country would be returned to a Home Rule Parliament.

REV. DR. HAMILTON.

(Ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.)

In a letter dated December 1st, 1910, REV. DR. HAMILTON wrote to the Liberal candidate for North Antrim:—I understand that you are to be opposed by some of my clerical brethren. How a Presbyterian minister can support the claims of the House of Lords is to me inexplicable. At his ordination he promised "to maintain and prosecute the reformation work of our covenanted fathers." The great and hitherto insurmountable barrier to that "reformation work" for 250 years has been the House of Lords. In what way can he reconcile his political conduct and his ordination vow? Can it be that the apologists for the peers keep one conscience for their pulpits on the Sabbath and another for the platform during the week?

REV. W. ARMOUR.

(Presbyterian Minister in Sligo.)

REV. W. ARMOUR, speaking at an Ordination Meeting of the Down Presbytery at Magherhamlet, Co. Down, on May 10th, 1911, said:—Presbyterianism is prospering in Connaught. A Belfast man myself, I occasionally get papers from that city, and see that great concern is felt for the Presbyterian brethren in the South and West. That feeling is groundless. Speaking for the town of Sligo, where I labour, they live in harmony and good-fellowship with their Roman Catholic neighbours; and, as they desire a continuance of that happy state of affairs, it would be well if some of the Northern rebrand writers and speakers could be muzzled. Several members

of my congregation are shopkeepers, and 75 per cent. of their customers are Roman Catholics.

REV. GEORGE MCCUTCHEON.  
(Rector of Kenmare, Co. Kerry.)

REV. G. MCCUTCHEON, in a letter to Mr. J. P. Boland, M.P. writes:—I have for over thirty years lived in the midst of a population chiefly Roman Catholic, and I have found them kind and obliging neighbours, by whom no sign of persecution has ever been manifested. There is absolutely no reason to distrust them in the future. I believe there is not in Ireland a locality where a Protestant clergyman may more peacefully and securely discharge all his duties than in the Co. Kerry. The time is close at hand when all Irishmen will be called upon to forget their controversies and live together in peace. I have no doubt that they will loyally respond to the call.

REV. CHARLES WILLIAMS.

At a meeting of the Irish Association for the Prevention of Intemperance, held in Dublin on February 16th, 1910, REV. CHARLES WILLIAMS said:—I have never been insulted yet by an Irishman anywhere in this country. We hear a lot about toleration up North, but I must say this, when I want toleration I find most of it in the South. A Catholic band paraded the streets of this city for two hours, and gathered a crowd of 3,000 people to listen to me, a Methodist minister, and gave me as kindly a reception as if I was one of their own priests. I got a reception that I shall remember as long as I live. A little while ago I said in the North that the men of Dublin are setting a good example in toleration and in broad-mindedness that all Irishmen, and particularly Northern Irishmen, would do very well to copy. We have people who go up and down this country and to other countries running down the country, saying everything bad about Ireland and the Irish they possibly can—aye, and making money out of it for their business. I thank God I have never been ashamed of my country.

REV. WILLIAM CRAWFORD, M.A.  
(Twice Vice-President of the Methodist Church, and ex-Headmaster of Wesley College, Dublin.)

Rev. W. CRAWFORD, writing to the *Methodist Times*, says:—The unreasoning panic of former years has subsided, and by many of the younger generation Irish self-government is anticipated with patience and hope. It may surprise Englishmen that, this being so,



there has not been a more outspoken declaration or advocacy in favour of Home Rule by Irish Methodists. Electioneering has been rigorously avoided by the ministers who support the present Government, and but a few laymen have shared in the late struggle. That fact does not arise from lack of conviction, but from counsels of prudence. It is easy, and often profitable, to agitate when you have the crowd on your side; but it is a very different matter when the fear of disturbing your church relations or injuring your business attends the free utterance of unpopular opinions. The advocacy of Home Rule is still "vulgar," and that is worse than wrong, both in Church and Society in Ireland.

MR. J. ERNEST GRUBB, J.P.

(An extensive Miller in Carrick-on-Suir.)

Mr. GRUBB, in a letter to the *Spectator* of April 8th, 1911, wrote:—I am a member of the Society of Friends, and have spent my life as a trader at Carrick-on-Suir, Clonmel, and in the South-east of Ireland. I have taken an active part in the public life of my neighbourhood. I am a Justice of the Peace for the Counties of Tipperary and Waterford, and have been for many years an elected member (and Chairman) of the County Council of Tipperary South and the Urban Council of Carrick-on-Suir and other public bodies. Ninety to ninety-eight per cent. of my constituents are Roman Catholics, and if "religious intolerance" existed I would not have been chosen for these positions. As regards the willingness of Roman Catholics to elect Protestants to public boards, I may add that a Protestant Unionist and a Quaker lady were (the latter for many years) elected Guardians of the Poor at Carrick-on-Suir, a Quaker Unionist has for many years been Vice-Chairman of the Board of Guardians at Clonmel, and I could give instances of Roman Catholics, including priests, uniting to place Protestants in posts of profit and responsibility when they were suitable for such appointments.

MR. JOHN A. DUNCAN, J.P.

(Athy, Co. Kildare.)

In a letter to the *Methodist Times*, Mr. DUNCAN writes:—There is no doubt that a very considerable change has come over Protestant opinion in the last twenty years. A great many Methodists will now freely admit that though they are by no means Nationalists, yet they think there ought to be some elected body which could deal with purely Irish matters, without having to go to London, where little is known and less cared. Mr. Walmsley is unfair to his brethren when he speaks of them as being silent to "save their skin." He

knows well that were an Irish Methodist minister openly to express Home Rule opinions he would inevitably create discord in his circuit and seriously interfere with his work. The facts of the recent history of Ireland are against the theory of intolerance on the part of the Roman Catholic people of Ireland. Since Nationalism became a highly organised movement the Nationalists have held the Protestant population of three-quarters of Ireland in the hollow of their hands. They could have quietly squeezed us out, and they always have had a plausible excuse at hand in the bitter and often violent attitude of a section of Protestants and the Press that represent them. But instead of showing resentment, the bulk of the people and even the much-abused priests, have made allowance for Protestant fears, and have freely given even pronounced Unionists among us their support and often their sympathy. They have done more. They have supported us at the polls in local elections. At the recent Urban Council election here a Methodist local preacher headed the poll, a Church of Ireland Unionist came one behind him, and then followed three Roman Catholic members. There are nine Protestant members of the Rural Board, and several on the County Council. In Carlow, Wicklow, Wexford, Naas, Athlone, Drogheda, Kilkenny and doubtless other towns, Protestants get elected, though in none of these cases would they have even a remote chance had they to depend on Protestant votes. Furthermore, even in position of emolument we get an occasional chance, though it is everywhere recognised all the world over that spoils of office go to the majority. Recently we had an English Methodist and the daughter of an Irish minister employed by the Carlow County Council in good permanent posts, and both did our Church sterling service during their stay. The agricultural instructor of the Co. Kildare is a Protestant; one of the most efficient local preachers on this circuit is a Master in the Knockbeg Roman Catholic College there is, or was, a Protestant young lady a technical instructress in Athlone. The fact is, Irishmen of all creeds are being drawn closer together and the old suspicions and jealousies are beginning to die out, and there is a brighter day before us if we are allowed to work out our own salvation in our own way.

REV. J. B. ARMOUR.

(A distinguished Presbyterian divine in Ballymoney, Co. Antrim.)

Rev. J. B. ARMOUR, interviewed by the *Daily News*, said:—Persecution on any considerable scale is not only improbable, but will be made impossible. An Irish Parliament to be successful will require the goodwill of all citizens, and must set its foot like flint against persecution for conscience sake. The Protestants of Ireland number one-fourth of the inhabitants of our country, and naturally may

look for a fourth of the representatives; and if 70 Nationalists in the House of Commons, numbering 670, could secure anything wanted for Irish Catholics, the Protestant members, if they were worth their salt, could make the game of persecution rather too expensive to be lightly entered on. What underlies the talk of religious persecution is the fear—the certainty that the members of the late Established Church will not enjoy all the offices of State, as they did in the past. But the Presbyterian Church at least need not feel alarm for the future on that score, for under no conceivable circumstances of Home Rule could they have less recognition in the State than they had during all the palmy days of Tory rule in Ireland, whose motto was, ‘No Presbyterian or Catholic need apply for any office of emolument, for we cannot take the children’s bread and cast it to the dogs.’

#### MR. H. A. HINKSON.

Mr. H. A. Hinkson, writing to the *Times* on December 24th, 1910, from Fairlawn, Southborough, says:—I am a Conservative and an Irish Protestant descended from Ulster Protestants on the one side and from Wicklow Orangemen on the other. When a boy I lived in a rectory in Wicklow. The Land League was then at the height of its power; but so little did it affect the friendly relations existing between Catholic and Protestant that every summer the Protestant rector’s Roman Catholic neighbours came with their machines and forks, horses and carts, and cut and made his hay, not for reward, but because he was a minister of religion.

While I was at Trinity College, Dublin, I was selected out of a number of candidates, Catholic and Protestant, for the post of Senior Classical Tutor in the Jesuit College of Clongowes Wood, which is the most important Roman Catholic lay college in Ireland. If they had desired a Roman Catholic the authorities would have had no difficulty in finding one equally competent.

#### REV. DR. MCKEAN.

(Ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of Irish Presbyterians.)

Rev. Dr. McKean, speaking in June, 1907, said:—“All ministers in the south, with one or two exceptions, are unanimous in speaking highly of the toleration and good-will shown towards them by those who differ from them in faith.”

## RIGHT HON. SIR HORACE PLUNKETT.

Right Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, a member of the last Conservative Government, writes as follows about Ulster Orangeism in his book: "Ireland in the New Century":—

"But there is, unhappily, another side to the picture. This industrial life, otherwise so worthily cultivated, is disturbed by manifestations of religious bigotry which sadly tarnish the glory of the really heroic deeds they are intended to commemorate. It is impossible for any close observer of these deplorable exhibitions to avoid the conclusion that the embers of the old fires are too often fanned by men who are actuated by motives, which, when not other than religious, are certainly based upon an unworthy conception of religion. I am quite aware that it is only a small and decreasing minority of my co-religionists who are open to the charge of intolerance, and that the geographical limits of the July orgy are now strictly circumscribed. But this bigotry is so notorious, as for instance in the exclusion of Roman Catholics from many responsible positions, that it unquestionably reacts most unfavourably upon the general relations between the two creeds throughout the whole of Ireland. The existence of such a spirit of suspicion and hatred, from whatever motive it emanates, is bound to retard our progress as a people towards the development of a healthy and balanced national life."

Sir Horace Plunkett also writes, in the same volume, of the Catholic priesthood of Ireland:—

"From such study as I have been able to give to the history of their Church, I have come to the conclusion that the immense power of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy has been singularly little abused. I think it may be admitted that they have not exhibited, in any marked degree, bigotry towards Protestants. They have not put obstacles in the way of the Roman Catholic majority choosing Protestants for political leaders, and it is significant that refugees, such as the Palatines, from Catholic persecutions in Europe, found at different times a home amongst the Roman Catholic people of Ireland. My own experience, too, if I may again refer to that, distinctly prove that it is no disadvantage to a man to be a Protestant in Irish political life, and that where opposition is shown to him by Roman Catholics it is almost invariably on political, social, or agrarian, but not on religious grounds."



## IRISH UNIONIST NEWSPAPERS.

Finally, the *Irish Times*, the leading Irish Unionist newspaper, has declared that religious intolerance is of the rarest occurrence in Ireland; whilst the *Cork Constitution*, the only Unionist daily paper south of Dublin, explains that "it is not so much *religious* as *political* intolerance that the minority fears." As if any body in any part of the world was in the habit of supporting their political opponents!

The *Church of Ireland Gazette* of March 15th, 1907, commenting on the election of Archdeacon Orpen, of Tralee, Co. Kerry, as Protestant Bishop of Limerick, wrote:—

"It is surely a record for Ireland that a Nationalist band should parade a Roman Catholic town to express the joy of the people on the election of a Protestant dignitary to a Bishopric! Nor does this striking testimony stand alone. Some time ago the Kerry people made a presentation to their Archdeacon, and amongst the subscribers was the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese."

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS  
ON THE  
HOME RULE QUESTION.

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# THE RECORD OF LOCAL BODIES IN IRELAND.

## WHERE IS THE RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE?

COMPILED BY JEREMIAH MacVEAGH, M.P.

Unionist speakers and writers never weary of dilating upon the dangers to which Protestants in Ireland will be subjected under Home Rule. The political student who wishes to ascertain the facts should, in the first instance, read the pamphlet issued by the Irish Press Agency, 2, Great Smith Street, Westminster, entitled "RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE UNDER HOME RULE: THE OPINIONS OF IRISH PROTESTANTS," in which he will find set forth the personal declarations of large numbers of the leading Protestants of Ireland. A perusal of that document will leave no room to doubt (1) that *Religious Intolerance is practically unknown in the South and West and East of Ireland, where the Catholics are in an overwhelming majority*; and (2) that *Religious Intolerance is only to be found in the North-East of Ulster, where the Orange element holds sway*. Yet, it is the spokesmen and champions of that Orange element who, with magnificent audacity, prate of the dangers of intolerance. Let us examine some further facts by way of supplement to the Pamphlet referred to.

### PROTESTANT LEADERS IN CATHOLIC IRELAND.

Irish Catholics have actually chosen from the Protestant minority of their countrymen their most trusted leaders, and no names are more venerated amongst the Catholics of Ireland to-day than those of Robert Emmet, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Theobald Wolfe Tone, Henry Joy M'Cracken, Thomas Davis, Henry Grattan, Isaac Butt, Charles Stewart Parnell, and dozens of others.

Catholic constituencies in Ireland never concern themselves about the religious opinions of any candidate; if he is a reliable supporter of the national demand, the electors ask no more. The following Protestant Home Rulers now sit in Parliament as the representatives of overwhelmingly Catholic constituencies:—Mr.

WILLIAM ABRAHAM (who defeated a Catholic opponent); Professor SWIFT MACNEILL (who defeated a Catholic opponent); Mr. SAMUEL YOUNG; Mr. RICHARD M'GHEE; Captain DONELAN; Mr. HAVILAND-BURKE; Mr. MORETON FREWEN, and Mr. STEPHEN GWYNN.

*But no Unionist constituency in Ulster has ever elected a Catholic Unionist to Parliament.*

## DUBLIN AND BELFAST—A COMPARISON.

The contrast is equally striking in Local Administration. Compare, for example, Dublin with Belfast.

Catholics form nearly a third of the population of BELFAST, but no Catholic has ever been allowed to become Mayor, or in later years Lord Mayor; and until Parliament stepped in and compelled a redistribution of the City Wards, *not one Catholic was allowed to be a Member of the Corporation, or the Harbour Board, or the Poor Law Board, or the Water Board.* The CORPORATION pays over £50,000 a year in salaries, but until after the interference of Parliament there were no Catholic officials, and even to-day the salaries paid to Catholics amount to only £1,598.

The BELFAST HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS have a salary list of over £11,000; but *there is not one Catholic on the Board*, and there is *only one Catholic employee*, his salary being £200.

The BELFAST POOR LAW BOARD spends over £10,000 a year in salaries, including salaries under Medical Charities, Registration Allowances, and Superannuation charges; and on the list of "Officers Required to Give Security" (that is to say, the higher-class appointments) there appears the name of *only one Catholic*, who receives £45 a year. Catholics hold some subordinate posts under this Board, but their total salaries amount to less than £1,000.

In DUBLIN, however, where there is an overwhelming Catholic majority, *Protestants have held the Lord Mayoralty on no less than 23 occasions, and the Shrievalty 38 times*, since 1843; while amongst the most responsible posts under the CORPORATION, the following are held by Protestants: City Marshal, City Engineer and Borough Surveyor, Assistant Engineer, Inspector of Buildings, Clerk of Works, Superintendent Electrical Engineer, Chief Assistant Electrical Engineer, three Assistant Electrical Engineers, Resident Drainage Engineer, two Assistant Drainage Engineers, Clerk of Drainage, Superintending Medical Officer of Health, Veterinary Inspector, Superintendent of Disinfection, Superintendent of Sanitation, Collector of Market Dues, First and Second Legal Assistants, and dozens of subsidiary positions.



The RICHMOND DISTRICT ASYLUM (Dublin) is the largest in Ireland, and is governed by a Catholic majority; and amongst recent appointments conferred on Protestants are those of the Chief Engineer, the Storekeeper, the Head Nurse, and two Deputy Head Attendants; whilst amongst honorary offices, the Chairman of the Joint Committee, the Chairman of the Finance Committee, and the Deputy-Chairman of the Portrane Asylum are also Protestants. Of the total salaries paid, £3,380 goes to Catholics and £2,200 to Protestants.

In the SOUTH DUBLIN POOR LAW UNION, eight of the sixteen Medical Dispensary Officers, three of the four Visiting Medical Officers, and one of the two Resident Medical Officers are Protestants, the total salary list being divided thus: Catholics, £12,023; Protestants, £5,213; whilst the members of the NORTH DUBLIN POOR LAW UNION have been surcharged for insisting on voting a pension to a Protestant chaplain!

Comment on such a contrast would be superfluous.

## IN ORANGE NORTH-EAST ULSTER.

Unionists predominate in only four of the nine Ulster counties. In the other five counties there is a big Nationalist majority; and even in the four Unionist counties there is only one county which returns a united representation of Unionists. Unionists, therefore, speak, not for Ulster, but for *a majority in the North-East corner of Ulster*.

Wherever the Unionist majority holds sway, it follows Belfast's bad example of Religious Intolerance. In the city of LONDON-DERRY, for example, there is a large Catholic majority in the population, but the Municipal Wards are so jerrymandered that the Catholics hold only 13 of the 30 seats on the CORPORATION. How does this majority use its power? £6,663 is paid in salaries to Protestant employes, and £169 to Catholics—*who form, let it not be forgotten, a majority of the population!*

The DERRY POOR LAW UNION, not to be outdone by the Corporation, has Protestant employees who receive £2,115 a year, whilst £245 goes to Catholics, including the Chaplain; and if the Local Government Board would only consent to an Orangeman being appointed as Catholic chaplain, the £245 would shrink to insignificance.

There is *not one Catholic employee* under the BALLYMONEY URBAN COUNCIL, BALLYMONEY RURAL COUNCIL, ANTRIM DISTRICT COUNCIL, ANTRIM TOWN COMMISSIONERS, PORTRUSH TOWN COMMISSIONERS, COOKSTOWN URBAN COUNCIL, AUGHNACLOY TOWN COMMISSIONERS, DROMORE TOWN COMMISSIONERS, COLERAINE

DISTRICT COUNCIL, BANGOR URBAN COUNCIL, and many other local authorities of whose achievements the details are not available.

Now and then, a Catholic finds employment under other Orange Boards—as a street scavenger. In DUNGANNON, for example, where the Nationalists and Unionists are about equal in population, there are two Catholic employees—both scavengers, and in a salary and wages list of £575 a year, £36 goes to Catholics, who form half the population! LISBURN DISTRICT COUNCIL (represented by Mr. Craig, M.P.) has two Catholic scavengers at 15s. each a week, the annual expenditure in salaries, wages, and fees being over £2,000; and the PORTADOWN URBAN COUNCIL (represented in Parliament by Mr. William Moore) gives “occasional employment” to two Catholics as street-sweepers. In LURGAN (also in Mr. Moore’s constituency of North Armagh) Catholics are a third of the population, but the local Council disburse to Catholics only about £100 of the £2,000 which they pay in salaries and wages; and the Poor Law Union in the same town pays to Catholic servants £81 out of £2,897.

It is the same story all over the Orange corner of Ulster. In BANBRIDGE UNION, which is supposed to be exceptionally broadminded, there are 42 Protestant employees and only two Catholics, the receipts of the latter being £60 out of £1,601. In BALLYMENA UNION, the Catholic servants get £63 out of £1,031, the recipients being assistant caretakers for imbeciles and a Chaplain. In ANTRIM Workhouse it is £60 to a Chaplain and a Nurse, out of £1,200. In NEWTOWNARDS they have a cook and a nurse who get £61 of the £2,043 that is disbursed; in LISBURN UNION, £191 out of £1,898; in ARMAGH UNION, £158 out of £2,018; in BALLYMONEY UNION, £80 out of £1,202; and in COLERAINE UNION, £58 out of £1,898. IRVINESTOWN UNION has Catholic employees who draw £36 as contrasted with £936 to adherents of the creed professed by the majority of the Board; and in LARNE UNION the figures are £166 as compared with £1,303.

DUNGANNON (Co. Tyrone) deserves a paragraph to itself. The Catholic inhabitants have a majority in the population of over 400, but the Wards were jerrymandered when the boundaries were being fixed, with the result that the Unionists have matters all their own way. In the Dungannon Union the only Catholic employees are three Nurses and four Wardsmaids; whilst the DUNGANNON URBAN COUNCIL has gone “one better.” This enlightened body acquired this year the local Markets, as a result of which some fourteen minor positions were vacant; and at a meeting of the Council on August 9th, 1911, the majority of the Council appointed fourteen Tories to the posts, although the

Nationalists have a large majority in population. They would not allow even one Nationalist to be appointed!

The Unionist County Councils might be expected to show more enlightenment than the local and parochial authorities, but do they? The ANTRIM COUNTY COUNCIL has five Catholic employees out of sixty-five; the ARMAGH COUNTY COUNCIL, three out of fifty; TYRONE COUNTY COUNCIL, five out of fifty-two; and DOWN COUNTY COUNCIL gives £185 to Catholics out of £5,520 in salaries. Yet in Tyrone, the Catholics are in a large majority in population, and in the other counties they form from 30 to 40 per cent. of the whole!

**Clearly, Ulster Unionists and their political allies should be the last men in the world to talk about Religious Intolerance.**

#### IN NATIONALIST ULSTER.

Not only is this example of Intolerance not followed in Leinster, Munster, or Connaught, but it is not followed even in the Nationalist parts of Ulster.

Take, for example, the Nationalist part of County Down. In NEWRY BOROUGH, Protestant officials under the Town Commissioners draw £628 out of a total of £1,580. In NEWRY UNION, NEWRY (No. 1) COUNCIL, and NEWRY (No. 2) COUNCIL—under each of these authorities there is actually a majority of Protestant officials. KILKEEL POOR LAW UNION and DOWNPATRICK POOR LAW UNION have also Nationalist majorities, but Protestants hold appointments which absorb more than half of the Salary Lists. When NEWCASTLE became a township, the Nationalist electors had a majority, and could have carried the twelve seats; but they left six of them open for Protestants, and the new Board elected a Protestant Chairman and a Catholic Vice-Chairman.

Here are the figures concerning salaries under other Local Authorities in Ulster in which the Nationalists have a majority:—ARMAGH DISTRICT COUNCIL, Catholics, £470, Protestants, £278; OMAGH DISTRICT COUNCIL, Catholics, £888, Protestants, £616; DUNFANAGHY UNION, Catholics, £614, Protestants, £122; STRAN-ORLAR UNION, Catholics, £558, Protestants, £364; COOTEHILL UNION, Catholics, £556, Protestants, £620; MONAGHAN ASYLUM, Catholics, £1,947, Protestants, £1,934; DONEGAL ASYLUM, Catholics, £3,325, Protestants, £2,617; and so on.

**But one may safely challenge the Unionist corner of Ulster to point to a single case in which a Catholic Nationalist has been elected by a Unionist Local Authority to a post of over £200 a year.**

## SOUTH, EAST, AND WEST.

In the other three Provinces, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, the Protestants are numerically insignificant, and persecution of such a minority would be the easiest thing in the world. Yet, wherever a Protestant candidate presents himself for popular election, he is—provided, of course, that he be a Nationalist—practically certain of election; and *in every county in Ireland where there is a Catholic majority, the Protestant minority holds more of the posts, whether of honour or of emolument, than they could possibly be entitled to by any merely arithmetical calculation.*

In LISTOWEL, County Kerry, the Catholics are 98 per cent. of the population, but the salaries paid in the Union are £420 to Protestants and £1,004 to Catholics. There is one Protestant inmate in the Workhouse, to minister to whose religious needs the Catholic Board pays a Protestant Chaplain £10 a year. This amount was increased the other day to £15, without any request from the Chaplain. The same Board appointed a Protestant doctor notwithstanding the candidature of a local Catholic practitioner, and further persecuted the Protestant applicant by raising the salary from £100 to £145. The solicitor to the Board, Mr. Creagh, is also a Protestant, and was elected by a 3 to 1 majority over a Catholic candidate.

In the Borough of CLONMEL, where the Protestants form 10 per cent. of the population, they form generally twenty per cent. of the Council. In 1902 a Protestant and Unionist headed the poll in the West Ward, and in 1903 the same thing happened in the East Ward. In 1904 the Catholic Sub-Sheriff was opposed in one Ward, where he only got second place, whilst a Protestant was returned unopposed in the other Ward; and in that year there were six Unionists amongst the 24 members who composed the Council. Last year a Protestant was elected head of the poll, receiving the largest number of votes ever given to a candidate in the Ward; and when he subsequently contested the Mayoralty with Alderman Condon, M.P., who enjoys great and well-deserved local popularity, the Protestant was defeated by only one vote, all his supporters being Catholics.

In the KINSALE URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL, where the Protestants are in an insignificant minority, they constitute one-fourth of the District Council, and in the KINSALE UNION, out of a total of £1,385 in salaries no less than £630 goes to the minority.

In KENMARE UNION and DISTRICT COUNCIL the Protestant officials include the Workhouse Medical Officer, the Consulting Sanitary Officer, Analyst, Clerk of Works, and three Sub-Sanitary Officers.



In CAVAN WORKHOUSE the Rev. Benjamin Senior gets £10 a year as chaplain to one Protestant pauper, and in MALLOW the Protestant chaplain gets a salary of £30 a year for ministering to a congregation of exactly similar dimensions; whilst in the DUBLINGTOWN ASYLUM, which is attached to the Mallow Union, the Clerk, Matron, Clerk of Works, Storekeeper, one of the Doctors, the Painter, and six of the Attendants are Protestants, who draw £1,090 a year out of a total of £2,479.

In the OUGHTERARD UNION, where there are only 301 Protestants in a population of nearly 18,000, the salaries paid to Catholics amount to £785 and to Protestants £150, and in CLEENDERRY and RATHDOWN UNIONS Catholics and non-Catholics draw equal amounts.

At a gathering in Belfast in June, 1911, in connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the Rev. THOMAS BROWN, Bandon, Co. Cork, spoke of the goodwill shown to Presbyterian Ministers and those of other Protestant denominations by their Roman Catholic neighbours. And he added:—"Last week at the Poor Law elections in Cork, Miss Day, a Protestant, was returned at the head of the poll; in Bandon, the Earl of Bandon, a Protestant, is Chairman of the Poor Law Commissioners; in Kinsale, Mr. David Acton is Chairman, and he is also a Protestant; whilst in Skibbereen the same pleasant conditions exist, the Chairman there, Mr. William W. Wolfe, being another Protestant."

The examples of, not merely Religious Toleration, but Religious Generosity, on the part of Irish Catholics might be extended almost indefinitely; and little wonder that a Presbyterian clergyman in Sligo, Rev. W. ARMOUR, should appeal to his co-religionists in Ulster to muzzle their Parliamentary representatives, and allow the Protestants of the South and West to speak for themselves.

### MORE FACTS AND FIGURES.

The following figures are taken from a publication of speeches of Mr. John Redmond in Ireland, 1907, edited by Mr. Swift MacNeill (a Protestant Nationalist). They can tell their own tale.

[Statistics compiled for 21 counties in Ireland, and printed in *Freeman's Journal*, 1907.]

#### ULSTER—PROTESTANT PORTION.

|          |     | Population. |         | Per cent. |    |     | Paid Officials. |    |      |    |
|----------|-----|-------------|---------|-----------|----|-----|-----------------|----|------|----|
|          |     | R.C.        | Prot.   | R.C.      | P. |     | R.C.            | P. | R.C. | P. |
| Armagh   | ... | 56,000      | 68,000  | 45        | 55 | ... | 3               | 47 | 6    | 94 |
| C Tyrone | ... | 82,000      | 68,000  | 55        | 45 | ... | 5               | 47 | 10   | 90 |
| Down     | ... | 36,000      | 29,000  | 55        | 45 | ... | 17              | 58 | 23   | 77 |
| Ulster   | ... | 40,000      | 156,000 | 26        | 74 | ... | 5               | 60 | 8    | 92 |

## CATHOLIC PORTION OF IRELAND.

|                 | Population. |        | Per cent. |    |     | Paid Office |    |                |
|-----------------|-------------|--------|-----------|----|-----|-------------|----|----------------|
|                 | R.C.        | Prot.  | R.C.      | P. |     | R.C.        | P. | Per ce<br>R.C. |
| Galway ...      | 180,000     | 12,000 | 94        | 6  | ... | 50          | 11 | 81             |
| Cork ...        | 365,000     | 38,000 | 90        | 10 | ... | 151         | 40 | 79             |
| Cavan ...       | 79,000      | 18,000 | 80        | 20 | ... | 30          | 26 | 53             |
| W. Meath ...    | 57,000      | 5,000  | 91        | 9  | ... | 37          | 17 | 68             |
| King's Co. ...  | 54,000      | 6,000  | 89        | 11 | ... | 21          | 19 | 52             |
| Monaghan ...    | 55,000      | 20,000 | 66        | 34 | ... | 34          | 23 | 59             |
| Kildare ...     | 55,000      | 9,000  | 85        | 15 | ... | 31          | 9  | 77             |
| Clare ...       | 110,000     | 2,000  | 98        | 2  | ... | 62          | 6  | 90             |
| Roscommon ...   | 160,000     | 2,500  | 95        | 5  | ... | 48          | 8  | 84             |
| Sligo ...       | 76,000      | 8,000  | 90        | 10 | ... | 58          | 14 | 80             |
| Mayo ...        | 195,000     | 4,500  | 98        | 2  | ... | 69          | 8  | 89             |
| Queen's Co. ... | 50,000      | 6,000  | 88        | 12 | ... | 25          | 11 | 70             |
| Tipperary ...   | 151,000     | 9,500  | 94        | 6  | ... | 43          | 17 | 71             |
| Leitrim ...     | 63,000      | 7,000  | 89        | 11 | ... | 22          | 10 | 69             |
| Carlow ...      | 33,000      | 4,000  | 89        | 11 | ... | 27          | 18 | 60             |
| Kerry ...       | 160,000     | 5,000  | 97        | 3  | ... | 93          | 19 | 83             |
| Meath ...       | 62,000      | 5,000  | 92        | 8  | ... | 38          | 14 | 73             |

**Therefore, do not be misled by politicians who seek to appeal, for political purposes, to one of the basest of passions—sectarian bigotry. The only Religious Intolerance in Ireland is to be found at the Orange corner of Ulster.**

**It is Nationalist Ireland that has set to Unionist Ireland a much needed example of religious and political toleration. Wherever Protestants are in a minority, however small, they receive their full proportional share of representation on Committees, and more than their full share of salaries; and wherever Unionists are in a majority, they use it to exclude the Catholic minority as far as possible from either influence or preferment.**

## **NO TIME FOR IRELAND AT WESTMINSTER.**

### **AN OBJECT LESSON.**

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Unionists often ask what it is that the Irish Parliament could do for Ireland which the Imperial Parliament is not able to do for her.

In the first place the Imperial Parliament is often not willing to carry out the wishes of the Irish people; but, apart from that, the Imperial Parliament has not time to legislate properly either for England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland. This leaflet gives a single illustration of how simple Irish reforms are neglected at Westminster.

Lough Corrib in Galway is 40 miles long, but over a great part of its length it is not much wider than a large river. There is a dense population on both shores, and naturally these people want to get across to each other and to bring goods or cattle across. This is specially important for the people of the West Shore, because the town of Tuam, lying only a few miles from the east bank, about mid-way, is a great cattle and sheep market. The Galway County Council proposed to improve communications by establishing a pontoon ferry at a narrow point about mid-way in the lough. Droves of cattle or sheep could thus be put on a moving platform and hauled across in any weather. This would have been very convenient for human beings, but would have saved, especially for cattle and sheep, great expense, injury, and suffering. Even when carefully handled, cattle suffer horribly in being packed into railway vans, and sheep are not much better off. But to get from Dughterard or Moycullen on the west bank cattle have to be entrained, taken to Galway, where the van is shunted, then to Athenry, another junction, where they are shunted again on to another line, and so to Tuam, a journey in all of some fifty miles, and very slow owing to the changes. If a ferry were established, they could be walked to it along the road, taken across a few hundred yards of water, and then driven a few miles more to Tuam, without expense to man or suffering to beast.

The Galway County Council were quite ready to strike a rate to raise the small amount, only about £1,000, needed for the establishment of the ferry, which would be maintained by small tolls. The Congested Districts Board, whose business it is to develop the poorer parts of Ireland—and there are no poorer parts in Ireland than the two shores of Lough Corrib—were glad to contribute portion of the cost. Engineers were employed and the whole plans were got ready. Everybody was pleased.

Then someone discovered that Irish County Councils, although they could make bridges and roads, had no legal authority to establish or maintain ferries. This was simply an omission in the Act of Parliament. It was proposed to bring in a private Bill to get leave to spend the money (although this would have added a couple of hundred pounds to the cost), but it was discovered that Irish County Councils have no power to introduce private Bill legislation. Accordingly an Irish member was asked to introduce a Bill giving Irish County Councils generally the power to establish and maintain ferries. Ireland is a country full of wide and unbridgeable rivers and long loughs, and these difficulties present themselves in Ulster as well as Connaught and the other two provinces. It was, therefore, easy to get Ulster Unionist members to put their names on the back of the Bill, which was brought in and printed, thus automatically passing its first reading. Now, a private Bill is generally introduced for second reading at the close of public business. Its title is read out, and if no one objects it passes its second reading and goes to committee, but if any man out of the 670 members of the House says, "I object," the Bill is blocked. This Bill was blocked first in this way, but negotiation secured the removal of the block. The Bill was thoroughly discussed in Committee, and its passage was finally agreed upon by every Irish member, Nationalist and Unionist alike. There was one objector in the House, the member for the City of London. Mr. Walter Long, leader of the Irish Unionists, added his appeal to ours, but the member for the City remained obdurate, and the Bill was blocked on third reading. The joined forces of the Irish Nationalists and Unionists could not prevail against time and Sir Frederick Banbury, though the Bill might have passed its final reading in twenty minutes.

Now this is a single very simple instance of how want of time and of consideration can ruin a local measure of improvement in Ireland. There are dozens of similar cases, many of them weighty, where there is really no division of Irish opinion, but which cannot be dealt with, simply for want of time. For instance, a Royal Commission on Poor Law Reform for Ireland proposed changes with which everyone in Ireland agreed, and which would have taken poor children out of demoralising work-houses into healthy, decent homes. But Parliament has no time for Irish Poor Law Reform. We require a Parliament of our own which will have power and opportunity and leisure to legislate for the domestic needs of the Irish people.



# THE COLONIES AND HOME RULE.

BY JEREMIAH MACVEAGH, M.P.

Speakers on Unionist platforms are for ever appealing to the electors to hearken to the voice of the Colonies. They urge the merits of Colonial preference, and wax eloquent on the necessity for binding more closely the Colonies and the Mother Country.

## WILL THEY LISTEN TO THE VOICE OF THE COLONIES ON HOME RULE?

*Every Colony in the British Empire is in favour of giving Self-Government to Ireland. Every Prime Minister at the recent Imperial Conference is a Home Ruler, and all of them were the guests of the Irish Party at a Banquet given in their honour. The Colonies are in favour of Irish Home Rule because they themselves have Home Rule, and know the blessings which follow in its train.*

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## HOME RULE—THE SALVATION OF THE EMPIRE.

HOME RULE HAS BEEN THE SALVATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. WHERE IT WAS GRANTED, THE POSSESSIONS WERE RETAINED; WHERE IT WAS REFUSED (AS IN THE CASE OF THE UNITED STATES), THE POSSESSIONS WERE LOST.

France, Spain, Holland and Portugal insisted on governing their Dependencies from Paris, Madrid, The Hague and Lisbon respectively—and lost them. Great Britain allowed her Colonies to work out their own destiny, and to-day they are indissolubly knit in the bonds of Empire.

*There are already twenty-eight Parliaments in the British Empire, including even the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man; and it will survive the addition of another in Dublin. The Empire is strong because of its twenty-eight Parliaments; it will be still stronger with twenty-nine, for Ireland will then be a source of strength, instead of, as to-day, a source of weakness.*

These twenty-eight Parliaments are not inclusive of nine Colonies, which have partial self-government through partly-elected, partly-nominated Legislatures, or Legislative Councils; in other words, we have to-day, in one form or another, some thirty-seven Home Rule constitutions within the Empire!

Home Rule begets Loyalty and Prosperity; the withholding of it spells Decadence, Discontent, Disloyalty, Rebellion. Canada won Home Rule at the point of the sword, but the Canadian Rebels became the most loyal of subjects, and Canada one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown. South Africa a few years ago was being drenched in human blood; but the war of races has given place to Home Rule, and General Botha, who led the Boers in the field, is now one of the heroes of the British populace.

**Ireland gave Generals and soldiers to fight for Great Britain in South Africa. The Unionist policy is to refuse Home Rule to the race whose soldiers fought by your side, although you have freely given it to those who fought against you.**

#### CANADA.

*The Canadian Parliament has on no less than five occasions—in 1882, in 1884, in 1886, in 1887, and in 1903—passed Resolutions in sympathy with the demand of Ireland for Home Rule.*

Here is the text of the petition to King Edward *unanimously* adopted by the Canadian Parliament on March 31st, 1903:—

“We, Your Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Canada, in Parliament assembled, desire most earnestly in our own name and on behalf of the people whom we represent to renew the expressions of our unswerving loyalty and devotion to Your Majesty’s person and government.

We would respectfully represent to Your Majesty that in 1882 the Parliament of Canada adopted an humble address to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, expressing the hope that a just measure of Home Rule would be granted to the people of Ireland, and that in the year 1886, by resolution of the House of Commons, the sentiments of the said address to Her Most Gracious Majesty were earnestly reiterated and the hope again expressed that such a measure of Home Rule would be passed by the Imperial Parliament.

That the years that have elapsed since the adoption of the aforesaid address and resolution to Your Most Gracious Majesty’s illustrious and ever-to-be-lamented predecessor have but served to emphasize the blessings which accrue to this Dominion from the federal system under which the people live, the benefits of which the Commons of Canada rejoice to see are about to be shared in by their fellow-subjects of the Australian Commonwealth, and therefore this extended experience which Your Most Gracious Majesty’s subjects have had of the inestimable benefits resulting from the said government bestowed on the whole of British North America but intensifies their desire to affirm through their representatives in Parliament the sentiments expressed in the said address and resolution with regard to the bestowal of self-government on Your Majesty’s subjects in Ireland.

## THE AUSTRALIAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Here follows the text of the Petition to the King which was adopted by the Australian House of Representatives on October 19th, 1905, and transmitted to the King by Lord Northcote, Governor-General :—

"We, Your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of the House of Representatives, in Parliament assembled, desire most earnestly in our name and on behalf of the people whom we represent, to express our unswerving loyalty and devotion to Your Majesty's person and Government.

Enjoying and appreciating, as we do, the blessings of Home Rule here, we would humbly express the hope that a just measure of Home Rule may be granted to the people of Ireland. They ask for it through their representatives—never has request more clear, consistent, and continuous been made by any nation. As subjects of Your Majesty, we are interested in the peace and contentment of all parts of the Empire, and we desire to see this long-standing grievance at the very heart of the Empire removed. It is our desire for the solidarity and permanence of the Empire as a Power making for peace and civilization that must be our excuse for submitting to Your Majesty this respectful petition."

## THE SENATE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.

The following letter to the Governor-General from the President of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Australia was also issued as a Parliamentary Paper :—

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that on October the 19th the following Resolution was agreed to by the Senate :—

"That, in accordance with the most treasured traditions of British Governments and British justice, and for the cementing of the Empire into one harmonious whole, this Senate is of opinion that Home Rule should be granted to Ireland"; and that, further, on November the 23rd, the attention of the Senate was called to the foregoing Resolution, and thereupon the Senate resolved :—

"That the President be requested to take the necessary steps in order that this Resolution of the Senate may be communicated to His Majesty the King."

I have, therefore, the honour to request that Your Excellency will cause the Resolution of the Senate to be forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in order that it may be communicated to His Majesty the King.

I have, &c.,

R. C. BAKER,  
President.

**The Irish demand for Self-Government has the sympathy of every civilised country in the world; and wherever the envoys of the Irish Nationalists go, official receptions are tendered to them by**

the leading public men, including Presidents of the United States like Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft, Governors of the American States, Parliaments, Senates, Statesmen, Judges, Mayors and Municipalities.

#### ELECTED PARLIAMENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

|                             | Square Miles.  | Population. |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Union of South Africa ...   | 473,184        | 5,175,824   |
| Canada ...                  | 3,729,665      | 7,185,000   |
| Prince Edward Island ...    | 2,184          | 103,259     |
| Nova Scotia ...             | 21,428         | 459,573     |
| New Brunswick ...           | 27,985         | 331,120     |
| Quebec ...                  | 351,873        | 1,648,898   |
| Ontario ...                 | 260,862        | 2,182,947   |
| Manitoba ...                | 73,732         | 365,688     |
| British Columbia ...        | 357,600        | 178,667     |
| Alberta ...                 | 353,540        | 185,412     |
| Saskatchewan ...            | 250,650        | 257,763     |
| Yukon ...                   | 207,076        | 27,219      |
| Newfoundland ...            | 42,734         | 217,037     |
| Australian Commonwealth ... | 2,974,581      | 4,374,138   |
| New South Wales ...         | 310,732        | 1,621,677   |
| Victoria ...                | 87,884         | 1,303,357   |
| Queensland ...              | 670,500        | 572,654     |
| South Australia ...         | 380,070        | 412,808     |
| Western Australia ...       | 975,920        | 273,543     |
| Tasmania ...                | 26,215         | 180,680     |
| New Zealand ...             | 104,751        | 1,048,347   |
| Jersey ...                  | 28,717 (acres) | 52,796      |
| Guernsey ...                | 12,605 (acres) | 43,045      |
| Alderney & Sark ...         | —              | 2,568       |
| Isle of Man ...             | 220            | 54,758      |
| Bermudas ...                | 20             | 17,735      |
| Bahamas ...                 | 5,450          | 61,277      |
| Barbadoes ...               | 166            | 194,500     |

The area of Ireland is 32,000 square miles, and the population, in 1911, is 4,381,951.



## **NO TIME FOR IRELAND AT WESTMINSTER.**

### **AN OBJECT LESSON.**

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Unionists often ask what it is that the Irish Parliament could do for Ireland which the Imperial Parliament is not able to do for her.

In the first place the Imperial Parliament is often not willing to carry out the wishes of the Irish people; but, apart from that, the Imperial Parliament has not time to legislate properly either for England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland. This leaflet gives a single illustration of how simple Irish reforms are neglected at Westminster.

Lough Corrib in Galway is 40 miles long, but over a great part of its length it is not much wider than a large river. There is a dense population on both shores, and naturally these people want to get across to each other and to bring goods or cattle across. This is specially important for the people of the West Shore, because the town of Tuam, lying only a few miles from the east bank, about mid-way, is a great cattle and sheep market. The Galway County Council proposed to improve communications by establishing a pontoon ferry at a narrow point about mid-way in the lough. Drovers of cattle or sheep could thus be put on a moving platform and hauled across in any weather. This would have been very convenient for human beings, but would have saved, especially for cattle and sheep, great expense, injury, and suffering. Even when carefully handled, cattle suffer horribly in being packed into railway vans, and sheep are not much better off. But to get from Oughterard or Moycullen on the west bank cattle have to be entrained, taken to Galway, where the van is shunted, then to Athenry, another junction, where they are shunted again on to another line, and so to Tuam, a journey in all of some fifty miles, and very slow owing to the changes. If a ferry were established, they could be walked to it along the road, taken across a few hundred yards of water, and then driven a few miles more to Tuam, without expense to man or suffering to beast.

The Galway County Council were quite ready to strike a rate to raise the small amount, only about £1,000, needed for the establishment of the ferry, which would be maintained by small tolls. The Congested Districts Board, whose business it is to develop the poorer parts of Ireland—and there are no poorer parts in Ireland than the two shores of Lough Corrib—were glad to contribute portion of the cost. Engineers were employed and the whole plans were got ready. Everybody was pleased.

Then someone discovered that Irish County Councils, although they could make bridges and roads, had no legal authority to establish or maintain ferries. This was simply an omission in the Act of Parliament. It was proposed to bring in a private Bill to get leave to spend the money (although this would have added a couple of hundred pounds to the cost), but it was discovered that Irish County Councils have no power to introduce private Bill legislation. Accordingly an Irish member was asked to introduce a Bill giving Irish County Councils generally the power to establish and maintain ferries. Ireland is a country full of wide and unbridgeable rivers and long loughs, and these difficulties present themselves in Ulster as well as Connaught and the other two provinces. It was, therefore, easy to get Ulster Unionist members to put their names on the back of the Bill, which was brought in and printed, thus automatically passing its first reading. Now, a private Bill is generally introduced for second reading at the close of public business. Its title is read out, and if no one objects it passes its second reading and goes to committee, but if any man out of the 670 members of the House says, "I object," the Bill is blocked. This Bill was blocked first in this way, but negotiation secured the removal of the block. The Bill was thoroughly discussed in Committee, and its passage was finally agreed upon by every Irish member, Nationalist and Unionist alike. There was one objector in the House, the member for the City of London. Mr. Walter Long, leader of the Irish Unionists, added his appeal to ours, but the member for the City remained obdurate, and the Bill was blocked on third reading. The joined forces of the Irish Nationalists and Unionists could not prevail against time and Sir Frederick Banbury, though the Bill might have passed its final reading in twenty minutes.

Now this is a single very simple instance of how want of time and of consideration can ruin a local measure of improvement in Ireland. There are dozens of similar cases, many of them weighty, where there is really no division of Irish opinion, but which cannot be dealt with, simply for want of time. For instance, a Royal Commission on Poor Law Reform for Ireland proposed changes with which everyone in Ireland agreed, and which would have taken poor children out of demoralising work-houses into healthy, decent homes. But Parliament has no time for Irish Poor Law Reform. We require a Parliament of our own which will have power and opportunity and leisure to legislate for the domestic needs of the Irish people.

# The Industrial and Commercial Aspects of Home Rule.

## A SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

**Mr. JOHN REDMOND, M.P.,**

At the City Liberal Club, in London, on November 2nd, 1911.

Gentlemen, speaking to an assembly of this kind, I intend this afternoon to confine myself to some of the economic and financial aspects of this question. One of the favourite arguments which has been used in the Press and upon the platform against the Home Rule settlement of the Irish problem is to the following effect: It is said that Ireland is a pauper and beggar, dependant to-day, as she always has been through the centuries, on the bounty of Great Britain, that her poverty is due to the incapacity of her people and to their inaptitude for commercial pursuits; and that Home Rule would mean immediate bankruptcy of Ireland or else of a still further impost upon the shoulders of the British taxpayer. Now, that is an argument with which you are familiar, and it is an argument that should be answered specifically and at once. Ireland's comparative poverty is admitted; but when an argument such as I have stated is used, we are entitled to examine a little into the causes of Ireland's poverty to-day. I intend to do so quite specifically. For at least two hundred years it was the deliberate policy of this country to destroy Irish industries. That policy commenced as far back as the seventeenth century. Irish industries at that time were beating English industries in England's own markets, and the Parliament of England at once took steps to prevent that continuing. Accordingly, the woollen industry in Ireland was destroyed by special Act of Parliament.\* Previous to that the cattle industry had been destroyed,

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\* "15 & 11 Will. III., c. 10, which recites that 'the woollen manufacture of cloth, serge, bays, kerseys, and other stuffs made or mixed with wool have of late been made and are daily increasing in the Kingdom of Ireland and in the English Plantations of America, and are exported from thence to foreign markets heretofore supplied from England, all which inevitably tends to injure the value of lands and to ruin the trade and woollen manufactures of the Realm, and that for the prevention thereof the export of wool and of woollen manufacture from Ireland be prohibited under the forfeiture of goods and ship, and a penalty of £500 for every such offence.' In reply to Addresses presented to King William III. by both Houses of the British Parliament, on 9th June, 1698, His Majesty said: 'I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland and encourage the linen manufacture there, and to promote the trade of England.' " (*English Commons' Journals*, XII., p. 339.)

and when the Irish people were no longer able to export live cattle, they made an effort with regard to smoked preserved meat and bacon, and when they were beginning to be prosperous in that, it was attacked by the English Parliament and suppressed. Every industry in turn to which the Irish people had recourse was dealt with—cotton, glass, iron, hats, sugar refining, shipbuilding—every industry to which Ireland turned was destroyed by England by the imposition of prohibitive duties or by the closing of ports. Colonial and Indian ports were closed absolutely.

But the best general summary of all this period is that given by a great Irishman, who was also one of the greatest of recent British statesmen.

Lord Dufferin wrote in 1867:—

“From Queen Elizabeth’s reign until the Union the various commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment relaxed their relentless grip on the trades of Ireland. One by one, each of our nascent industries was either strangled in its birth, or handed over, gagged and bound, to the jealous custody of the rival interest in England, until at last every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed, and even the traditions of commercial enterprise have perished through desuetude. The owners of England’s pastures had the honour of opening the campaign. As early as the commencement of the sixteenth century the beeves of Roscommon, Tipperary, and Queen’s County undersold the produce of the English grass counties in their own market. By an Act [of Parliament] Irish cattle were declared ‘a nuisance,’ and their importation prohibited. Forbidden to send our beasts alive across the Channel, we killed them at home, and began to supply the sister country with cured provisions. A second Act of Parliament imposed prohibitory duties on salted meats. The hides of the animals still remained; but the same influence put a stop to the importation of leather. Our cattle trade abolished, we tried sheep-farming. The sheep-breeders of England immediately took alarm, and Irish wool was declared contraband.

“Headed off in this direction, we tried to work up the raw material at home; but this created the greatest outcry of all. Every maker of fustian, flannel, and broadcloth in the country rose up in arms, and by an Act of William III. the woollen industry of Ireland was extinguished, and 20,000 manufacturers left the island. The easiness of the Irish labour market and the cheapness of provisions still giving us an advantage, even though we had to import our materials, we next made a dash at the silk business; but the English silk manufacturer, the sugar refiner, the soap and candle maker (who specially dreaded the abundance of our kelp), and every other trade or interest that thought it worth its while to petition, was received by Parliament with the same partial cordiality, until the most searching scrutiny failed to detect a single vent through which it was possible for the hated industry of Ireland to respire. But although excluded from the

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† “An English Act passed in 1663 (15 Chas. II., c. 7, s. 13) entitled *An Act for the Encouragement of Trade*, prohibited all exports from Ireland to the Colonies, except victuals, servants, horses, and salt for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland. It likewise prohibited the importation of Irish cattle into England, and imposed a penalty on every head of such cattle imported. A subsequent British Act declared the importation of Irish cattle into England to be ‘a public and common nuisance,’ and forbade the importation of beef, pork, or bacon (18 Chas. II., c. 2). Butter and cheese from Ireland were subsequently excluded (32 Chas. II., c. 2). The exportation to Ireland from the English Plantations of sugar, cotton, wool, tobacco, indigo, ginger, fustian, or other dyeing wool, the growth of the Plantations, was prohibited by statute (22 & 23 Chas. II., c. 26).”



markets of Great Britain, a hundred harbours gave her access to the universal sea. Alas! a rival commerce on her own element was still less welcome to England, and as early as the reign of Charles II. the Levant, the ports of Europe, and the oceans beyond the Cape of Good Hope were forbidden to the flag of Ireland. The Colonial trade alone was in a manner open, if that can be called an open trade which for a long time precluded all exports whatever, and excluded from direct importation to Ireland such important articles as sugar, cotton, and tobacco. What has been the consequence of such a system, pursued with relentless pertinacity for 250 years? This—that, *debarred from every other trade and industry*, the entire nation flung itself back upon *the land*, with as fatal an impulse as when a river whose current is suddenly impeded rolls back and drowns the valley it once fertilised.”

These are admitted historical facts. Everyone who has written on Irish history has admitted them. If you would like a modern authority: In the year 1895, Mr. Balfour, speaking at Alnwick, on July 19th, 1895, said:—

“There was a time, an unhappy time, when the British Parliament thought they were well employed in crushing out Irish manufactures in the interests of the British producer. It was a cruel, and it has proved to be a stupid, policy.”

I think, therefore, I have not exaggerated my statement of the case how Irish industries in that way were strangled. But what I want to put before you is this—that the capacity, the coherent capacity, and aptitude of the Irish people for industrial pursuits was not strangled, and that the very moment Grattan’s Parliament was established there at once came on foot a great Irish industrial revival. The years of Grattan’s Parliament were marked by the most extraordinary commercial and industrial revival.

Lord Clare said, in 1798:—

“There is not a nation on the face of the habitable globe which has advanced in cultivation and manufactures with the same rapidity in the same period as Ireland.”

Lord Plunkett said, in 1799:—

“Ireland’s revenues, trade, and manufactures had thriven beyond the hope or example of any other country.”

The Bankers of Dublin, in December, 1798, passed a unanimous resolution to the effect that “since 1792 the commerce and prosperity of this Kingdom has enormously increased.”

The Guild of Merchants met on January 14th following, and passed a resolution declaring:—

“That the commerce of Ireland has increased, and her manufactures improved beyond example, since the independence of this kingdom was restored by the exertion of our countrymen in 1782. That we look with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their Parliament, and thereby of their constitutional right and immediate power to legislate for themselves.”

You, gentlemen, or some of you, will have read what Mr. Lecky wrote upon this subject. He said that in ten years, from 1782, the exports from Ireland more than trebled. Now, let me come

to one further piece of testimony upon this subject. Many of you, I am sure, are anxious to study this question, and I would like to recommend one of the most valuable books there is upon it, that of Miss Murray, of London University. Here is her account:—

“The industrial aspect of Ireland rapidly changed. Ruined factories sprang into life, and new ones were built. The old corn mills, which had ceased working so long, were everywhere busy. The population of the towns began to increase. The standard of living among the artisan class rose, and even the condition of the peasantry changed slightly for the better. Dublin, instead of being sunk in decay, assumed the appearance of a thriving town. In fact, the Independent Irish Legislature set itself to promote the material prosperity of the country in every possible way, and there is no doubt its efforts had much to say to the really surprising commercial progress which was made from 1780 until the years immediately preceding the Union. The Irish fisheries became the envy and admiration of Great Britain, and agriculture increased rapidly. Various manufactures in Ireland began to thrive, the manufacture of hats, of boots and shoes, of candles and soap, of blankets and carpets, of woollens, of printed cottons and fustians, of cabinets and of glass, all sprang into importance, while the linen manufacture, which had decayed during the American War, quickly revived, and in ten years the exports of various kinds doubled.”

### A RECORD OF STAGNATION AND DECAY.

Now, why do I trouble you with these quotations? I want to put this argument, that, if England succeeded by her legislation in suppressing Irish industries, that is no proof of the incapacity of Ireland for commercial and industrial pursuits, because the moment Grattan freed her Parliament, from that moment Irish industries revived, and let me finish the argument by saying that from the date of the Act of Union down to to-day, there is an unbroken record of stagnation and decay. The industrial revival was arrested. There is a remarkable statement in the Report of the Census Commissioners for Ireland, in 1901—their full report for 1911 is not out. What are the figures. According to the returns, the number of persons engaged in the production and distribution of textile fabrics has fallen away very considerably during the past thirty years. The totals recorded were for 1871—193,864, and for 1881—129,787. In 1891 there was practically no change at 129,884, but in 1901 the numbers employed had fallen to 109,588. Referring to the returns for the latter year, the Commissioners observe:—

“In this marked decline of over 15½ per cent., the males diminished by 8,864, and the females to the extent of 11,432. Looking at the principal textile manufactures, we find that by far the most important industry in the country, viz., the flax and linen industry, has lost over 17,000, nearly one-fifth of its workers, while those employed in the manufacture of woollen goods have suffered a corresponding reduction.”

Therefore, gentlemen, you will observe that the decay has not been confined to the South and West of Ireland, but it has attacked Belfast, and has seriously interfered with one of the great industries in Ireland, of which we are all proud. It is, therefore, unjust to say that the commercial or industrial decay of Ireland was due to the inherent incapacity of the people.

## FIRST FRUITS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

One of the first fruits of self-government in Ireland will be now, as in 1782, and wherever you have extended self-government, a revival of industrial prosperity. In many directions already, even in the present circumstances, there is a revival in Ireland. Little factories are being started, and better methods are being employed in various walks of industrial endeavour. But these are comparatively small and unimportant, and until you have a native government, composed of men who live in the country, and who understand the country, and, above all, who can give all their time to the country's service, you will never have these great questions, such as cheap transit—which lies at the bottom of all industrial questions in Ireland—you will never have questions of that kind settled, and, therefore, it is hopeless to expect that Ireland can raise herself from the slough of industrial despondency until you have granted to her own sons, in their own way, on their own soil, and with their own fitness and knowledge, the right to manage their own affairs.

## THE TAXATION OF IRELAND.

Now, on the other portion of the argument, it is said that Ireland has been all through the centuries a beggar, existing on the bounty of her rich partner. In discussing this question of the financial relations between the two countries, there are two things which must be borne in mind. The first is—what was Ireland's taxation during the last century, and the second is, what was Ireland's contribution—what was the contribution of this pauper and beggar to the upkeep of the army and navy and Empire generally? With reference to the taxation of Ireland, let me in a sentence recall to your recollection the resolutions of the Financial Relations Commission, appointed by Mr. Gladstone, which consisted, by a great majority, of the financiers of your country, and which examined all your great financial officials from the Treasury. That Commission unanimously reported:—

- I. That Great Britain and Ireland must, for the purpose of this inquiry, be considered as separate entities.
- II. That the Act of Union imposed upon Ireland a burden which, as events showed, she was unable to bear.
- III. That the increase of taxation laid upon Ireland between 1843 and 1860 was not justified by the then existing circumstances.
- IV. That identity of rates of taxation does not necessarily involve equality of burden.
- V. That whilst the actual tax revenue of Ireland is about one-eleventh of that of Great Britain, the relative taxable capacity of Ireland is very much smaller, and is not estimated by any of us as exceeding one-twentieth.

## IRELAND'S CONTRIBUTION TO IMPERIAL PURPOSES.

Now, that estimate was based upon the aggregate money incomes of the two countries. But Sir Robert Giffen and others held that the annual income taxable was what remained after paying the actual necessities of life, and that if you applied that test, Ireland's taxable capacity would work out not at one-twentieth, but at one-thirty-seventh. Reduced to figures, this report meant that, during the greater part of the century, Ireland had been paying two and three-quarter millions a year more than her fair proportion. I am not saying this at all with reference to the financial proposals which may be in the Home Rule Bill. I am not making here a demand for restitution or anything of the kind. I am simply putting it as one element that you should take into account when you are considering this financial question; and, when we are told that Ireland is a beggar living on the bounty of her rich partner, I may point out that, according to the findings of your own Royal Commission, she was overtaxed to the extent of hundreds of millions. But what is Ireland contributing to the upkeep of the Army and Navy and of the Empire generally? How much do you think in the last hundred years this pauper and beggar, Ireland, has contributed to the upkeep of the Empire? People say to-day that Ireland is being run at a loss. I won't stop to go into figures on the subject, but it is true that Ireland's contribution to Imperial expenses has varied year by year during the century, and that contribution means any balance that remains over after the whole cost of working the Irish Government has been paid. That balance rose sometimes to as much as five and a half millions. Sometimes it fell. In 1849, the last year of the great Famine, there was a fall to two and three-quarter millions, but that, I venture to say, was not a bad contribution from a country emerging from a Famine in which more than a million lives were lost through starvation. Now, gentlemen, these are official figures, taken from the Treasury's return. The payment that has been made by Ireland in the last hundred years to Imperial purposes, after all the cost of Irish Government had been met, is no less than £329,459,970—pretty good for a beggar and a pauper living on your bounty.

## THE COST OF IRISH GOVERNMENT.

But it is said that Ireland is making no contribution at all. Yes, that is true—a pretty result of your government from Westminster. But I do not admit the figures. I admit that the contribution has fallen enormously. Why has it fallen? It is because the cost of Irish administration has increased. The government of Ireland at this moment is the most costly government of any similar country of the whole world. The contribution



is more, the cost of civil government in Ireland is per head more, than it is in this country or in Scotland. The latest figures are:—

|          |     |     | £   | s. | d.   |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|----|------|
| England  | ... | ... | ... | 0  | 18 8 |
| Scotland | ... | ... | ... | 1  | 3 3  |
| Ireland  | ... | ... | ... | 2  | 4 0  |

If the Customs and Excise and Post Office services be included, the amounts per head are—

|          |     |     | £   | s. | d.   |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|----|------|
| England  | ... | ... | ... | 1  | 9 2  |
| Scotland | ... | ... | ... | 1  | 13 4 |
| Ireland  | ... | ... | ... | 2  | 11 9 |

[2nd November, 1911.]

Just think how we have got the better of Scotland. In Scotland there are only 938 officials assessed for Income Tax, and their salaries are only £315,000. In Ireland there are 4,560 officials, whose incomes amount to £1,435,000. Go to any similar country in Europe, a country of similar population and conditions, and you will find that the government of Ireland is twice as expensive. Why is that? There are two reasons. The first I may dismiss in a sentence. Every government carried on against the will of the people must of necessity be an expensive government. That goes a long way to explain itself; but there is another reason. We are, under the Act of Union, tied up in financial partnership—we, one of the poorest nations in Europe—with one of the richest nations in the world, and, by the very principle of Unionism, when you give a great benefit to the English people you are bound to include Ireland. If you do not include Ireland in the exact scheme, you have to give what is called an equivalent grant; that is to say, that every luxury that is needed in this country—suited to the conditions of a wealthy country—every such luxury must be extended to Ireland, and that, of course, is charged against Irish revenue, and in that way the cost of the government of Ireland has gone up day by day, and must go up day by day. Then you may say: If these things were not suitable for Ireland, why do you not protest against them? It is not in the interest of any Irishman to make any economy in the present system, because every penny saved in Ireland does not go to Ireland, but goes back to the British Treasury. Do you think that in a self-governed Ireland we would allow money to be lavished on schemes of social legislation, which, though suitable to you, may be most extravagant to a poor country like Ireland.

## THE IRISH JUDICIARY.

Under the present conditions, there is no incentive to economy. Our Judges are paid extravagant salaries. The Lord Lieutenant is paid a salary which is precisely twice that of the President of the United States of America, and so all through. Although the population of Ireland and Scotland is about the same, the cost of the police force in Ireland is three times larger than in Scotland, and I do not think anyone will say that there is more crime in Ireland than in Scotland. I, therefore, say that this extravagant system of government will go on until you put Ireland on her own. Make her responsible for the cost of her government. Give her her own revenues to spend—to spend it as best she can, and I tell you that the only safety for your Treasury lies in that direction.

## MR. GLADSTONE'S PROPHECY.

Mr. Gladstone, in one of his great speeches, prophesied that if Home Rule were defeated, that if the present system went on for 15 years longer, the whole of the Imperial contribution from Ireland would disappear, and that Ireland would become year by year a heavier charge upon this country. You have arrived at that position now, and the only security is to make a bargain with Ireland, allow Ireland full responsibility for the management and control of her own government. Under Home Rule you will have an efficient government and a cheap government and you will have no more drains upon the British Treasury. Come to a bargain once and for all with Ireland, and in coming to that bargain, being a rich country and a country which, according to the undisputed pages of history, has dealt hardly in the past with Ireland, make a generous settlement, a final settlement and put an end for all time to this drain, as you regard it upon the Exchequer of this country, and allow Ireland to manage her own affairs.

# Protestants in Clare.

## A CALUMNY REFUTED.

By L. J. McQUILLAND.

On the 25th September, 1911, at Holywood, County Down, a Unionist meeting was held, which was addressed by three gentlemen describing themselves as "County Clare Loyalists." The names of these gentlemen were:—Mr. H. V. McNamara, Colonel O'Callaghan-Westropp, and the Rev. R. T. McLaurin.

According to the "Belfast News Letter," (the leading Orange newspaper in Ulster), the principal speaker of this trio, Mr. H. V. McNamara:

"Gave an interesting and instructive account of the conditions in County Clare, which, he said, was mainly Roman Catholic, only two per cent. of the population being Protestants. The latter were separated, and lived miles and miles apart. If they did not bow to the dictates of the United Irish League their lives were made most unpleasant and uncomfortable for them. . . . A man's children were liable to be annoyed by Roman Catholic children, or he was subject to the receipt of threatening letters, and continuous pin-pricks of that sort were even harder to bear than big troubles."

As a specific instance of Nationalist intolerance, Mr. McNamara cited his own case. He said that six months before, "when the Unionist Clubs were revived," he came up to the North, "and had the honour of addressing the delegates in Belfast"—in a similar strain, we infer, to the above quotations. At the following election for the Board of Guardians, Mr. McNamara proceeded to narrate, "he stood on Mr. Redmond's own ticket—the tolerance ticket—but it was no use. He was in Belfast, and was put at the bottom of the poll."

It may be pointed out here—Mr. McNamara himself admitted it—that he a Protestant, had already been elected on the Board of Guardians, in spite of the fact that Roman Catholics constituted 98 per cent. of the population. How did he repay this mark of confidence? By going to the North of Ireland and waving the Orange flag, calumniating his Catholic neighbours. And then he gives it forth as a grievance that he is not re-elected. This is their intolerance. Was there ever such a preposterous plea made?

Colonel O'Callaghan-Westropp sympathised with his friend, McNamara's, bad treatment, in the pages of the "Clare Record." "If he was defeated at the poll because of his politics," the sorrowful Colonel wrote, "the statement to the Eighty Club at Killaloe that 'no one suffers because of his sincere convictions' stands an exposed lie!"

In other words, Nationalists are to show their respect for the sincere convictions of their Unionist opponents in Ireland by placing them at the head of the poll in political contests. The demand is outside the range of common-sense and of human intelligence.

It may be remarked that when a Unionist, Mr. Smyllie, was elected recently at a municipal election in Sligo over two Nationalist competitors, the Belfast Press came out with this instance as a proof "that the people of Sligo had been converted almost completely from the errors of Home Rule."

But returning to Mr. McNamara's fervid denunciations of his Nationalist and Catholic neighbours, let us take the declarations which they drew from a number of Clare Protestants, who wrote to the "Clare Record" in October and November of last year :—

Mr. Henry F. Harwood wrote :—

"I am surprised at Mr. H. V. McNamara making such a false statement that Protestants were persecuted and that their children were interfered with, a statement which I think is a gross libel on the Catholics of County Clare. I was in business in Ennistymon some years ago, and during the time I spent there, there was never a word said to me about my religion. In fact, I was supported wholly by Catholics, who, I found, were my best and truest friends, and any shopkeeper in Ennistymon can testify how I, a Protestant, was supported."

Mr. F. N. Studdert, Secretary of the Clare County Council, wrote :—

"I have now been living at home continuously for six years, and during that time I am glad to be able to say that I have experienced no such thing as religious intolerance or interference. Some of my best and most trusted servants are and have been Roman Catholics."

Mr. Robert Russell, D.C., wrote :—

"The statements lately made by some Unionist and Protestant residents of this county in the North of Ireland, charging the Roman Catholics and Nationalists of Clare with intolerance, amazes me very much, as, although I have been residing in Clare all my life-time, and my father before me since 1840, my experience is not theirs."

Mr. Russell was elected last year at the head of the poll for an electoral district in which there were only two Protestant voters.

Other letters of a similar nature were written to the local paper in Mr. McNamara's district by such well-known men as Mr. Thos. Crowe, J.P., Deputy-Lieutenant; Mr. James Butler-Levers, of Quinville Abbey; Mr. Fitzgerald Blood, &c., giving the lie to every one of Mr. McNamara's calumnies.

We call upon all fair-minded Protestants in Great Britain to take note of these voluntary testimonies to the tolerance of Catholic Clare, and the intolerance of Mr. McNamara and his two friends, Colonel O'Callaghan Westropp and the Rev. Tris McLaurin, the latter of whom declared at the Hollywood meeting that "He himself was an Orangeman, and had been delighted to hear on Saturday once more the sound of the Orange drum." It is a significant comment on this whole question of intolerance in Clare that the Rev. Mr. McLaurin had his salary as chaplain raised some time back by the Catholic Guardians at Scariff.



## HOW CATHOLICS ARE BOYCOTTED IN BELFAST.

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A well-known Belfast journalist, Mr. P. J. Magauran, has gone thoroughly into the question of Catholic employment in Belfast under the public Boards and the Corporation. As his figures are up-to-date and derived from official resources which can not be challenged, we gladly avail ourselves of his permission to use them in demonstrating what an effective boycott of Catholics by "Loyalists" is taking place in Belfast at this very hour by the men who are constantly shouting about "civil and religious liberty" and who threaten civil war in Ulster if that liberty be accorded their Catholic fellow-countrymen.

### BELFAST BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Let us see, says Mr. Magauran, how the Board of Guardians tries to encourage Catholic Industry. Here are some figures procured from the latest available official sources :

|                        |     |     |     |     |         |   |   |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|---|---|
| Total salaries in 1911 | ... | ... | ... | ... | £16,790 | 6 | 5 |
| Salaries of Catholics  | ... | ... | ... | ... | £680    | 0 | 0 |

And out of this £680, £447 MUST be given to Catholics according to law, viz., to the two Catholic chaplains and the Catholic schoolmaster and schoolmistress. Thus the net amount of the Protestant Board of Guardians' generosity to Catholics is £233, out of £16,790! It may be suggested that the £16,790 includes a number of Catholic nurses, but not only are they not permanent officers, but their "salaries" do not exceed £5 to £18 per annum. In addition to this scandal, there is the almost incredible fact that of the twelve dispensary officers receiving in 1911 a total of £3,473 8s. 5d., not one is a Catholic.

Further, notwithstanding persistent agitation, backed by repeated appeals from the Local Government Board, the Belfast Bumbles refuse to provide the Catholic inmates with a decent place of worship. The poor 1,500 are herded and almost suffocated in a school-room wholly inadequate for the accommodation of the congregation. Before taking leave of this department of Belfast activity in the way of tolerance, it should be said that of the Board of fifty only four are Catholics, whose task, needless to say, is not an easy one in an atmosphere charged with the spirit of anti-Catholic intrigue.

## THE HARBOUR OFFICE.

The tolerance of the Harbour Commissioners, of whom not one is a Catholic, displays itself in a similar fashion. This Board easily beats any other Belfast body in the thoroughness of its methods, for not only does it rigidly boycott Catholics, but, because Lord Pirrie, a Protestant, happens to be a Home Ruler, it has consistently hampered his firm, Messrs. Harland and Wolff, without whose contribution to the wealth of the city, amounting in wages alone to £25,000 a week (not to speak of rates), Belfast would soon sink down to the status of a third-rate, sluggish, over-grown provincial town, with as many workhouses as it has Orange Lodges. Readers will remember the great shipbuilder's recent sensational charges against the Harbour Board. In the course of that speech he traced back to his action on the Corporation Bill of 1896 another reason for the animosity actuating the ruling Ascendancy classes of Belfast against him. On that occasion, while he was Mayor of Belfast, he astounded the Orange Corporation (of which not one was a Catholic at that time) by boldly declaring as a witness before the Parliamentary Committee that Belfast Catholics should have the representation which the Corporation were opposing. This crime has neither been forgiven nor forgotten by the "tolerant" Unionists who control the affairs of the city. Lord Pirrie's exposure of the Harbour Board's treatment of himself and his firm was startling; the public will now open their eyes very wide indeed at the following exposure of its treatment of the Catholics of Belfast:

Of the Commissioners' salaried employees only one is a Catholic!

The last recorded payment of salaries amounted to £11,269 16s. 3d. Out of this only £250 went into the pocket of a Catholic, the only Catholic salaried employee on the list!

## THE WATER OFFICE.

As for the Water Board, there has not been a single Catholic on the salaried list until two or three months ago, when, by the strenuous efforts of the only two Catholics out of a total of seventeen Commissioners, one Catholic got on it at a salary of £65 a year! The total salaried list for 1910 was £3,031 13s. 4d. I cannot procure that for 1911, but in the course of the year this list was strengthened by the inclusion of the rate-collectors who number three (not one of whom is a Catholic), and receive a total of £1,039, and also of eight new appointments, totalling in salary about £600. Thus, taking the 1910 total and adding these new "salaries," we have a rough total for 1911 of £4,670. Out of this only £65 went into Catholic's pocket! Add to the total the sum of £726 for reservoir superintendents (not one of whom is a Catholic) and we have £5,396. Out of this only £65 went into a Catholic's pocket, that of the only Catholic clerk. There are some Catholics in the wages department, and I have not been able to get the exact figures, but inquiries show that the proportion of decently paid employees on this list is so small as to be almost contemptible.

One Catholic at £250 on the Harbour Board's salaried list, and one Catholic on the Water Board's salaried list at £65! I wonder they have the tolerance to put up with those two specimens of "Catholic aggression."

## THE CORPORATION.

As to the Corporation, the figures are nearly as bad as the others. From recent minutes it appears there are 437 salaried officials in the Council's employment, the total of whose salaries amounts to £68,723. Out of that there are only nine Catholic officials, and their share of the £68,723 is just £768. As another hard fact, of 25 medical officers on the Corporation's salaried list, not one is a Catholic. The majority of the Catholics who get wages are employed in the humblest toil. Corporation clerkships are almost beyond the horizon of Catholic ambition, so unscrupulously has the system been operated, so hopeless are Catholics of receiving fair play, either in direct appointment or in the farcical method of conducting the casual competitive examinations.

## CATHOLIC RATES—A REFUTATION.

The stereotyped Unionist reply to the above damning figures was originally voiced in the House of Commons by the Unionist Lord Mayor of Belfast, Mr. M'Mordie, when he asserted that the Catholic employees of the Corporation got a larger amount of employment than the proportion of rates paid by Catholics would justify them in getting.

But composition of rates prevails very largely in Belfast, so that many ratepayers are not directly credited with the payment of their rates at all. The credit goes to the landlord, who pays the rates and includes the amount in a higher rent. Thus landlords, mostly Protestant, are credited with the payment of rates which are included in the rents and of which therefore the tenants are the real payers. After inquiries I find that the amount of rates directly credited to Catholics represents only one-seventh or one-eighth of the amount they really pay. Taking it at the lower figure, we find that instead of the £15,950 with which Catholics are credited out of a total of £319,000, Catholics really pay seven times that amount, viz., £111,650, a very strong contribution from a community of 95,000. This fairly accurate estimate destroys entirely the ridiculous theory that Catholics are getting more in salaries and wages than what they are paying for in rates.

The publication of these few facts about the Belfast public authorities and the Catholic community may give pause to the gentlemen who seek to make political capital by enlogising northern "tolerance" at the expense of the south and west, but if it does not, the exposure will have to be even more thorough.

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# ORANGE THREATS.

NATIONALIST LEADER DECLARES THEM TO BE  
SIMPLY "INSOLENT BLUFF."

OPPONENTS OF ALL REFORM.

BY

JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P.

PUBLISHED BY THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY,  
2 & 3 GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER.



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## OPPONENTS OF ALL REFORM.

By JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P.

*(Reprinted from REYNOLDS'S NEWSPAPER.)*

[In the following important article, Mr. Redmond shows the worthlessness of the Orange party's threats about Home Rule, which he sums up as being of the same kidney as the threats of "the Die-Hards" of the Veto Bill controversy, and simply insolent bluff. England, it is Mr. Redmond's conclusion, would be a nation of fools and poltroons, if it allowed itself to be diverted for a single instant, by such stupid, hollow, and unpatriotic bellowings, from the great policy of binding Ireland, at long last, to the Empire by the only enduring bonds, those of Liberty and Loyalty.]

In his speech in the House of Lords on the Veto Bill, on July 20, the Marquis of Londonderry, who may be regarded as the chief spokesman of the Orange party in Ireland, used these words :—

"He would not be doing his duty if he did not warn the Government that if a Home Rule Parliament was established in College Green there would be serious disorder. It would be the saddest of days for him if he saw lawlessness take place, but there would be lawlessness, and probably bloodshed, if Home Rule were granted. Those were strong words, he admitted, but he spoke with a full sense of responsibility. If the worst came to the worst, the loyalists would fight."

And the chairman of the Orange July 12 demonstration in Belfast stated that the Orangemen relied, in their opposition to Home Rule, as they always did, upon "their Bible and their gun," and he called upon the Orangemen of Ulster to emulate the deeds of "the Orange yeomanry of 1798."

## NATURE OF THE THREATS.

It is worth while recalling what the deeds of "the Orange yeomanry of 1798" were.

Lord Cornwallis, who came to Ireland as Viceroy shortly after the suppression of the insurrection of 1798, wrote as follows to the Duke of Portland :—

"The yeomanry are wholly without discipline. They are contemptible in the face of the enemy, but ferocious and cruel in the extreme when any poor wretches without arms came into their power. Murder is their favourite pastime. Numberless murders were hourly committed. In short, we have been engaged in a war of plunder and massacre."

And, in another despatch to the Duke of Portland, Lord Cornwallis wrote :—

"They (the Orangemen) are adverse to all acts of clemency, and would pursue measures which could only terminate in the extirpation of the great number of the inhabitants and the utter destruction of the country. The words 'Papist' and 'priest' are for ever upon their tongues."

And the late Mr. Goldwin Smith, who was a Unionist oracle, wrote thus in his "Irish History and Irish Character" :—

"The peasantry in 1798 were gratuitously scourged and tortured into open rebellion. There were crimes not of individual ruffians, but of a faction—a faction which must take its place in history beside that of Robespierre, Couthon, and Carrier. The murders by the Jacobins may have excited more indignation and pity, because the victims were of high rank, but in the use of torture the Orangemen seemed to have reached a pitch of fiendish cruelty which was scarcely attained by the Jacobins. The dreadful Civil War of 1798 was the crime, as a candid study of its history will prove, not of the Irish people, but of the Orange terrorists, who literally goaded the people into insurrection."

The Orange threats of to-day, therefore, if one were to take them seriously, are threats of brutal violence and bloodshed.

The passage of the Veto Bill into law and the certainty of Home Rule being established during the lifetime of the present Parliament, make it worth while to consider the meaning of these threats, and whether at this time of the twentieth century, they can be received with any measure whatever of seriousness or credence.

## WHO THE ORANGEMEN ARE.

It is well for the British public to bear in mind, in the first instance, that these threats do not come from the general body of the Protestants of Ireland, or from the general body of the Protestants of Ulster itself. They come from the Orange-



men, a small, but noisy, minority amongst the Protestants of Ulster.

So far as the Protestants of Ireland, and of Ulster especially, are concerned, Irish Nationalists have nothing but feelings of the deepest respect for them.

I trust you will allow me to quote a few words of mine, spoken at a public meeting in Ulster, in the year 1907, and which, I believe, accurately represent the feelings of the Nationalists of Ireland generally with reference to their Protestant fellow-countrymen :—

“ Let me say, so far as what I call to-day the minority in Ulster is concerned, that it should be our greatest and most sacred duty to go to any length short of surrender of principle to disarm their hostility and to remove their suspicions. I admit fully that the minority in Ulster is rich and influential. I admit that it has been powerful enough in the past to stand between Ireland and Home Rule, but its power is waning. But, fellow-countrymen, while I am convinced that we can, if we are put to it, win Home Rule in spite of this minority, I confess to you that I don't want Home Rule for Ireland to come in the garb of a bitter political defeat for any intelligent and honest section of my countrymen.

“ For my part, I say here, that of the overwhelming majority of these men, I believe that they are honest and, according to their own sense of the word, patriotic. I believe that they are in large numbers honestly afraid to trust their property and their religious interests to their fellow-countrymen. Now, over these men, I say to-day that if I can avoid it, I want no party triumph, I want to influence their intelligence, I want to dissipate their suspicions, and I want to soften their hearts, and therefore so long as it is possible for me to do so, even against hope I will preach to them the doctrine of conciliation.

“ I say here to-day that there are no lengths short of the abandonment of the principles which you and I hold, to which I would not go to win the confidence of these men and not to have them lost to Ireland. There are no safeguards which I would object to in a Home Rule Bill to-morrow to satisfy the fears which these men entertain about their religious interests, and I can say he is the best Irishman who does his best to-day by preaching toleration and conciliation to these men to bring all the sons of gallant Ulster into line in the battle for Ireland.”

A clear distinction must, therefore, be drawn between the general body of the Protestants of Ireland and of Ulster, and that small and noisy section called Orangemen, who are to-day uttering these threats.

In point of numbers, the Orangemen are really contemptible compared with the Protestant population of Ireland, and even of Ulster generally. The members of the Orange Society, which is secret and oath-bound, are drawn almost exclusively from the Protestant Episcopalian body in Ulster. According to the Census

returns for 1911, the total number of Protestant Episcopalians in Ulster was 366,171; the total number of Catholics being 690,134; of Presbyterians, 421,566; and of Methodists, 48,490. The Orangemen are only to be found, in any appreciable strength, in three or four counties, and it is a question whether the whole numerical strength of the Orange Society, not by any means its fighting strength, would be 25,000 men.

## ORANGE THREATS IN THE PAST.

There is no terror in the threats of these men. They have become stale and worthless. The British public have heard them repeated again and again whenever, during the last century, any great change for the benefit of Ireland was proposed, whether Catholic Emancipation, the abolition of the tithes system, the extension of the franchise, the disestablishment of the Church, the reform of the land laws, the extension of local self-government, or the proposal of Home Rule itself. These men have always been implacable foes of religious toleration.

Let me, however, give some outstanding instances of Orange threats and of their consequences. It will be noticed that the threats were always of the same character and had always the same results.

Take, first, the case of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

John Mitchel, himself a Protestant and an Ulsterman, who knew the Orangemen well, historically and from personal experience, writing in his *Irish Citizen* in 1869, when the Orangemen were threatening to rebel against the disestablishment of the Church, says:—

“When emancipation was proposed, the Orangemen became savage and threatened to revolt and dethrone the faithless House of Hanover. When the Municipal Reform Act was passed, admitting Catholics to the Corporations of their own cities, those loyalists felt that all was lost. There was a limit to human endurance, and, if a Papist could be Alderman of Derry, the end of the world was indeed at hand. They swore dreadfully that they would hold by their Bibles—that is, the Protestant ascendancy—to the last gasp, they would kick the King’s crown into the Boyne, just as they are threatening now, and so forth. When O’Connell became potent enough to control some of the patronage of the city (of Dublin), and when Whig Governments began to place Catholic Judges on the Bench, then, indeed, the crisis was come; the Orangemen felt that the time was at last arrived when they must resist like men, and at least perish—if perish they must—with their Bibles clasped to their bosoms. Well, they had no notion of resisting like men, nor of perishing; and as for ‘their Bibles,’ they knew no more about that book than about anything else. All they have been good for is an occasional riot; and even in that they are generally cautious of late, for Papists are numerous and strong, much disinclined to be walked over.”

Mitchel's words apply absolutely to the position to-day, so far as the Orangemen are concerned.

Catholic Emancipation was denounced by the Orangemen as a fatal attack on the "Constitution of 1688," and on the birth-right of every Protestant, and the Irish newspapers of the time are full of reports of meetings at which the Orangemen declared their determination "never to submit" to Catholic Emancipation under any circumstances. "Brunswick Clubs" were formed, and at their meetings some of the most bloodthirsty threats were fulminated. In the *Dublin Morning Post* of December 11, 1828, Judkin Butler, one of the Orange fanatics, is reported as closing a fiery speech with the following choice quatrain :—

"Surrender! no, we never will  
While Brunswickers have blood to spill;  
Our cause is glorious, and for that we'll fight,  
For George's title—for William's right."

These four lines condense the essence of the Orange speeches of the time.

Well, the Emancipation Bill passed, and the Orangemen did not fight, but kept on proclaiming, year after year, on July 12, that they would "rise as one man" and "spill the last drop of their blood" before surrendering any of "the blood-bought rights" of 1688!

## MERE SOUND AND FURY.

The Church Temporalities Bill of 1833 and the Municipal Reform Bill again found the Orangemen talking of resistance to the death; but, as in the case of Emancipation, their threats proved "mere sound and fury, signifying nothing."

Lord Palmerston, speaking to an Orange deputation which waited on him on February 18, 1858, said :—

"If those who belong to the Orange Association would, upon full consideration, and as a gracious act of national conciliation, resolve that their bond of union is no longer necessary, I am sure that there is nothing they could do which would more materially contribute to the peace of Ireland and to the obliteration of ancient prejudices."

But the Orangemen did not disband, and, in 1868 and 1869, they again threatened "red ruin and the breaking up of laws" if Mr Gladstone's Church Disestablishment Bill were carried. Reams of quotations from Orange speeches of the time might be quoted, but space forbids the citation of more than a few specimens. The most famous was that delivered by the Rev.

John Flanagan, at a meeting at Newbliss, County Monaghan, on March 20, 1868, in which he said :—

“ If they ever dare to lay unholy hands upon the Church, 200,000 Orangemen will tell them it shall never be. Protestant loyalty must make itself understood. People will say, ‘ Oh, your loyalty is conditional.’ I say it is conditional, and it must be explained as such. Will you, Orangemen of Ireland, endorse the doctrine of unconditional loyalty? (Repeated cries of ‘ No, never.’) It appears wonderful that there is one thing upon which we can confidently throw ourselves, and which has been overlooked by nearly all speakers—I mean the Queen’s Coronation Oath. She should be reminded that one of her ancestors, who swore to maintain the Protestant religion, forgot his oath, and his crown was kicked into the Boyne. (He then read the oath, and the questions put by the Archbishop of Canterbury at the time of the Coronation.) Will any Minister dare to ask the Queen to perjure herself? Will any Minister come and ask us to surrender our rights? We must tell our gracious Queen that if she break her oath she has no longer any claim to the Crown. Let us not put any trust in man, but trust in God and ourselves—

Put your trust in God, my boys,  
And keep your powder dry.”

The Rev. W. H. Ferrar, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, speaking at Rathmines, on March 6, 1868, said :—

“ If the Church Establishment be destroyed in Ireland, there cannot, there shall not, there must not, be peace in Ireland. . . . If they think the Protestants of Ireland will succumb without a struggle, they know not the men with whom they have to deal. That I say solemnly before God. If they want us to die as martyrs, we will die as soldiers. . . . Protestants of all denominations would stand shoulder to shoulder as they did behind the walls of Derry. They will stand shoulder to shoulder as they did at the passage of the Boyne.”

### READY TO DIE.

The Rev. Thomas Ellis, speaking at Portadown, in May, 1868, said :—

“ We will fight as men alone can fight who have the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other. We will fight—nay, if needs be, we will die—die as our fathers died before us, as our sons will die who succeed us. Yes, we will die, if needs be; and this will be our dying cry—echoed and echoed from earth to heaven, and from heaven to earth, echoed from one end of Ulster to the other—‘ No Popery! No surrender!’ ”

The Rev. Henry Henderson, speaking at Tannamore Hill, County Tyrone, on June 8, 1869, said :—

“ A newspaper had been abusing the High Sheriff and himself, saying that they were blustering about rebellion. He now said : Yes, they would sacrifice their lives before they would allow their religious rights to be taken away from them. Yes, with the blessing of God, they would do what their fathers did at Derry, Aughrim, and at the Boyne. So far as he was



concerned, let there be no mistake. He spoke now not rashly, but calmly and deliberately. Mr. Gladstone and his co-conspirators were driving the country into civil war.' ”

And at the same meeting the Rev. Leslie Carter said :—

“ The Orangemen would not allow Gladstone and his crew to trample on the Throne and the Protestant Constitution. They would compel the House of Commons to listen to the voice of the men of Ulster, although they had refused to listen to their noble representative, Mr. Vernon. Only the Channel rolled between them; they, the Protestants of the North, would march to the House of Commons and compel their enemies to be silent while their representatives were speaking. If Barrett was executed for blowing up a prison, the time might not be far distant when, for attempting to blow up our venerable Protestant Constitution, Gladstone and his co-conspirators might be hanging as high as Haman.”

Just as we have the Carsons, and the Campbells, and the Moores, and other Irish lawyers fulminating threats to-day against the passage of Home Rule, so, in 1868-9, the Irish Bar furnished a good proportion of “ civil war ” orators.

### THE LAST AWFUL HOUR.

Mr. Plunkett, Q.C., afterwards member for Dublin University, now Lord Rathmore, speaking at a great Diocesan Conference in Dublin on March 31, 1869, said :—

“ We appeal to our brother Protestants in England, Scotland, and Wales to stand by us in *this last awful hour of our fortunes!!!* ”

At the same meeting, Mr. J. H. Nunn, a solicitor, threatened the Crown. He said :—

“ The House of Commons, with Mr. Gladstone its leader, is now taking a course similar to that by which James II. lost his throne. If the revolution of 1688, under which our present beloved Monarch holds the sceptre of this kingdom, was justified, the same means by which that revolution was achieved would be lawful to be used in maintaining it.”

Mr. Falkiner, Q.C., speaking in Dublin on April 15, 1869, said :—

“ They must tell Mr. Gladstone that they would give him no assistance: they must tell him that, if they could not valiantly succeed, they could *nobly die*.”

Mr. Plunkett's fortunes proved less desperate than he imagined. He took office in the next Tory Government. Mr. Falkiner “ nobly died ” as Recorder of Dublin.

The speeches of the Grand Masters and the Deputy Grand Masters of the Orange lodges were equally menacing.

Mr. A. H. Foster, G.M., writing to the *Dublin Daily Express* of February 5, 1869, said :—

“ I confidently believe that the distinct, direct, and clearly indicated

issues of this unmitigated Jacobite policy are revolution, dismemberment, and humiliation of the Empire, subversion of our institutions, civil and religious, and ultimately civil war; for experience teaches that England, Ireland, or Scotland will not tamely submit to these issues; and experience further teaches that the right will receive the aid of the God of battles, and be successful. But it behoves all who love their country and countrymen of every denomination—all who love their God (Who, though King of battles, is also God of peace), to take warning and exert themselves earnestly, while it is yet time, to avert these calamities, and the fearful scenes of bloodshed and carnage in civil war."

And Mr. Richard Lloyd, D.G.M., speaking at Tannamore Hill, Co. Tyrone, on June 7, 1869, said :—

"They had met to protect the Bible, they had met not to allow Gladstone to seal that book, not to allow Paul Cullen to substitute another for it. Their fathers had marched to the Boyne, and bled for their country. Their blood still ran in the veins of those whom he addressed. They were as many and as ready, at the beat of drum, to go out and take their Mine rifles, and march to that river, as their fathers did before them."

### LEADERS' DECLARATION.

The Orange leaders now declare that any attempt even to modify the Act of Union will mean civil war in Ireland. But, in 1868-9, they declared that the passage of the Disestablishment Bill would "virtually repeal" the Union.

At Orange meetings, held at Tannamore Hill, County Tyrone, June 7, 1869; Monaghan, April 6, 1869; Clones, April 8, 1869; and Belfast (where the Marquis of Devonshire, the Earl of Enniskillen, and other Orange notabilities were present) on March 31, 1869, resolutions were passed to the effect that, if the Bill were carried, "we shall be forced to regard the Union as virtually dissolved." At Belfast, the resolution was seconded by the late Mr. Wm. Johnston, of Ballykilbeg, M.V., the author, in 1886, of the phrase about "lining the ditches" in the event of Home Rule.

At an Orange meeting in Dublin (*Express*, July 13, 1869) the Rev. Thomas Wallace, Deputy Grand Chaplain, declared not merely for a dissolution of the Union, but for absolute separation. He said :—

"When the Protestant chain that unites Protestant England and Protestant Ireland is severed, *the two countries are separated for ever.*"

The Rev. John Flanagan, who wanted to kick the Queen's crown into the Boyne, speaking at Ballybeg, on June 2, 1869, referred to the Prime Minister as "Judas Iscariot Gladstone," and went on :—

"They must have the Act (of Union) in its entirety or not at all; and

he would contend that the minute the obnoxious Bill received the sign-manual of the Queen, the solemn compact was repealed, it was broken, and therefore in all equity void. They would reject the iron hoof of England, and get rid of the Papacy at the same time—driving two serpents out of the island at once.”

And Mr. A. H. Foster, D.G.M., pronounced the doom of the Union as follows :—

“ If Mr. Gladstone destroyed the Act of Union by passing this Bill, they would give the Union an Irish wake and a Protestant burial.”

In pursuance of their avowal that the passage of the Disestablishment Bill “ virtually dissolved ” the Act of Union, one thousand *bonâ-fide* Orangemen declared at Newbliss, County Monaghan, on June 30, 1870 :—

“ That we, the Orangemen of the district of Dartrey, County Monaghan, denounce the despotic Processions Act of Mr. Chichester Fortescue as intolerable, inconsistent with the rights of freemen, and one to which we shall never submit, and that this, added to other innumerable acts of injustice and wrong towards Ireland, forces upon us the conviction that England can no longer be permitted to legislate for this country. And we hereby proclaim our resolve that Irishmen shall not be slaves in their own land, and we call upon all classes of our countrymen to assist us by every legal means to assert our freedom. We also respectfully press upon the authorities of the Orange institution in the Grand Lodge of Ireland the necessity of restoring our book of rules and regulations to what it was before 1849, and keeping its original and fundamental objects in view.”

Grand Master A. H. Foster, of Donegal, wrote to the *Daily Express* of April 7, 1869 :—

“ Let there be a Committee at once formed to prepare for this crisis, and in the first place to obtain signatures to a petition to our Gracious Sovereign Victoria, Queen of Ireland (united or disunited)—a petition as of right, that our Queen will, without delay, summon a Parliament for Ireland. This petition should be ready, but, of course, not presented till the Act of Disunion is consummated. . . . We shall now see who are sincere and who are they who have been for years deluding their countrymen for private purposes; and history may yet record that the Council of the United Irishmen of 1869 inaugurated a new era of prosperity for Ireland.”

In the same paper, on May 14, 1869, Mr. C. Downing, J.P., County Mayo, wrote :—

“ The people really do desire a repeal of the Union, whatever they may care for the Church. Protestant landlords hold seven-eighths of the Irish soil; let them individually and simultaneously call together their tenantry, address them on the subject of a repeal of the Union, and put the question to the vote. The nature of the reply it is easy to anticipate. This will set the agitation going. Say, what do we gain by the Union? Why, a more than proportionate share of the burden of taxation, without the slightest advantage of expenditure in return. The Church question gone, what have we to fear in a repeal of the Union? In legislating for ourselves the

commonweal will become the common aim. Let the timid face the subject boldly, examine it on all sides, and then fears will vanish. Let us clamour for repeal. Let but some prominent man take the initiative, and, my word for it, there will be a merry gathering of foresters to lay the axe to the true upas tree, English ascendancy, beneath whose baneful shade this country is, as she ever has been, blighted."

And the *Daily Express* itself, on February 20, 1869, wrote :—

"The assumption is perfectly unfounded that the Protestants of Ireland may be treated by the Imperial Legislature in any way they please, without danger of alienating their affection from English connection. The Irish Nationalist party has not always been Roman Catholic. To say nothing of Swift and Molyneux, who have some claim to the title of Nationalists, what of the Volunteers of 1782? The leaders in 1798 were many of them Protestants. The Protestants of Ireland are attached to England, not as their fatherland, but as the great champion of the reformed faith, by whom they are protected in the exercise of their religion, the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and the possession of their just rights and ancient property. But if England breaks faith with the Protestants of Ireland, if she deprives the descendants of the Colonists of Ulster of the provision of their religious wants, on the assurance of which their ancestors were induced to settle in the country, she will sever the tie by which the most loyal and devoted subjects of the Crown are united in sympathy with Protestant England."

### WHAT THEY REALLY WANT.

Let us see now what it is that the Orangemen really want.

An address of the Orange Corporation of Dublin of September 11, 1792, specified that the "Protestant Ascendancy," which the party had "resolved with their lives and fortunes to maintain," consisted in "a Protestant King of Ireland, a Protestant Parliament, a Protestant Hierarchy, Protestant electors and Government, the benches of justice, the Army and revenue, through all their branches and details Protestant." On July 12, 1869, at the annual Orange demonstration, the Rev. Henry Henderson, of Holywood, declared, "amid tremendous applause and innumerable rounds of Kentish fire," that :—

"It was not the Fenians they were afraid of, but that policy to which he had just referred, and which was driving the people of Ulster into civil war. It was right they should tell their English brethren the truth. It was right that they should tell them that as long as there was Protestantism in the land and a Protestant Sovereign occupying the Throne, so long must there be Protestant ascendancy; and they were determined never to surrender that Protestantism, or be false to it."

And the Rev. Henry Burdett, speaking at an Orange meeting at Newbliss, County Monaghan, on March 31, 1869, said :—

"We see people telling us that we should not be aspiring to ascendancy. Now I, as long as ever the Lord shall leave me breath, will never be content with anything but Protestant ascendancy. I think it is time to stand



upon the watch tower and cry 'No surrender.' I believe in my heart and soul that the Roman Catholics of this country are in a most deplorable state of idolatry. I believe a Roman Catholic dying as such, is lost, and lost for ever. People in these days are afraid to speak the truth, and try to stop the mouths of those that would, and particularly of such brethren as Mr. Johnston, of Ballykilbeg."

The Orangemen opposed the Ballot Bill. At a meeting of the Orange lodges at Lurgan, reported in *Saunders' News-Letter*, of June 5, 1871, the following resolution was passed:—

"That it is now well known that efforts are being made to introduce as the law of this land a system of secret voting (called the ballot) and feeling convinced that such would only tend to advance the interests of Romanism, and at the same time to injure the cause of our common Protestantism, we, the members in lodge assembled, deem it our duty to enter our solemn protest against the measure, and our determination not to support, by any means in our power, the Parliamentary candidate who may declare himself on the side of this Popish Bill, as we are sorry to say that Brother Johnston, of Ballykilbeg, has already done."

In 1884 they opposed the extension of the Franchise Bill to Ireland, and under Lord Rossmore, Orange Grand Master, organised resistance to Nationalist meetings in Ulster, which resistance ended with the rout of the Orangemen by the police at Dromore, where a poor Orangeman, named Griffin, imported from Portadown, lost his life.

Lord Rossmore has since severed his connection with the Orangemen, to whom he publicly declared that:—

"The so-called Loyalist minority in Ireland were blindly following the lead of a few professional politicians, who felt that their salaries and positions depended on the divisions and antipathies of those who should be working together for the good of their common country."

### LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL'S VISIT.

In 1886 Lord Randolph Churchill went to Belfast and told the Orangemen that "Ulster would fight, and Ulster would be right," and urged them to "Charge with all their chivalry." And "charge" they did. They wrecked, looted, or burned the houses of about 200 Catholics in Belfast, destroying property to the value of £90,000. They shot down police and civilians in broad daylight. Thousands of them attacked a few Catholic workers on the Queen's Island, and drove them into the River Lagan, where one of them, a boy named Curran, was drowned, the Orangemen stoning him until he finally sank. They covered a Catholic named Johnson with boiling tar. They attacked the boy Curran's funeral and also the funeral of a Catholic priest.

In '92, '93, and '94, riots of a more or less serious nature again broke out in Belfast, and on July 12, 1911, rioting was again renewed and Catholics attacked in person and in property,

despite Lord Londonderry's appeal to the Orangemen "for God's sake" not to repeat such conduct.

The Orange threats are called forth on the slightest provocation. For instance, on the marriage of the present Queen of Spain, a meeting was held in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, at which over 100 Orange lodges were represented. The "sermon" was preached by the Rev. R. D. Patterson, who made a violent attack on King Edward VII. He said:—

"The throne of England was grounded, not on brute force, because Edward VII. could command no millions of obedient bayonets to do his behests. It was throned on far nobler, broader, and more certain foundations. It was broad based on the nation's will. But the warning should go forth to him who sat thereon, that, by his conduct to the Romish party ever since he had ascended the Throne, he had succeeded in exciting suspicion, in alienating the affection, and in straining the loyalty of thousands of his most valuable subjects. Without that loyalty and affection, his throne must rock, and to regain it he must cease, and cease at once, coquetting with the Church of Rome."

The Accession Declaration Bill called forth another wave of protest from the Orangemen, and now we have a repetition of all the old threats against Home Rule.

The Orange leaders foretell we are to have civil war in Ireland in the event of Home Rule. The London *Daily Mail*, a Unionist organ, sent a special commissioner to Ulster in January, 1911, to investigate "the facts" as to the threatened armed resistance to Home Rule. His report, published in the *Daily Mail* of January 19, 1911, contained the following:—

"No preparations are in progress at present anywhere in Ulster for armed resistance to Home Rule. The reports that large sums of money have been subscribed, and large quantities of arms purchased with the view of concerted military measures are merely reports. No arms are being imported either openly or surreptitiously beyond the normal demands of the trade.

"Responsible leaders and those connected with Unionist organisations deprecate the suggestion that at this stage Ulster is busy arming for defence. Mr. Thomas Sinelair, or Mr. Andrews, of Lurgan, both members of the Privy Council, and widely known and highly respected leaders of the Opposition to Home Rule, know nothing of these reported militant preparations. Lord Londonderry, who is much in Belfast at present, Lord Erne, Lord Templeton, and others thoroughly *au fait* with every phase of Ulster politics, are equally ignorant. Reliance is placed by the leaders rather upon the results of passive than of active resistance.

"No one blinks the fact that there will probably be rioting in Belfast and elsewhere, as, for instance, at Londonderry or Portadown. The followers of the two extreme political and religious parties meet daily in workshops, factories, or shipbuilding yards. A slight thing will start an outbreak which may have serious results. There are no schemes devised for turning these sporadic outbreaks into organised movements by drilled, disciplined, and well-armed men."

## ENGLISH TORIES NOT DECEIVED.

English Conservative statesmen are not, and never have been, deceived by these "threats."

In 1886, in the second reading debate of the Home Rule Bill, Sir Michael Hicks Beach (Lord St. Aldwyn) said :—

"The Loyal Minority in Ireland have declared they are practically unanimous against the Bill. Now there has been some talk of armed resistance. Well, I have seen something of Ireland, and you must make a very liberal discount from the words spoken. I have never heard it alleged on the part of anybody in Ireland that there would be armed resistance to an Act of the Imperial Parliament representing the people of Great Britain. Their verdict and their verdict alone can really settle this question, and if it be given I also believe that the Irish people will accept it because they are bound to submit to the majority, and if they do not the people of this country will know the reason why."

The Orangemen claim that they are "loyal." The facts show they are loyal only to their own selfish and bigoted interests.

His Majesty's Attorney-General, William Conyngham Plunkett, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, gave an admirable sketch of the loyalty of the party in a speech which he delivered in the British House of Commons on the 15th of April, 1823, in reply to an attack made on him by some Orange members of the House for alleged severity in his prosecution of some Orange rioters—which prosecution proved utterly abortive owing to the loyalty of the jury empanelled by a very loyal High Sheriff. After describing the murderous conduct of the rioters and of the chief organiser of the disturbance, a man named Forbes, the right hon. gentleman said :—

"And yet these were loyal, very loyal men, who assaulted the King's representative. On the trial it was proved by witnesses and enforced by counsel that there was not a more loyal subject to the King than Mr. Forbes, who packed the audience, loyal, no doubt he was—most loyal—so long as the King governed his subjects in the way that Mr. Forbes approved. In that acceptance of the duty there were not more attached members of the community than the Orange lodges in Ireland."

They pretend they have the Protestants of Ireland on their side. The fact is, that there is a very large and increasing section of the most enlightened Protestants of Ireland in favour of Home Rule.

They pretend that they have held Ireland for England. The fact is the other way about. England has held Ireland for them. The late Mr. A. M. Sullivan wrote in 1877 :—

"For a long time it has been accepted as the harmless traditional prerogative of 'Ulster' (as the Orange societies call themselves) to intimate to the British nation that it is on the *qui vive*, and that when Ulster is on

the watch England may be easy in her mind; that Ulster is, and ever has been, and the mainstay and protector of the realm; that it was Ulster, and not England, that made the glorious revolution; and that several hundreds of thousands of Ulstermen are always ready to march somewhere, against somebody, to uphold England as long as she behaves herself well and is true to the principles of 1690."

They pretend that they represent the wealth and intelligence of Ireland, and that they have a monopoly of courage and all the virtues. The fact is that the bulk of the Orangemen are labouring men, and simply the dupes of grasping landlords and place-hunting lawyers, and that, by many of their co-religionists they are regarded as a disgrace to Protestantism.

They pretend that Protestants would be persecuted under Home Rule. All history, all experience, shows that the pretence has no foundation in fact. The testimony against it from Irish Protestants themselves is overwhelming and conclusive.

Edmund Burke, that great statesman, whose writings Mr. Gladstone has described as "a mine of gold on the Irish question," referred in the following terms to the Orange ascendancy party of his day:—

"I am afflicted, deeply and bitterly afflicted, to see that a very small faction of Ireland should arrogate to itself the whole of that great kingdom. I am more afflicted in seeing that a very minute part of that small faction should be able to persuade any person here that on the support of their power the connection of the two Kingdoms essentially depends. This strange error, if persevered in (as I am afraid it will), must accomplish the ruin of both countries."

Lord Palmerston, at least as good an Imperialist as Lord Londonderry, wrote in 1826, from Derry City, in Ireland:—

"The day is fast approaching, as it seems to me, when this matter will be settled as it must be; and in spite of the orgies . . . and the bumpers pledged to . . . 'No surrender,' the days of Protestant ascendancy, I think, are numbered. It is strange, in this enlightened age and enlightened country, people should be still debating whether it is wise to convert four or five millions of men from enemies to friends, and whether it is safe to give power to Ireland."

The Orange threats about Home Rule are of the same kidney as the threats of "the Die Hards" and the "No Surrender men" of the Veto Bill controversy. They are simply insolent bluff. England would be a nation of fools and poltroons if it allowed itself to be diverted for a single instant, by such stupid, hollow, and unpatriotic bellowings, from the great policy of binding Ireland at long last to the Empire by the only enduring bonds, those of Liberty and Loyalty.



# HOME RULE WITHIN THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

## NEW CONSTITUTION GRANTED TO ALSACE- LORRAINE.

BY RICHARD J. KELLY, *Barrister-at-Law.*

The new constitution given last year to the conquered provinces of Alsace-Lorraine is a recognition of the right of nationality, which, in the circumstances, is not without its significance. It raises to the dignity of a self-governing State the territory wrested from France in 1871, and thereby constitutes it the *twenty-sixth* sovereign State within the German Empire, which to-day comprises a federated union of four kingdoms—twelve grand duchies, eight duchies, eight principalities, and three free towns.

On the 10th of May, 1871, Alsace-Lorraine was handed over to Germany by France, and has since been ruled by a Governor, and directly under the German Emperor. Its people never ceased to give expression to their dissatisfaction with the arrangement, and never submitted freely to the union. It is now given large powers of self-government, and its right to regulate its own affairs recognised and established under the provisions of the new constitution.

A brief summary of the principal provisions of this constitution may serve to remove any doubts that may honestly be entertained in this country in regard to the proposed Home Rule Bill as to the effect such inter-State arrangements might have upon the stability and efficiency of the British Empire.

The new State is now admitted on equal terms to the Federation of self-governing German States, and constitutes the 26th State.

The New Constitution, by Article I., concedes to the province of Alsace-Lorraine the right to send three members to the Federal Council, subject to the provision that these votes shall not be counted when they would constitute the casting vote upon matters concerning the Imperial Constitution. The

Empire has supreme independent control in all matters relating to military affairs and the Navy, to the Imperial finances, to German commerce, to posts and telegraphs, and to railways, in so far as they affect the common defences of the country. This control also exists over banking, navigation, and several matters concerning the rights of German subjects.

As regards the native Parliament of Alsace-Lorraine itself, it consists of an Upper and Lower Chamber, the Upper Chamber consisting of representatives mainly nominated but partially elected, and including the Bishops of Strassburg and Metz; the President of the Upper Consistory of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, and the President of the Synod of the Reformed Church. The membership of the elected and nominated members shall continue for five years, or until a dissolution. The Second Chamber is elected on general direct suffrage by secret ballot.

The Deputies of the Second Chamber (the democratic assembly) shall be elected afresh every five years. The elections of all Deputies are to be held together on the same day.

The Second Chamber consists of sixty members distributed amongst the different towns. The Diet must be summoned every year. The proceedings of the Diet are to be public, and the Chamber shall be summoned, adjourned and closed by the Emperor.

The male inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine shall be entitled to vote, provided that at the time of voting they are nationals of the German Empire—have passed their 25th year, and have for at least three years had their domicile in Alsace-Lorraine. A domicile of one year is, however, sufficient in cases where such inhabitants hold a public office, or are ministers of religion or teachers at public schools.

Any member of the Second Chamber who accepts a salaried office is disqualified from sitting.

Twenty-three members form a quorum, and can come to a valid decision in the First Chamber. In the Second Chamber a majority of the legal number of members shall form a quorum. No one can be a member of both Chambers.

The Alsace-Lorraine Budget must be provided for annually by law. The Bills providing for the annual Budget are first submitted to the Second Chamber, and the First Chamber

must accept or reject them *in toto* in the draft of the Budget. Increases in the items of expenditure over and above the amount of the sums proposed by the Government of Alsace-Lorraine which have not been provided for cannot be inserted in the Budget by the Second Chamber without the consent of the Government. Taxes and duties for the State Treasury may be used only if they are included in the Budget, and sanctioned by special laws. After the expiration of a financial year until a new Budget law comes into force, the Government of Alsace-Lorraine is empowered to issue Treasury bonds, in so far as the receipts based upon special laws do not suffice to meet the legal obligations of the Treasury of Alsace-Lorraine to carry on public works, which are being executed in accordance with an estimate laid before the Diet and approved by it, and to maintain and carry on the legally existing institutions.

The population of Alsace-Lorraine is only 1,814,564, and the area in square miles 5,604, yet it is conceded the right of self-government along with the twenty-five other independent States that go to make up the great German Empire of to-day. All of those states have populations less than Ireland, except Prussia, Bavaria, and Mecklenburg Schwerin, whose population is about the same, being 4,508,601. Many of these independent States have a smaller population than Dublin or Belfast.

The multiplicity of subject-states has in no way interfered or weakened the Empire, nor is it regarded as a source of weakness in case of war. Their inter-state commercial relations are working harmoniously, and even the separate postal arrangements are not found to lead to any appreciable friction. In point of religion, the greatest diversity prevails from Catholic Bavaria to Lutheran Prussia, and in language there is also diversity. When a State regulated as the German Empire is to-day recognises the national aspirations of a subject province that never enjoyed autonomy before its annexation in 1871, and confers upon it powers within the Empire that go a long way to secure to it the full privilege of self-government, the fears entertained that a similar concession by England to Ireland will tend to weakness or disruption may well be regarded as groundless.

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# England's Interest in Home Rule.

## SPEECH OF MOST REV. DR. KELLY, BISHOP OF ROSS.

*DELIVERED AT THE ST. PATRICK'S DAY BANQUET,  
1912, HOTEL CECIL, LONDON.*

The Home Rule Cause—the cause of Parnell and Gladstone—is again the question of the hour. With your kind indulgence, I should like to make a few observations on this great question. Irishmen have recently been told that they must argue the Home Rule question from the British point of view. Without prejudice to my rights as an Irishman, I shall endeavour to do so. To all those who have a true insight into human affairs, the most powerful argument for Home Rule, from the British standpoint, is the need of reconciling Ireland—of converting Irishmen into friends of Great Britain and of the Empire. During the greater part of the long struggle between the two countries, Great Britain had to reckon only with Irishmen in Ireland; but for the last 60 years, since the American Civil War of 1862, Statesmen have had to take into serious account Irishmen scattered over the world. In Ireland we are only a handful of four millions—over the seas we are a power to be respected, perhaps, even to be feared. A distinguished British Ambassador had, with infinite pains, negotiated an Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and the United States. It was hoped by Statesmen on this side that the Arbitration Treaty would grow into an alliance between the two nations. It is well known that ex-President Roosevelt stated here in London that a preliminary condition of such an alliance was the reconciliation to England of Irish sentiment in the States. The American Irish determined that, before Great Britain should get an Arbitration Treaty—not to speak of an alliance—Ireland must first be satisfied with the Home Rule granted to her. Two weeks ago, the United States Senate tore the vitals out of the Arbitration Treaty, and left only its lifeless extremities—its *dissecta membra*. The Irish are numerous and powerful in Australia, Canada, and other countries. The Irish at home in the United Kingdom are at the very heart of the Empire; they are within the fortress; and it is not only statesmanship, but common sense, ordinary prudence, to spare no pains to make them loyal instead of disloyal, friendly and contented instead of hostile and discontented. In the strife and contention of nations, and in the alarming

unrest that seems to be seizing on all civilised peoples, not only His Majesty the King, to whom we are, by duty and conscience, loyal and devoted, but the Government of the day may need the enthusiastic support, sacrifices and sufferings of Irishmen. Even in the bad past on many a day of stress and trial, England had to fall back upon the bravery and headlong dash of the Irishman.

Recently, at Belfast, Mr. Winston Churchill paid a handsome tribute to the heroism unto death of the Irish regiments in the South African War. You are, no doubt, aware that during that war anti-British feeling ran high in France and the Low Countries. One day during that period I was entering a tram-car in Belgium. The conductor hissed out fiercely, "You are an Englishman." I replied: "No, I beg your pardon; I am an Irishman." "It is all the same," he retorted. "Who won such and such battles? The Irish. Only for the Irish and the Scotch, the Boers would have annihilated the English." "*Vous êtes Anglais,*" "Mais non, je vous demande pardon, je suis Irlandais." "*C'est tout le même,*" repondit-il. "*Qui ont gagné la bataille du Tugela et les autres batailles? Les Irlandais, Si ce n'était pas pour les Irlandais et les Ecossais, les Boères auraient mangé les Anglais.*" At Fontenoy the French forces were wavering and on the point of being routed when the charge of the Irish Brigade turned the tide of battle, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the English Army. King George the II., in the bitterness of his soul, exclaimed: "Accursed be the laws that have deprived me of such subjects." Let us hope that neither King George V., nor any of his successors shall have a similar sad experience. To render such an occurrence in the future impossible now lies in the hands and at the will of the Imperial Parliament.

I claim that I have proved the paramount importance from the British point of view of reconciling Irish sentiment. Sentiment has been, down the stream of time, the driving force of great and noble actions. Should that ever cease to be so, it will be a sad day for men and nations. Therefore, in the Home Rule Scheme, Irish sentiment must only not be ignored, but it must become a basic principle of the settlement. We, Irish, are not an irreconcilable race; we are not unreasonable; we have not got a double dose of original sin. Kindly feelings, friendship and loyalty are entirely congenial to our personal and National temperament. We do not seek separation from Great Britain—that is a mere bogey invented to frighten the timid and the ignorant. We do not demand a sovereign and supreme Parliament as existed in Ireland in Grattan's time. We do not demand Repeal of the Union as O'Connell did. We do not claim the right which Canada and Australia possess of raising an Army and a Navy and of making commercial treaties with foreign states. We do not intend to impose protective duties, as the Australians and Canadians do, on articles of British manufacture or growth; and, if we were so foolish,

Great Britain could quickly bring us to our senses by excluding our produce from her markets. But, if any fears are entertained on that point, all responsible Irishmen are willing to be expressly deprived of the power of imposing such tariffs. We wish to remain an integral part of the British Empire and of the United Kingdom. Consistently with these limitations we can be granted a full measure of Home Rule, which will give us full power over, and cast upon us full responsibility for, Irish affairs, and will enable us to develop our country in accordance with its natural resources, and to develop our people along the lines of their native genius and capabilities. Such a measure—and only such a measure—will satisfy Irish sentiment; it will, moreover, remove the many points of possible friction, and will be workable. The bane of British statesmanship in dealing with Ireland has been to give halting and half measures. These satisfied nobody. The Irish with a keener penetration have never failed to delineate exactly the measures that were required, and invariably the missing features had to be filled in by the passing of Amending Acts.

Is it too much to hope that, taught by long experience, British statesmen of all parties, for the sake of Great Britain, if not of Ireland, will have the patriotism for once to disregard party advantages, and to rise, in the words of Milton, "to the height of this great argument," and to consolidate the United Kingdom by effecting a lasting reconciliation, not only between the two Islands, but between the Anglo-Saxon and the Celtic races?

The policy propounded for some time past seems to aim at devising a scheme of Home Rule-all-Round, and fitting an Irish Parliament into that framework. The growing desire of the sister countries to obtain Home Rule is no slight compliment to Ireland, and no small vindication of her demand from the vituperation poured out upon it for a whole century. But on this question of Home-Rule-all-Round there seems to me to be a sad lack of clear and precise thinking—in fact, thought on the subject is obscure and confused.

Parliaments, like the works of nature, must be varied, and each must be adapted to the conditions of the country in which it is established. Hence, no man with a spark of wisdom, statesmanship, or even of political sagacity, would say that an Irish Parliament should not have such and such characteristics because they would not be suitable to an English Parliament; nor such powers because they would not be wanted by a Scotch Parliament; nor such responsibilities because they could not be borne by a Welsh Parliament. In the Federation of States that compose the German Empire there are almost all conceivable forms of Parliament, Constitution and Government. Even in the State Parliaments of Australia and in the Provincial Parliaments of Canada—though these institutions are established for small communities, some of which are so numerous as the population of a single Irish county, or a single Irish city—yet

there is considerable diversity; for instance, the Parliament of Ontario has only one House, and the neighbouring Parliament of Quebec has two Houses.

The Great Creator made Ireland one island and Great Britain another island. That indestructible fact should engrave deep lines of individuality on the Irish Parliament as compared with the Parliaments projected for Great Britain. To illustrate the economic diversity of the two islands, and the economic similarity of the three countries that make up the larger island, I will call your attention to the terrible coal strike which we all deplore, and which we hope and pray may be speedily settled. The miners are out, not only in England, but also in Wales and Scotland, in numbers proportionately great. How many coal miners are out in Ireland? The history of the countries points to the same conclusions, but time permits the merest glance at the historical proofs. Scotland heroically resisted conquest by England, and peacefully and rather triumphantly came under the same crown by Scotland's king ascending England's throne. That occurred three centuries ago. A century later there was the Union of the Scotch Parliament with that of England, carried, on the whole, with the consent of the Scottish people: and afterwards there was no strong or persistent demand for the repeal of that Union. Wales having fought bravely, succumbed to conquest about the period that Scotland repelled the invader, and was brought rather completely under the same administration as England, and has so continued without long and violent protests. There is a popular notion that Ireland was conquered by England in the year 1172. That is only a myth. Why, as late as the sixteenth century, England had only the narrowest foothold in Ireland. The English Pale was a mere patch on the map. In the seventeenth century, Ireland was almost completely subdued, though warlike resistance was not entirely abandoned down to the close of that century. However, after that period, we still had our own Government, our own troops, and our own Parliament down to 111 years ago. I have known personally many of my countrymen who remembered the Irish Parliament. I will say nothing of the means by which the Union was carried. But straight away an agitation arose to undo or mitigate the evils of that Union.

We are the heirs of that agitation, and we are full of hope and confidence that, during the lifetime of the present Parliament, we shall enter into the enjoyment of our inheritance. Here to-night we also earnestly profess our faith and confidence in the potency of Home Rule for Ireland, to heal old wounds, to reconcile long-standing feuds, to sweeten ancient bitternesses, and to bind in bonds of sincerest and lasting amity the Celt and the Saxon throughout the world.



## HOW HOME RULE IS BEING FOUGHT.

### "Sinister Side Lights."

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#### UNIONIST METHODS.

On August 15th, 1911, an article of a very sensational character was published in the *Dundee Courier*. It was entitled "Sinister Side-Lights on Home Rule, by one who has lived in Ireland." It accused Roman Catholics in County Cork with having conspired to turn Protestants out of their situations by reason of their religion, and also of having shown disloyalty by insults to a naval band.

The Irish Press Agency made enquiries into the truth of the allegations and secured a contradiction from a leading citizen of Queenstown, which was forwarded to the *Dundee Courier* for publication, with an intimation that if this letter were suppressed by the paper, as previous corrections had been, the whole matter would be exposed in the London Press. The letter of correction was accordingly published by the *Dundee Courier*, without observation or apology.

The article, "Sinister Side-Lights," contained the following passage:—

"Two years ago in Queenstown, County Cork, instructions were issued by the Roman Catholic religious authorities that all Protestant shop assistants were to be discharged. One shopkeeper, a Roman Catholic, refused to discharge an assistant he had had for a number of years. The consequence was that his shop was proclaimed, and in three months he had to close and clear out, his stock being sold for next to nothing. He and his family left for Britain, where, as he said, he could employ an Atheist if he liked."

This was, of course, a specific charge against the Bishop and priests of Queenstown; and fortunately Bishop Browne was courageous and public-spirited enough to institute an action for libel against the *Dundee Courier*, which was therefore obliged to support its allegations, if it could. From first to last during the proceedings the *Courier* made no attempt to justify by any shred of evidence the calumnies which it had uttered, and an Edinburgh jury awarded damages of £200 to Bishop Browne, and of £50 each to the six priests who might have been affected.

On the side of those who were slandered there was no lack of evidence. Several leading Protestant business men, one the head of a big provision-curing firm in Liverpool; another,

Chairman of the North Dublin Asylums Board; a third, manager of a steam-laundry in Queenstown itself, came over to swear that the statements were false and calumnious. Yet perhaps nothing in the whole action was more significant of the relations which prevail between Protestant and Catholic in the South Ireland, where Catholics are as ten to one of the population, than this single fact. Bishop Browne, who before he became Bishop of Cloyne, was President of Maynooth College, was represented in Court by the firm of solicitors, Messrs. Allen, of Queenstown, who have done his business for him ever since he was appointed to the episcopal chair. Another leading witness was Captain Donelan, a landlord and member of the Church of Ireland in Cork, who for nearly 20 years represented the constituency without a contest, and who when he was opposed at last in 1911 by a well-known Roman Catholic, had his nomination papers signed by every parish priest in the constituency.

The only defence offered was that the article had been written "with a political motive." With similar motives, similar calumnies are constantly uttered against the Irish people in the Unionist Press—but, as a rule, by more practised journalists who are wise enough to avoid any reference so definite that the allegations can be tested even by simple enquiry. The *Dundee Courier's* correspondent did not know his business.

For instance, his article contained the following passage:—

"Last year, while on a holiday visit to the golf course at Lahinch, County Clare, an isolated district on the West Coast of Ireland, we wished to attend service at the local Protestant Church, the parish church of the Church of Ireland. We found it situated in a lonely outskirts of the little town. It was a small one-storey building, with no outward semblance of a church. Upon later inquiry why there was no name or board with the time of service, we were told that they dare not exhibit any notice; if they did, every window would be smashed and the place wrecked."

This statement was sent to the rector of the church, the Rev. C. McDowell, who replied:—

"The only true part of the statement is that the chapel of ease is not a very imposing ecclesiastical building, but it is well kept. It is not isolated, as the writer would have his public to believe, but is situated quite close to the principal hotel in the place. As to the want of a notice board, there is no need of one. The hour of Divine service is well known to all the visitors, and there are printed notices in the principal hotels giving full particulars of all Church of Ireland services in the parish. As to the charge of intolerance, there is not one word of truth in it. In my parish the Protestants and Roman Catholics live on the best of terms, and if occasionally a window is broken in a place of worship it as frequently occurs to the Roman Catholic Chapel as to the Protestant Church."

Now, a trained hand at this task of calumny would have made the reference simply to "an isolated district in the West of Ireland," and his story would have been greedily swallowed by those who yield to the common prejudice of English and Scotch Protestants against Roman Catholicism. But once the place was named, the lie could be detected.

Yet even so the lie got a long start.

So many similar fabrications have been exposed in press and on platform that Unionists have now taken to a more excellent way. The main campaign against Home Rule is now being conducted by paid canvassers who go from house to house and retail statements, which no one can check, in privacy to the ears of people ignorant of Ireland.

The nature of their statements, and the solidity of foundation for them, may be inferred from what the *Dundee Courier* thought it safe to publish. They will doubtless be inspired by the same pure motive of political zeal.

In the House of Commons nothing is heard of this appeal to religious prejudice. Men are ashamed of it in educated society. Besides, it would shock the ears of Tory Catholic members who sit complacently by while capital is being made for their party by an organised system of slander directed against their creed and their fellow-worshippers. They, doubtless, find, like the *Dundee Courier*, an excuse for what they do, or (more shamefully) neglect to do, in the plea of a high political purpose.

LEAFLETS ISSUED BY THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY.

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No.

- 1 Canada and Home Rule.
- 2 Record of Irish Local Bodies.
- 3 Manufacture of Crime in Ireland.
- 6 Police and Crime in Ireland, England and Wales. A Comparison by  
*E. Haviland-Burke, M.P.*
- 8 The Money Argument for Home Rule. By *T. M. Kettle, M.P.*
- 9 Irish County Councils. Self Government in being.
- 10 Ireland, Scotland and Ulster.
- 11 The Land Question in Ireland considered as a Labour Question.
- 12 Political Reflections by an Irish Quaker.
- 13 What is meant by Home Rule?
- 15 How Protestants are treated in Ireland.
- 17 What Ireland Wants. By *John E. Redmond, M.P.*
- 19 Irish Protestants and Home Rule. By *John E. Redmond, M.P.*
- 20 Where Parnell Stood. By *John E. Redmond, M.P.*
- 22 Religious Intolerance under Home Rule. 2d.
- 23 The Colonies and Home Rule. By *Jeremiah McVeagh, M.P.*
- 24 The Ulster Bogey. By *Jeremiah McVeagh, M.P.*
- 26 The Industrial and Commercial Aspect. By *John E. Redmond, M.P.*
- 27 Protestants in Clare. By *L. J. McQuilland.*
- 28 How Catholics are boycotted in Belfast.
- 29 Orange Threats. By *John E. Redmond, M.P.*
- 30 Home Rule within the German Empire. By *Richard J. Kelly, B.L.*
- 31 England's interest in Home Rule.
- 32 How Home Rule is being fought.



## **THE METHODIST PRONOUNCEMENT AGAINST HOME RULE IN IRELAND.**

### **A Bogus Demonstration.**

The following letter has appeared in the columns of the "Irish Independent":—

SIR—Some organs of the Press will be resounding with the plaudit-echoes of a monster Methodist Anti-Home Rule demonstration held in Belfast, and the impression will go forth that the Methodist Church has taken overt and official action in the declarations issuing from the above. That our Church may be put right before the face of our Catholic countrymen in the matter, and in the interests of simple truth, may I appeal to your journal to set out the following facts:—

1. Neither the sanction nor the signature of our Vice-President has for a moment been given to this demonstration, and without this any and every demonstration of Methodists as such is officially and authoritatively valueless, because it is not the action of our Church.

2. Not a single Cork minister has identified himself with this matter.

3. Not a single Dublin minister out of a score or so, could be found to sit on its platform, save only a solitary supernannuate!

4. Not a single Belfast minister of the front rank could be secured to address this gathering, unless perhaps the Rev. Geo. R. Wedgewood be accorded this standing. Our most distinguished ministers, even in resolute Belfast, have refused part and lot in this business.

5. Though many of our prominent Belfast laymen are taking part, many more, equally weighty and influential, who hold and have held highest office in our Church, are refusing to have any share in the proceedings.

#### **SECRETARY UNKNOWN.**

6. The secretary, Mr. J. G. Reid, whose name stands on the invitation voucher or card, is quite unknown to Irish Methodists. Our most honoured official Dublin minister asked me the other day who he was. Incidentally, it may be observed that though this card is chastely and beautifully executed, the appropriation of John Wesley's figurehead by a confessedly party

organisation, irresistibly reminds one of discreditable electioneering tactics pursued in England, wherein the Royal Arms and Ensign are sometimes used by one of the political parties, to be followed next day by a letter from the King's Private Secretary to say that His Majesty strongly disapproves of such action.

7. Last and most significant of all, our Committee of Public Questions and Privileges, constituted of the flower of our most public-spirited laymen and ministers, lately decided by a majority of about two to one not to take any action for the present, at least, on the above question.

Such, then, is the miscalled Methodist Demonstration. Not one of the above facts is likely to be seriously disputed, and they speak such volumes of information as to make elucidatory comment from the writer rather a needless impertinence.

A METHODIST MINISTER.

Stephen L. Gwynn

# Ireland and the Empire.

(A letter to the Editor of the *Standard*, reprinted at the suggestion of an English Liberal, with some additions.)

SIR,

In your leader of August 8 on the Irish Imperial Home Rule Association you say that Cecil Rhodes "gave £10,000 to the Irish Nationalists because he believed, quite mistakenly, that they were working for a grand system of British federation." Cecil Rhodes was too intelligent to believe this; but he doubtless believed that Ireland's need and Ireland's demand would pave the way to some such end. It has never been the English practice to deal with political questions in any theoretical spirit, but rather to meet each need as it arises.

Our business as Irish Nationalists is to press for the freedom of action and development which facts prove only too fully that our country needs. Your business, if you are true Imperialists, desiring the strength and well-being of every portion of the Empire, is to provide for meeting that need; and, knowing the English habit of doing things piecemeal, step by step, I make no doubt but that this will be done first, and other necessary adjustments will follow.

Our interest is not in the Empire, but in Ireland: we fight against the atrophy and paralysis resulting from the present system. But, intellectually, very many of us are convinced that England and the Empire will be the freer and the stronger for granting Home Rule to Ireland, and that once the present theory of the Union is abandoned—involving reference to the Imperial Parliament for any question of building a boat slip in Kerry or Donegal—England, Scotland, and Wales will freely reorganise their machinery and disencumber the central working power.

At present the Union is a kind of fetish, maintained and observed through fear of consequences, which you indicate by saying that, "given a Colonial Constitution," Ireland would be free to raise and maintain an army and navy of its own.

Let us admit that this is true, just as the same is true of New Zealand. Is it probable? One may desire the absolute independence of Ireland, just as one may desire the total abolition of armaments, but the former is as attainable as the latter, or, in truth depends on the latter. Even without raising the question whether Ireland, if independent of England, could maintain her independence, this much is clear: that separation could never be accomplished with the consent of England, and could, therefore, ensue only as a result of some vast European convulsion in which the English power would go down.

At present Ireland, stagnant, dwindling, overtaxed, alone in the Empire stands to lose nothing by the collapse of England, and, denied her freedom.

has no sentimental attachment to the Empire. Suppose, instead of this, an Ireland free to develop her own material resources, facing her own problems in her own way, and paying a reasonable quota to Imperial defence as her portion of Imperial insurance—would not such an Ireland be attached to the existing order by the same solid sense of advantage as links the Colonies to the Empire? Sentiment might follow.

As things stand, do Englishmen sufficiently realise what their policy means from a standpoint of Imperial defence? Financially, no doubt, Ireland contributes, but the net balance which accrues to England diminishes steadily. Next year Ireland will scarcely contribute one million to the Army and Navy. When her total taxation was three millions less, her Imperial contribution was over a million more. But this is not the worst from your point of view. England has decided to have a territorial force, an army levied by the good will of the people. She dare not apply that system to Ireland. In time of war Ireland must be defended by English volunteers. Is that a wise economy of Imperial resources? Does it not prove conclusively that the Union is a mere name, if, after a century of it, you must, in your scheme of home defence, treat Ireland, not as the home of citizens ready to defend the "United Kingdom" but as a probable enemy.

To organize and drill volunteers for war is patriotism in England: it is a crime in Ireland. Many Englishmen advocate universal compulsory service. They should ask themselves what they mean to do about Ireland.

There is no evading the fact that under the present system Ireland is, from a military point of view, a source of weakness, not of strength. Is that good business for the Empire? and is there no way of modifying it?

No candid man should promise that the Irishmen who have grown up in this long struggle for freedom will be enthusiastic defenders of the Empire as an Empire. But they will most certainly be ready to take their full share in defending their country, and the interests of their country. If Ireland be given local autonomy, I, for one, hold that a sense of her own interest will retain her always within the Empire, apart from other forces, and upon that follows acquiescence in the Imperial control of military forces.

The picture which you draw of England and Ireland "engaged in an unceasing watch over each other's progressive armaments" is surely grotesque. How many Dreadnoughts could Ireland afford per annum?

In truth, English writers refuse to recognize the fundamental facts of the case. The analogy of Sweden and Norway's separation has little bearing on it other than this: that if Ireland and England could separate with no loss to either but that of a sentimental prestige and certain unfair privileges to one country of the two, their separation would seem a thing to be peacefully and honourably accomplished. But while England remains the centre of a world-wide political system, Ireland, situated as she is, must inevitably be included in it, while the system lasts.

The question of tariffs is wholly on a different plane. Will any one, in face of the existing facts, deny that separate and competing tariff-systems are impossible within one Empire? Will any one assert that the commercial system and taxation of Australia and New Zealand should be regulated by the present Imperial Parliament? Take the case of Ireland: Free Trade was adopted, nominally at least (and I do not doubt the sincerity of many who used the argument) as a remedy for famine in Ireland. Yet Ireland grew her meat and her corn to sell—wheat was a food too costly for her people in those



times—and Free Trade, instead of helping, completed her ruin. The financial interests of a poor agricultural nation will never be well administered by a rich industrial nation.

Lastly, you assert that Ireland is “two nations.” There are two races, far less distinct than there are in Canada. There is one nation which through centuries has been struggling towards full existence. The present system emphasises and perpetuates divisions on the lines of race and creed. I stood lately by the grave of one of the most honoured Nationalists that any of us has known, Alfred Webb, the Quaker. He and his had counted themselves Irish for generations, but there was neither O, nor Mac, nor any Irish speaker in his ancestry, I imagine. The same is true of John Martin, John Mitchel, and a hundred other Presbyterians; of Emmet, Wolfe Tone, Parnell, and a hundred other Episcopalians. Which nation, pray, do these men belong to? Take my colleague, Mr. Kavanagh, whose father led the Irish Unionist party in the Commons: how do you class him? And the Devolutionists, or these promoters of Imperial Home Rule: which is their nation?

The truth of the matter is put in a sentence of the “Thoughts in Retirement,” which Mr. Webb published a few days before his death.

“So long as the centre of power lies in a people, parties and interests learn to accommodate themselves to each other. Otherwise they seek to gain their own ends, not by mutual agreement and accommodation, but by working on the feelings, the fears, and the prejudices of those amongst whom is the centre of power.”

What you call the second nation in Ireland is a party—an Irish party, the party of Protestant and landlord ascendancy, which becomes more and more simply Protestant, according as the landlords are being bought out—and its whole purpose and being consists in claiming for Protestants, nominally an equal but really a controlling voice, in the management of a country seven-tenths of whose people are Catholic. Admirable energies, which might otherwise go to forwarding the general good of Ireland, are at present rigorously devoted to pushing this untenable claim; and their commonest method of operation is to diffuse the belief that self-government for Ireland would be fraught with peril to the British Empire.

You ask, in effect, If Home Rule is to be given, what safeguards are there for the security of the British Empire, and of the minority in Ireland? I reply that the former danger is chimerical, since Ireland could only provoke disaster by an attitude of hostility, and that the second has no reality. The so-called Protestant minority in the South and West of Ireland could be oppressed under parochial self-government, which exists, and there is nowhere any trace of such oppression. Hundreds of them are shopkeepers, and as such, easily injured; and they are in many cases the most thriving citizens in the towns where Catholics are ten or twenty to one.

The new association will do a service if it sets Englishmen thinking and inquiring what Ireland and what the Empire stand to gain by Home Rule, and what real risks need to be faced. There is one aspect of the matter which is keenly impressed on those who really know Ireland. Ireland is far more intimately bound to America than to Great Britain. Every Irish cottage is in close touch with friends and relatives in the United States. From eight to twelve millions of people in America count themselves Irish no

less than American; and they cherish the feelings towards England which they or their fathers carried across the Atlantic from the land which was ruled against the will of its own people.

Politically as well as geographically Ireland lies between England and America. To-day she is a barrier—she might be a link.

Once content the people of Ireland; give to them what you give to any other geographically separate community of white men within the Empire—and Ireland is not merely a separate offshoot, she is a nation possessing, as Lord Beaconsfield said, the historic sentiment of true nationality: and you may have paved the way to that alliance of the English-speaking races all the world over, which is the dream and aspiration of statesmen, yet can only be a mere will-of-the-wisp, so long as there smoulders at the heart of America not alone the memory of her own struggle, but also the bitterness of Ireland's transmitted hate.

That hatred may possibly be changed into kindness, but only when the resistance, maintained through seven centuries of defeat, is crowned by a settlement that can be accepted without the sense of surrender.

Here is another saying of Alfred Webb's:

"True statesmanship does not consist in only following those courses against which no arguments can be urged, but in foreseeing, through difficulties and perhaps unanswerable arguments, that which will lead to good."

Under the Union Ireland has sunk in population, wealth, and civilisation while the rest of Europe has been advancing. What has England gained from the Union? Safety!

Does England's safety really require the continuance of Ireland's paralysis?

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

STEPHEN GWYNN.

# The Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893

## Compared and Explained.

BY ERSKINE CHILDERS.

Comparative Table, showing the principal provisions of  
the two Bills.

HOME RULE BILL OF 1886. HOME RULE BILL OF 1893.

### THE IRISH LEGISLATURE.

To consist of the Crown and *Two Orders*, sitting together, and unless either Order demands a separate vote, voting together.

(1) *First Order*, to consist of (a) 75 members elected on a £25 franchise from a new set of constituencies. Term of Office ten years. (b) 28 Peerage members, to give place by degrees to elective members, as in (a).

(2) *Second Order*, 204 members elected as at present. Two from each constituency (with an alteration in the case of Cork).

Dissolution at least every five years.

To consist of the Crown and *Two Houses*, sitting separately.

(1) *Council*, of 48 Councillors elected on a £20 franchise from a new set of constituencies. Term of office eight years.

(2) *Assembly* of 103 members elected as at present.

Dissolution at least every five years.

*Money Bills* and votes to originate in the Assembly.

### DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN ORDERS OR HOUSES.

After three years or a dissolution question to be decided by joint vote.

After two years or a dissolution question to be decided by joint vote in joint session.

### RESTRICTIONS ON IRISH LEGISLATURE.

(1) *Imperial Matters.*

NO POWER TO MAKE LAWS ABOUT:—

The Crown, War or Peace, Army or Navy, Treaties, Titles, Treason, Naturalization, Trade or Navigation, Lighthouses, &c., Coinage, Copyright, Patents, Post Office (except within Ireland).

Nor with:—the Lord Lieutenant, conduct as Neutrals, Volunteers, Extradition, Trade-marks, nor (for six years) Post Office in or out of Ireland.

But Trade *within Ireland* and inland Navigation conceded to Ireland.

## HOME RULE BILL OF 1886. HOME RULE BILL OF 189

(2) *Irish Matters.*

## NO POWER TO MAKE LAWS FOR THE PURPOSE OF:—

(1) *Establishing or endowing any religion* or imposing disabilities or conferring privileges on account of *religion*, or affecting the undenominational constitution of National schools, &c.

(2) Impairing rights or property of corporations, without address from both Orders and consent of Crown.

(1) Ditto, ditto, but more explicit and far-reaching.

(2) Ditto, ditto, or “without due process of law” and compensation.

(3) Depriving anyone of *liberty, or property* without due process of law in accordance with settled precedents, or denying *equal protection of laws*, or taking property without *just compensation*.

(4) Imposing disabilities or conferring privileges on account of *birth, parentage, or place of business*.

(5) (For three years) respecting relations of *landlord and tenant* or the purchase and letting of *land* generally.

## IRISH REPRESENTATION IN IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

To cease altogether (except in the case of a proposed alteration of the Home Rule Act).

Ireland to send 80 members to Westminster (instead of 103 Peers as before.

## EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY.

The Crown, as represented by the Lord Lieutenant, acting in Irish affairs with the advice of an Irish Cabinet responsible to the Irish Legislature.

## POWER OF VETO ON IRISH LEGISLATION.

To be held by Lord Lieutenant (acting normally on the advice of Irish Cabinet?) but subject to instructions from Imperial Government.

To be held by Lord Lieutenant, *acting on advice of Irish Cabinet*, but subject to instructions from Imperial Government.



## HOME RULE BILL OF 1886. HOME RULE BILL OF 1893.

## FINANCE.

*(a.) Taxation.*

*Customs and Excise* still to be levied by Imperial Parliament and collected by Imperial officers. All other Taxes to be under Irish control.

(1) *For six years* all existing Taxes to continue to be imposed by Imperial Parliament and collected by Imperial officers.

Ireland to have power to impose additional taxes of her own.

(2) *After six years*, Customs and Excise to remain Imperial taxes; all others to be under Irish control. But Excise to be collected, though not levied, by Ireland.

*(b.) Ireland's Revenue.*

*Gross* revenue collected in Ireland from Imperial and Irish taxes and Crown Lands, etc.; plus an Imperial grant towards the cost of Irish Police. (Total cost at that time £1,500,000: Ireland to pay a million, Treasury any surplus over a million, until cost reduced to that point.)

(1) *True* Irish revenue from Imperial taxes (*i.e.*, with allowance made for duties collected in Ireland on articles consumed in Great Britain, and *vice versa*).

(2) Revenue from Irish taxes and Crown Lands.

(3) Imperial grant of one-third of annual cost of Irish Police (equal in first year to £486,000).

*(c.) Ireland's Contribution to Imperial Exchequer.*

(1) *For thirty years* Ireland to pay fixed annual maximum sums, representing Ireland's share of (a) Army, Navy, Civil List, &c., (b) National Debt. Payments not to be increased, but might be diminished. Share for Army, Navy, &c., never to exceed one-fiftieth of total cost. Total payments under these heads for first year £3,242,000.

(2) *After thirty years* contribution to be revisable.

(1) *For six years*, Ireland to pay one-third of the true revenue raised in Ireland from Imperial taxes and Crown Lands. (Estimated share for first year £2,276,000 or about 1-28th of total Imperial expenditure.)

(2) *After six years*, both method and amount of Ireland's contribution to be revised and settled afresh.

*(d.) Contribution to Special War Taxes.*

Optional to Ireland.

For six years compulsory on Ireland to pay her proportional share of any such tax levied.

## HOME RULE BILL OF 1886. HOME RULE BILL OF 1893

(c.) *Post Office.*

To be taken over by Ireland under Irish Act.

For six years to remain under Imperial control. Profit or loss on Irish posts to be credited to or debited against Ireland.

## POLICE.

Dublin Police to be under Imperial control for two years. Constabulary, "while that force subsists," to be under Imperial control, but Ireland to have power to create a new force under control of local authorities.

Both Dublin Police and Constabulary, as long as they should exist, to be under Imperial control.

Meanwhile an ordinary locally controlled civil police to be gradually established by Irish Government, and to take the place of the old forces.

But *for six years*, Imperial Government to have the power to maintain in existence the old forces, if considered expedient.

## JUDGES.

## PRESENT IRISH JUDGES TO REMAIN.

All future Irish Judges to be appointed by Irish Government.

For six years future Irish Supreme Court Judges (not County Court Judges, etc.) to be appointed by Imperial Government. After six years by Irish Government.

## LAW COURTS.

## CONSTITUTION TO REMAIN THE SAME.

But appeals to the House of Lords to cease; instead, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

## CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

(AS TO VALIDITY OF IRISH LAWS, ETC.)

To be decided by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (including one or more Irish Judges).

## EXCHEQUER JUDGES.

Legal proceedings in Ireland by or against Imperial revenue authorities to be referred, if either party wishes, to the Exchequer Division Judges of the United Kingdom.

All legal proceedings in Ireland *which touch any matter* (financial or otherwise) *not within the power of the Irish Legislature* to be referred, if either party wishes, to two Exchequer Judges appointed and paid by the Imperial Government. Appeal to be to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

## LORD LI EUTENANT.

## MIGHT BE OF ANY RELIGION.

Term of office indefinite.

Term of office six years.

## REMARKS ON DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO BILLS.

N.B.—That the Bill of 1886, being defeated on Second Reading, never went through a Committee stage, while the Bill of 1893 was largely amended in Committee.

The freedom given to Ireland under the Bill of 1893 was considerably less than under the Bill of 1886. Note, *inter alia*, the numerous suspensory periods for continued Imperial control in Finance, Police, Judges, Land Legislation, etc.

1. *Imperial supremacy.* This was more explicitly set forth in the Bill of 1893 than in the Bill of 1886. Both in the Preamble of the former Bill, in a proviso added in Committee to Clause 2, and in Clause 32, the supreme authority—legislative and executive—of Parliament over all persons, matters, and things in Ireland was clearly set forth.

2. *Irish representation at Westminster.* Here lay the most important difference between the two Bills. Irish members were excluded in 1886, and retained, with reduced numbers, in 1893. Under the original scheme of 1893, they were to sit and vote only on Imperial matters and matters affecting Ireland; not on purely British matters. But this restriction was withdrawn in Committee, so that they were left with *power to sit and vote on all questions*.

This question of retention or exclusion deeply affected all the Home Rule provisions, especially finance. The more freedom, the less need for retention; the more Imperial control, the greater need for Imperial representation.

Note that under the Bill of 1893 there would have been three different sets of Parliamentary constituencies in Ireland; one for the Council, one for the Assembly, one for the House of Commons.

3. *Restrictions on Legislation.*—These were more numerous in 1893 than in 1886.

(a.) *Among Imperial matters*, the denial of *Post Office control* for six years was perhaps the most important. On the other hand, trade *within Ireland* and *inland navigation* were conceded to Ireland in the 1893 Bill.

(b.) *Among Irish matters*, the prohibition of *Land Legislation* for three years was the principal point.

Restriction No. 3 ("Life, Liberty, and Property") was borrowed from the American Constitution, with the addition of the words "in accordance with settled precedents." These

added words were held to prevent any alteration of the existing criminal law.

(c.) *Executive authority*.—In the unamended Bill of 1886 this point was left rather vague, though the intention certainly was to set up *responsible government*; with the Lord Lieutenant (representing the Crown) acting on the advice of an Irish Ministry in Irish affairs, and obeying Imperial instructions in Imperial affairs.

In the Bill of 1893 an *Executive Committee of the Irish Privy Council*, that is, an Irish Ministry, was expressly called into being to advise the Lord Lieutenant in Irish affairs. His authority in Imperial affairs was to be defined in written instructions given him by the Imperial Government. His power to give or withhold assent to Irish Bills was the same in both Home Rule Bills; but in that of 1893 it was explicitly said that he was to do so on the advice of Irish Ministers, though (as in 1886) subject, if necessary, to over-riding instructions from the Imperial Government.

In Imperial matters, the mouthpiece of the Irish Government at Westminster was to be the Home Secretary.

4. *Finance*.—The arrangements differed widely in the two Bills.

The main points of likeness were (a) that from the first there was to be a *separate Irish Exchequer*, (b) that for all time Ireland was to be *denied control over the imposition of Customs and Excise*, that is to say, over about *three-quarters of her revenue* as then raised; (c) that about *a third of the cost of the Irish Police* was to be paid by the Imperial Government; (d) that payments due from Ireland to the Imperial Government were to be made a first charge on proceeds of Imperial taxes in Ireland.

The principal points of difference were :—

(a) Under the Bill of 1886, apart from the very important restriction on Customs and Excise, Ireland was at once to have freedom to control her own taxation.

Under the Bill of 1893 (as amended) there was to be a suspensory period of six years during which all existing taxes were to continue to be imposed by the Imperial Government; but with power to Ireland to add taxes of her own. *Amounts* of Imperial taxes might be varied, but *no new ones* imposed, except specially for war. After six years financial freedom, except in Customs and Excise. Excise, however, was to be *collected* though not levied by Ireland.



(b) "*Gross*" and "*True*" *Revenue*.—In 1886, Ireland was credited with all the revenue *collected in Ireland* from Customs and Excise (*i.e.*, the "gross" revenue from those taxes), but she had to pay the cost of collection herself.

In 1893, allowance was made for duties collected in Ireland on articles consumed in Great Britain, and *vice-versa*, Ireland being credited only with her "true" revenue, that is revenue from dutiable articles *consumed in Ireland*. Similar allowances made in the Income Tax account. A joint Anglo-Irish Committee was to settle these adjustments. This system involved a deduction from the first year's gross Irish revenue of over £1,700,000. (In 1886 the corresponding sum, credited to Ireland, was £1,400,000.) On the other hand, in 1893 the greater part of the cost of collection (£235,000) was not to be borne by Ireland.

(c) *Imperial Contribution by Ireland*.—In 1886, a fixed annual maximum *tribute*, which might be diminished, but could not be exceeded, revisable in 30 years.

In 1893 (for six years) an annually ascertained *quota*, namely a third of Ireland's "true" revenue (exclusive of taxes imposed by her herself).

(d) *Ireland's Budget*.—Note the important point that under both Bills three-quarters of Irish Revenue was derived from Customs and Excise, over which, in 1886, Ireland could exercise no control, in 1903 only the control given by the presence of 80 members in the House of Commons. In both cases Ireland wholly responsible for her own civil expenditure (except in the old Police). Under both Bills Ireland was intended to start with a surplus of about half a million, which may be regarded roughly as the equivalent, in both cases, of the Imperial share of the cost of the old Irish Police. But note that in 1886, Ireland being pledged to pay a fixed million of the cost of Police, would obtain no relief until the cost was reduced below a million, while in 1893, paying two-thirds of the annually ascertained cost, she would obtain relief from any annual reduction. The Police referred to was, of course, the then existing Police, Imperially organised and controlled. The new civil police eventually set up in substitution would be financed and controlled by the Irish Government. The charges, therefore, on the British taxpayer would, it was expected, be a rapidly diminishing one. The loss on Irish Posts in 1893, debited against Ireland, was estimated at £52,000.

(e) *Special War Taxes*.—Ireland's contribution optional in 1886; in 1893, compulsory (at any rate for six years, which would have included the beginning of the South African War).

5. *Police*.—In the 1893 Bill, note the period of six years for conditional maintenance of the old Constabulary forces.

In both Bills, provision for a new local civil police, with Imperial control of the old police as long as it remained in existence.

6. *Judges*.—Note the increased control in the Bill of 1893. For six years the higher appointments to be by Imperial Government. In both Bills, salaries to be charged in first instance on Imperial Funds, though paid by Ireland.

7. *Exchequer Judges*.—Note the important added provisions in the Bill of 1893, setting up an Imperial Court for the trial of all questions touching any matter outside the powers of the Irish Legislature.

## PROPAGANDIST LITERATURE ON THE HOME RULE QUESTION,

*Issued by the Irish Press Agency, 2 Great Smith Street,  
Westminster.*

### A.--BOOKS FOR LOAN.

"Ireland and the Home Rule Movement." By Michael F. J. McDonnell, with a Preface by John Redmond, M.P.

Mr. McDonnell's book (248 pages including exhaustive index) is a perfect compendium of the Home Rule case in its modern developments, presented in an unbiassed and unpartisan way. The book is heartily recommended to English and Scotch men by Mr. Redmond as "a thoughtful, well informed, and scholarly study of the more important features of the Irish question." The book deals with the "The English Executive in Ireland," "The Economic Condition of Ireland," "The Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland," "The Land Question," "The Religious Question," "The Educational Problem," "Unionism in Ireland," "Ireland and Democracy."

"Contemporary Ireland." By L. Paul-Dubois, an English translation with introduction by Professor T. M. Kettle.

This is a very important work (pp. 529), written from the point of view of exact history and scientific sociology, which its translator thinks will take rank with the great studies of modern communities like Bodley's "France," and Munsterberg's "The Americans." Its introduction, entitled "Before the Union," gives a masterly *resumé* of the history of Ireland from the earliest times until the Act of Union was carried. It goes on to deal with the time of O'Connell, with Young Ireland and the Revolution or Rebellion of 1848, with Fenianism, and the rise of the effectual constitutional party under Parnell. It covers with much greater minuteness the scope of Mr. McDonnell's book, referred to above, and its concluding section, "Possibilities of Regeneration" for Ireland will afford much material for useful thought to all earnest students of the Irish Question in all its aspects.

"Home Rule." Speeches of John Redmond, M.P. (334 pp.)

This volume includes all the speeches of authoritative importance delivered by Mr. Redmond from his utterance on the Home Rule Bill of 1886 until his statement on "Crime in England and Ireland" delivered in the House of Commons on the 23rd February, 1909. As a presentation of the Irish position, logical, sustained and unchanging as regards Ireland's claim to self-government, Mr. Redmond's pronouncements will be of the utmost service to all students and exponents of the Irish demand.

“Dublin Castle and the Irish People.” By R. Barry O’Brien (424 pp.)

Dublin Castle has been called “the grave of English reputations.” Mr. O’Brien explains the reason why in an historical examination of England’s Executive rule in Ireland. To those who have slight or no knowledge of Castle Rule, this work will be a revelation, written as it is by a man of moderate views endowed with an extraordinary power of painstaking research. The folly, the uselessness, and the extravagance of Castle control are depicted in such a way as will explain to the full why the best brains in England have failed to cope with the Irish difficulty. It is a significant fact that out of some 157 persons entrusted with the government of Ireland since the Union there have been about sixteen only in touch with Irish public opinion, and five only professing the religion of the nation. This applies, of course, to the Viceroy. It is significant also that as regards Irish Chief Secretaries, some of the most obdurately anti-Nationalist of them have become converted to the Irish position, but have been unable to carry their views into effect owing to the reactionary Conservatism of the Dublin Castle official. Concerning the idea of Ireland’s financial position under Home Rule the way is made clear for the possibility of a solvent Ireland by a sweeping reduction of Castle and Judiciary charges under an economic scheme of self-government.

“England’s Title in Ireland : A Letter Addressed to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.” By R. Barry O’Brien (48 pp.)

The key-note of this brightly and forcefully written little book is expressed in one of Mr. Barry O’Brien’s closing sentences, where he puts it that “The question for England to consider is whether Ireland is to be a willing or unwilling partner in a common Empire.” Mr. O’Brien contends that there is no moral force behind England’s government of Ireland, and that the latter country can never be satisfied with attempted removal of material grievances, but by the fulfilment of national aspirations. Within the very shortest possible space the author gives a vivid sketch of Ireland’s history, from the earliest times. Mr. O’Brien’s remedy for the clashing of the nations is “a common King and an Irish Parliament.” It is as a thumb-nail history of Ireland that the pamphlet will make its appeal to those who desire to be quickly conversant with the broad lines of the story of Ireland.

“Some Arguments for Home Rule.” Twelve speeches delivered by Mr. Redmond, and edited by Professor J. G. Swift and MacNeill, M.P. (100 p.p.)

**The Irish Press Agency is prepared to forward copies of these books out of the stock which it holds on loan for a reasonable period to Liberal Clubs or to, active speakers and workers. Application can be made by letter.**

## B.—PUBLICATIONS OF THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY.

“What Home Rule Means.”

A Pamphlet of 91 pages, containing the following leaflets bound up together :—“What is Meant by Home Rule?” “Canada and Home Rule.” “The Record of Irish Local Bodies.”



“The Manufacture of Crime in Ireland.” “The Irish Poor Law and the Blessings of English Government”; by Hugh Law, M.P. “Police and Crime, England, Wales, and Ireland”; by E. Haviland-Burke, M.P. “The Money Argument for Home Rule.”; by T. M. Kettle, M.P. “The Land Question in Ireland considered as a Labour Question.” “The Irish County Councils. Self-Government in Being.” “Ireland, Scotland and Ulster.” “What is Cattle Driving?” “Political Reflections by an Irish Quaker.” “The Criminality of England and of Ireland”; a Speech by John Redmond, M.P.

All these, except Mr. Redmond’s speech, can be had in separate leaflets.

“What Ireland Wants.” By John E. Redmond.

A reprint of a magazine article published in the United States of America, October, 1910. Containing a detailed description of the powers claimed for an Irish Parliament.

“Ireland’s Need.” An article by Stephen Gwynn, M.P.

Reprinted from the “19th Century,” discussing generally the case for Home Rule.

“How Protestants are treated in Ireland.”

A 16 page pamphlet, containing testimony from many Irish Protestants as to their experience of goodwill shown towards them by their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen.

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“A Canadian Imperialist on the Irish Question.”

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A leaflet demonstrating the absurdity of this cry. (4 pages.)

“Irish Protestants and Home Rule.” By John Redmond, M.P.

### C.

The Agency recommend also the reprints issued by *Reynolds’ Newspaper* of articles by Mr. John Redmond on the following subjects :—

1. “The Truth about Ulster.”
2. “Does Home Rule mean Rome Rule?”
3. “Home Rule in the German Empire.”

The following list of books is recommended for students. Most of them are easily accessible in libraries :—

- “Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.” W. E. H. Lecky. 5 vols. 6s. each.
- “Cambridge Modern History.” (Excellent chapters on Ireland.) 12 vols. 16s. NET each.
- Morley’s “Life of Gladstone.” (Chapters on Irish Question.) (Cheap edition, 3s. 6d.)
- “Life of Parnell.” Barry O’Brien. (Cheap edition, 1s. NET).
- Green’s “History of the English People.” (Chapters on Ireland—see Index.) 8 vols. 4s. each.
- “Life of Lord Randolph Churchill.” Winston Churchill. (Chapters on Ireland are instructive.) 7s. 6d. NET.
- “Ireland and the Empire.” T. W. Russell.
- “Commercial Relations between England and Ireland.” A. E. Murray. 3s. 6d. NET.
- “The Only Way.” H. T. P. (Sealy, Bryers and Walker, Dublin. 3d.)
- “Suggestions.” Sharman Crawford (1833). (Reprint by Sealy, Bryers and Walker.)
- “The Outlook in Ireland.” Earl of Dunraven. 7s. 6d. NET.
- “England’s Wealth, Ireland’s Poverty.” By The Right Hon. Thos. Lough, M.P.
- “Saxon and Celt.” J. M. Robertson, M.P. 8s. NET.
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- “The Parnell Movement.” T. P. O’Connor. 7s. 6d. NET.
- “Labour in Irish History.” J. Connolly. (Maunsel & Co.)
- “The Making of Ireland, and its Undoing (1200-1600).” By Mrs. J. R. Green.
- “Irish Nationality.” By Mrs. J. R. Green. 1s. NET.
- “Two Centuries of Irish History—1691-1870.” Introduction by the Right Hon. James Bryce. 2 vols.
- “History of Ireland.” By the Rev. E. A. D’Alton. 3 vols.

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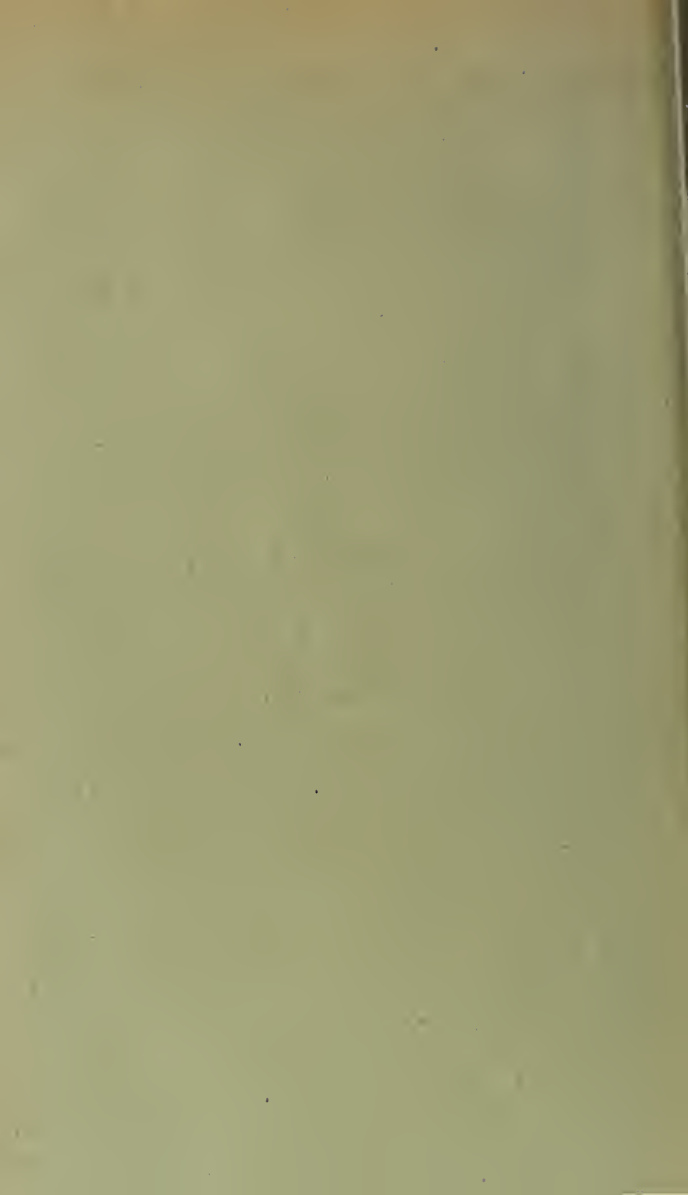
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<sup>Howles</sup>  
PROFESSOR C. F. BASTABLE.

*Published by*

THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY,  
2 GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER.

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# **The Financial Aspects of the Government of Ireland Bill.\***

By C. F. BASTABLE.

*(Professor of Political Economy and Regius Professor of Laws in Dublin University).*

Though it would be absurd to regard a measure that deals with the most fundamental problems of constitutional and political organization as being mainly concerned with financial issues, it may, I believe, be reasonably held that considerations of finance do enter in a very peculiar way into the criticism and estimation of the Government of Ireland Bill. For, owing to the historical and actual conditions, it has been necessary to devise arrangements of a special character, which are based on financial considerations and limited by regulations of fiscal administration. It is, therefore, admissible to examine this particular aspect of the Bill, to the exclusion, as far as possible, of its other phases or sides.

Such a limitation does not in the least suggest that the other aspects should be regarded as losing any of the importance so commonly attached to them. No conclusions on the real scope and effect of the finance of the Government plan can alter the views of the convinced Nationalist or Unionist. The hope of realising true National life, and the dread of being placed under the yoke of unscrupulous adversaries, are sentiments that will not alter through any demonstration of the inherent defects or of the moderate and reasonable character of a scheme of expenditure and revenue. The great problems of Sovereignty and political power, of popular and individual liberty, remain as before.

But while fully conceding this, I may add that the character of the financial provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill is a matter of no slight concern to every

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\* Delivered to the Young Ireland Branch of the United Irish League in the Mansion House, Dublin, on Friday, April 4th, 1913.

Irishman. A radically defective system would prove a grievous hindrance to National progress, as well as a disturbing influence on the relations between Ireland and Great Britain. On the other hand, the establishment of a workable plan of Irish finance would undoubtedly alleviate the apprehensions of many moderate persons, and make a great part of the ordinary criticisms of the Bill quite futile. It is so evidently a matter of general—not of party—interest to reach a reasoned conclusion on the financial merits or defects of the Bill, that I have, at the invitation of your Society, ventured to place before you the views to which a careful study of the provisions in the light of the situation has led me.

At the outset, I would like to emphasise the fact that any scheme of Irish finance must be the outcome of the circumstances of the case as moulded by history. We cannot take Clauses 14 to 26 inclusive as a product of abstract reason: they are only intelligible as a step in the course of the financial relations of Ireland and Great Britain. But they have another special feature; for they are the expression of the third attempt to put these relations on a definite footing. The Gladstone Bills of 1886 and 1893 are indications of the road which has been trodden in reaching the position of 1912. The mention of those earlier plans suggests the reflection that a very decided advance has been made by the recognition of the complexity of the problem which has produced the limitations and the comparatively modest scope of the measure of 1912.

The reasons for this prudent change are somewhat varied; but I think that amongst them must be placed the influence of the discussion of two distinct, though not unconnected, issues raised by the special financial situation of Ireland in its relation to Great Britain.

The first is the question of the over-taxation of Ireland, on which there is a mass of literature representing the most divergent views. The conclusion of one large body of writing is that there has been an accumulation of

liabilities against Great Britain, amounting to more than £300,000,000. Taken strictly, this capital sum would be the basis of an annuity of from £10,000,000 to £12,000,000 payable to Ireland. With laxer treatment, it would justify the payment of a lump sum, sufficient to smooth over any difficulties of financial adjustment between the countries concerned. In strict confidence, I may make the confession that I find some trouble in believing in the attainability or even the substantial existence of this capital sum.

The truth, as it seems to me, is that the methods of taxation in the first forty years of the 19th century in force in the British Isles were extremely unfair to the poorer classes. There was no Income Tax after 1815, and the death duties were confined to personal property. Heavy duties were imposed on the commodities consumed by the working classes, with the result that the weight of taxation fell on them, while the wealthier sections of society escaped with comparative ease. It was this system that caused the disproportionate charge on Ireland. The great development of direct taxation in recent years has shifted the burden, to the relief of the poorer sections in both Ireland and Great Britain. Now, there arises the double question, viz. : (1) whether it is fair to ask the successors of the over-taxed workers of Great Britain to pay to the successors of the same classes in Ireland the equivalent of their forerunners' undue taxation, and (2) whether it is in the least likely that such repayment will be made, or any recognition of the claim conceded. The answers seem to be easily supplied.

The second topic is the theoretical (as well as practical) problem respecting the relative taxable capacities of Ireland and Great Britain. The amount of ingenuity spent on furnishing estimates of the resources of the two territories, and "developing, by the aid of theories of sacrifice and ability, some definite proportion of equitable contribution, has been great, but altogether unprofitable. Attempts to determine the relative capacities of *individuals*

have not attained to anything really precise. We cannot say that an income of £1,000 represents a given ability in relation to one of £100 (see a remarkable paper by Professor Chapman in the last number of the *Economic Journal*), and when we pass to the immensely greater aggregates presented by *countries*, it seems obvious that calculations must fail for want of any adequate basis. The many divergent estimates of the taxable capacity of Ireland in comparison with that of Great Britain—ranging from 1 to 15 to 1 to 72—confirm this conclusion. It is not for the purpose of obtruding particular views of my own (views probably equally repugnant to Nationalist and Unionist sentiment) that I notice this condition. It is rather to show that the form of the financial provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill is due to the recognition of the considerations that I have adduced. Let me support this statement by two quotations.

The first is from the separate Report of Lords Farrer and Welby, and Mr. Currie (Financial Relations Commission Report, p. 45): "In the course of this part of our inquiry many interesting questions have been raised of a somewhat speculative character. . . . We do not propose to enter here upon a discussion, which would be more fit for a professional lecture than a practical report." In the same line is the praise bestowed by the recent Committee on Irish Finance on the Scheme of the 1893 Bill (p. 11): "It disposed of the difficult question of the Irish contribution to Imperial expenditure . . . without reference to the insoluble problems of relative taxable capacities, or of historical obligations (insoluble, not in the sense that no answer to them is possible, but because so many plausible answers are possible that the number of solutions threatens to equal the number of solvers)."

It may be added that the later Committee is more decided than the earlier Commission, for the simple reason that the change from a surplus to a deficit on the Irish account had taken place in the interval. In 1893-4 the estimated Irish revenue was £7,568,000, and



the expenditure was £5,600,000, or a surplus of nearly £2,000,000. For 1911-12 the estimated revenue is £10,715,000, and the expenditure, £11,545,500, or a deficit of £830,000.

But the scope of the Government of Ireland Bill is still more effectively determined by the way in which Irish administration and British finance have developed. One of the points too often overlooked is that of the maintenance of a distinct Irish Administration, along with the legislative Union. The Lord Lieutenancy, the Law Courts, the Departments, usually described as "Dublin Castle," formed the administrative system of Ireland, and have continued uninterruptedly. Of course, it is true that logically-minded Unionists (such as Archbishop Whately and Lord Justice Christian) advocated the abolition of these "anomalies."

Now, separate administration tends to promote distinct finance; for provision has to be made for the special needs of the particular bodies concerned. The later part of the 19th century was, however, the time in which the movement towards administrative separation became pronounced. Legislation in accordance with "Irish ideas" made the establishment of new departments, and in connection with them new items of expenditure—a prominent feature of Irish government. Even services that had previously been combined, *e.g.*, the Science and Art Department, were divided. As the natural result, the cost of administration grew. During the "seventies" £1,100,000 was added; in the "eighties" another £1,000,000; while in the last decade of the century over £2,000,000 increase in the Irish expenditure took place. The first ten years of the present century show a more decided advance. An increase of £3,750,000 is found in this period. It is perfectly easy to explain the growth under each particular head, but the general result is an expansion of expenditure altogether out of proportion to the tax revenue that is its natural basis. A part of the growing outlay is, of course, due to that development,

which is the characteristic of every modern society, as exhibited in larger Budget figures, though in the case of Ireland the items of military and naval expenditure—the great cause of extravagance for most countries—are necessarily absent. There none the less remains an exceptional increase, that can be explained only by two influences that operate on Irish finance. One is the removal of the normal check on extravagance that comes from the need of “paying the bill.” We all, whatever be our politics, are ready to approve of increased expenditure, derived from the British Exchequer. From the old days of the annual debate about the “Queen’s Plates,” to the question of the supply of more money for labourers’ cottages, there has been general agreement amongst Irish representatives on the policy of “getting all you can” in the shape of Imperial grants. The definite motives for economical management ceased to operate, and were, in fact, replaced by a clear and strong National interest in favour of using pressure to obtain as much as possible from the great fund of common revenue. Powerful as this disposition was bound to be, it was effectively aided by the entanglement of British and Irish finance. What had been, or was being, done for Great Britain could be claimed for Ireland as a guaranteed right. To such a plea the Ministry and Parliament were generally ready to yield. Of many examples I may take one, viz., the Agricultural Grant of 1897, which, at a stroke, provided £730,000 for aid to local finance in Ireland. Of similar effect, though differing somewhat in appearance, are the cases in which legislation, framed in view of English needs, has been automatically applied to Ireland, as in the leading case of the Old Age Pensions Act. The combined result is shown in the figures already given, though they cannot bring out the whole truth as to the persistent tendency or momentum towards ever increasing outlay. The agency that might seem the natural counterbalance, namely, the objection of Great Britain to excessive Irish expenditure, did not come into play for several reasons. For many

years the outlay on Ireland was moderate, and its taxation yielded a large surplus. The change was gradual towards the present condition, and only slowly realised, even by Treasury officials. But more important still was the relatively small amount of the Irish account. Alike in Mr. Childers' Draft Report, and in the separate Report of Lords Farrer and Welby, the practical impossibility of altering the British tax system for the sake of Ireland is stated, and similar considerations told on the side of expenditure. The *status quo* was accepted with resignation.

This state of acquiescence has showed signs of breaking up. Perhaps the first indication was the arrangement of equivalent grants, by which Ireland was allotted 9 per cent. of certain sums voted for special purposes. Tending more directly in the same line was the arrangement that some economies on Irish administration should be earmarked for Irish use. The suppression of two Judgeships was, I believe, secured in this way. The principle of a stereotyped equivalent was tried in the case of the Agricultural Grant, but, under pressure, abandoned for the more liberal allowance of half the agricultural rate. The influence of the same idea appeared in Mr. Wyndham's suggestion, of compensating in part for the bonus in aid of land purchase by economies in administration. In fact, the discussions on Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule measures, and those following the Financial Relations Commission, made the consideration of Irish expenditure by the British Treasury, with a view to Imperial interests, inevitable. As soon as the critical point at which the deficit on the Irish account began was reached [a position foreseen by Lord Farrer and Mr. Currie in their statement in 1896 :—"Is it not more than probable . . . that the cost of administering Ireland will, under the present system, continue to increase, and that the surplus of £2,000,000, which she now contributes, will be more and more reduced until it becomes nil, or is turned into a deficit"? (Financial Relations Report, page 52)] the

reasons for adjustment acquired greater force. It is hardly conceivable that Ministers responsible for Treasury administration could for any long period be content with existing conditions. It is in the light of these considerations that the financial provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill regarding expenditure have to be interpreted.

In this respect the fundamental provision is that which creates an Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund, liable for Irish services. The politician and the student of constitutions may debate on the legislative and executive machinery behind this entity; the student of finance has to recognise that the tentative efforts at securing some effective limit on expenditure are replaced by direct limitation to a specified fund. Next in interest is the demarcation of "Irish Services." Here the historical influences become prominent. We can see how the difficulties that beset the Gladstonian proposals, as well as the scheme embodied in the abortive Irish Council Bill of 1907, have produced the particular dividing line between the transferred services and those that, in the language of the Bill, are "reserved." There is, however, the further provision which allows of the extension of the "Irish Services," partly through operation of time, partly in accordance with Irish request. We may reasonably question the particular division adopted, and suggest a wider scope for the working of the principle, that economy is only secured by the control of those who pay; but this need not hinder the acceptance of limitations that are needed for financial stability.

The machinery devised to apply this desirable control is no other than that which is established both in Great Britain and in the self-governing Colonies. The Consolidated Fund is only acted on by the Executive, fortified with legislative sanction. The change introduced is the placing that authority *inside*, instead of *outside*, Ireland. Here again the *financial* consideration is distinct from the political or constitutional ones. Whatever may be said on



other heads, experience has amply established the value of placing the responsibility for the expenditure on the administration, in whose hands the control of policy rests, while making it indispensable that there should be the approval of the representatives of the community.

For thus treating the direction and adjustment of Irish expenditure, there are cogent reasons, which have been, of course, in different degrees, recognised by politicians of nearly all shades of opinion. Mr. J. Chamberlain's various plans for National and Provincial Councils, the suggestions at one time prevalent in Unionist circles of a federal scheme, and the extended powers of local government, all involve the segregation of parts of Irish administration with control of the necessary expenditure, exercised on the spot. The specific character of the present Government of Ireland Bill—and the one which evokes support or excites hostility—is its bringing the whole mass of "Irish Services" under the management of a body with ministerial responsibility. Once more, I may say that on purely financial grounds this course is the best one. The power of reviewing the system of administration, and redistributing the different lines of outlay in accordance with the changing needs of society, is one of the most important that attaches to a Government. It is, indeed, because this careful review has been lacking in Ireland that the results of ever-increasing expenditure have given so little satisfaction.

One feature of the Bill is the avoidance of those arithmetical calculations that figured so prominently in the Gladstonian plans. By adopting this course, it has been possible to lay down principles of policy, unaffected by variations of detail. The standard of Irish outlay at a given date is taken as the normal one, supplied by the system previously existing, but capable of being altered to the loss or gain of the Irish contributors. At this point the great opportunity of the critic arises. "Can Ireland be expected to manage its many departments on the beggarly sums which sufficed for administration conducted under

English control?" "What will become of the prospects of social betterment with the scanty resources of a mere Irish Government?" "Are we to sacrifice that heritage of inexhaustible funds, guaranteed by the Act of Union?" Such are some of the queries propounded by people of different sentiments. The enthusiastic Nationalist will reply (he has done, so already), that "freedom is greater than finance." The convinced Unionist will agree without hesitation to all the suggested answers. The student who seeks to appreciate all the circumstances of the case has a more difficult task. He has to take into account the anomalies and risks of the conditions now in existence: he has to consider the field open for economy, and also the reasonable demands for expansion. In this inquiry he will have to avoid the extremes of either assuming superhuman capacity in the members of the new Irish administration, or believing in their utter depravity. He will accept the dictum of J. S. Mill, that government has to be worked by ordinary men, men, that is, possessing the average capacity and character. Further, bearing in mind the fact that there is an administrative system in being, he will, I think, be led to the conclusion that there is a sufficient, though by no means unduly liberal, endowment provided in the assignment of the ascertained amount of the "Irish Services," supplemented by the subsidy to meet the initial expenses of the change. But he will also feel that the task before the remodelled administration is no light or easy one. An economical Government is rarely a popular one, and the thorough overhauling of every branch of administrative work must be slow, and is certain to give rise to unpleasant controversies. Insistent claims for new modes of outlay will be many; so that the safety of the Government will really be found in the obvious limitation of its resources. It does not follow that the true interests of Ireland will suffer by this seemingly stringent condition. Truly reproductive outlay can be provided for without undue strain; but plans of social reform may be kept within the limits of surplus revenue.

The foregoing considerations lead naturally to the *second* side of the Government of Ireland Bill, viz., its treatment of revenue. The particular method employed seems at first sight complicated and cramping. The Irish revenue is to be *derived* from the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, which is to receive the proceeds of all taxes levied in Ireland.\* This derived revenue is composed of (1) the "transferred sum," *i.e.*, the cost of "Irish Services" at the time of transfer; (2) the yield—subject to certain limitations—of taxes, Irish as distinct from Imperial. The Irish Consolidated Fund is maintained from this source. The reasons for such an arrangement are to be found in the desire to escape the division of the revenue-collecting agencies which the Gladstone Bills would have introduced, but far more with the object of fitting the revenue to the expenditure side of Irish finance, without the necessity of elaborate transfers and re-transfers between the Exchequers of Great Britain and Ireland.

It is common knowledge that a large body of expert and non-expert opinion favoured the establishment of "fiscal autonomy," with the grant of full taxing powers to the Irish Legislature. While quite in conformity with Colonial precedents, the difficulties of the creation of a completely independent system of Customs and Excise are undoubtedly serious, and such as would hinder the working of the Government. In addition to the inevitable opening up of the question of protection, and the troublesome problem of duly regulating revenue duties, there is the unpleasant fact of the deficit. The Irish revenue is not sufficient to meet the full Irish expenditure. In spite of much ingenious argument to the contrary, I believe that this is the actual condition at present. There is, therefore, a strong—perhaps it would be going too far to say an absolutely conclusive—case in favour of the retention of the collection and control over taxes by the Imperial administration. It is by this limitation that the dealing with the reserved services in a way that relieves Ireland from the deficit charge becomes practically possible, while it further maintains the principle that assistance

should be correlated with control. At all events, I would like to point out that the Nationalist will feel that a sufficiently wide field is given for fruitful activity, and on the other hand, that no Unionist can with any fairness object to the continuance in one important branch of that Imperial authority which he regards as a guarantee of his rights and liberties.

It is, moreover, to be borne in mind that, with the broad rule of Imperial collection and control, there are provisions for adjustments by the Irish Parliament. Very unfortunately, as I believe, this power of making the tax system more fitted to the conditions of the country has been curtailed from that provided in the measure as introduced twelve months ago. Freedom to vary such taxes as those on tea and sugar seems to be perfectly reasonable, and opposed to no financial principle. The apprehensions of some ultra-zealous free-traders caused the abandonment of the more liberal provisions of the original Bill. In the general interest of Ireland, the concession of the larger power of variation is desirable.

More fundamental than the point just noticed is the mode of determining Irish revenue. The contrast between the mere collection and the real incidence of contribution is one familiar to all students of finance. It occurs in every case of indirect taxation. But the real difficulty lies in the application to concrete instances of the proper measure of the effect so produced. We have different estimates of the revenue collected in Ireland, but paid in Great Britain, and *vice versa*. To solve with tolerable precision this problem, it is necessary to have suitable machinery, and for this, as well as for other important financial duties, the Government of Ireland Bill establishes an Exchequer Board, on which both Irish and British interests are represented. The functions of this body are administrative, and limited to financial matters; it thus supplies an effective co-ordinating authority, capable of deciding matters in dispute. In spite of the criticism



so freely bestowed on this ingenious creation, it appears to be, if not an absolutely necessary, at the least a highly desirable, element in the general scheme. Any one who has paid attention to the problems that arise under every system of "composite" finance will see how the employment of an agency like the Exchequer Board facilitates the obtaining of ready and convenient solutions. A further duty of the Board is the facilitating Irish public credit by issuing and guaranteeing loans.

By the agency just noticed the material for ascertaining the "true" revenue of Ireland can be obtained, and the gradual rise of the receipts registered. All the indications point towards a continuance of the growth in revenue, that has been with some exceptions a feature of the Irish receipts. It is on the maintenance of this satisfactory state that the ultimate form of the Irish financial system depends. For when equilibrium has been definitely established between Irish outlay and Irish revenue, it becomes the duty of the Exchequer Board to bring the fact before the Imperial Parliament through the Treasury. By a complicated and questionable arrangement the representatives of Great Britain and Ireland are to revise the provision hitherto in force, with the double aim of assigning the amount of the contribution of Ireland to the common expenditure, and granting larger financial powers to the Irish Government and Legislature.

It is evident that in this provision there has been the idea of meeting to some extent the views of those who favoured the grant of full taxing powers to the Irish Legislature. Their plan is not abandoned, but postponed until a new financial situation has been reached, and the attainment of this situation is closely connected with effective and economical administration in Ireland. "We cannot," so I conceive the argument running, "grant these full powers to an administration burdened by a deficit which it is unable to remove; but we can, *and do*, set up a financial system, which will in reasonable time get rid of the encumbrance. Then will be the proper moment for giving the desired powers." To the plea so put I cannot

discover any adequate reply on grounds of financial policy. The constitutional and political aspects are a different matter.

The whole scheme of finance that I have endeavoured to sketch is impressed with the mark—which is disagreeable to many Irishmen—of “subordination.” The amount of expenditure is limited; the taxing powers are narrow, and the authority of the Exchequer Board is extended. Behind these specific limitations there remains the ultimate sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament, and what is most pertinent to our present subject, especially the power of imposing or remitting taxation. There is even the closer connection due to the limitations on the Irish Legislature of the maintenance of similar rates of charge in both countries. Thus the financial measures of the Imperial Parliament will affect the Irish condition.

This is another of the chances for the critic, who exclaims with the amount of vehemence suited to his temperament, that “Ireland will be dragged in the wake of British taxation;” or again, that “Ireland will be taxed for British purposes without receiving any advantage.” Such fiscal slavery is, we are told, certain to drive Ireland into revolt. All this body of assertion has a very slender foundation, in fact. It is true that the Imperial Parliament has *in theory* the power ascribed to it, just as at present it has the power to confiscate property or to exile whole classes of the community. The real and practical question is, “What probability is there that the theoretical power will be exercised?” The answer is—not the slightest. The only case that I can imagine occurring is that of a tax, one of whose unforeseen effects might be to operate on Irish receipts. But even in this case there would be the compensating action on Irish revenue, diminishing the deficit figure, and bringing the time of revision nearer. There also exists the influence of the Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament, available for the purpose of opposition to an unfair tax. The practical guarantees thus seem to be ample.

In this connection there is one peculiar situation which ought to be distinguished. Suppose that a great emergency, such as a general European war, placed an exceptional strain on the British finances. Under this exceptional state of things might not taxation be raised to a point now hardly realisable? An increased burden would then fall on Irish contributors, and our critic would appear to rejoice as a true prophet of evil. His satisfaction would, however, be short-lived, for the Irish contribution would come to the account of Ireland, and if large—say the equivalent of the burden of £2,000,000 ludicrously attributed to the Budget of 1909-10—would extinguish at a stroke the remaining deficit.

It is even more pertinent to note that *all these hypothetical evils could occur under the present system*. Ireland may be heavily burdened for objects that are repugnant to the mass of her population; new taxation may be imposed that is unduly heavy; special Irish interests may be neglected, even with complete union of finance and legislation. Any theoretical danger is, in fact, the legacy of the previous system in a very attenuated form.

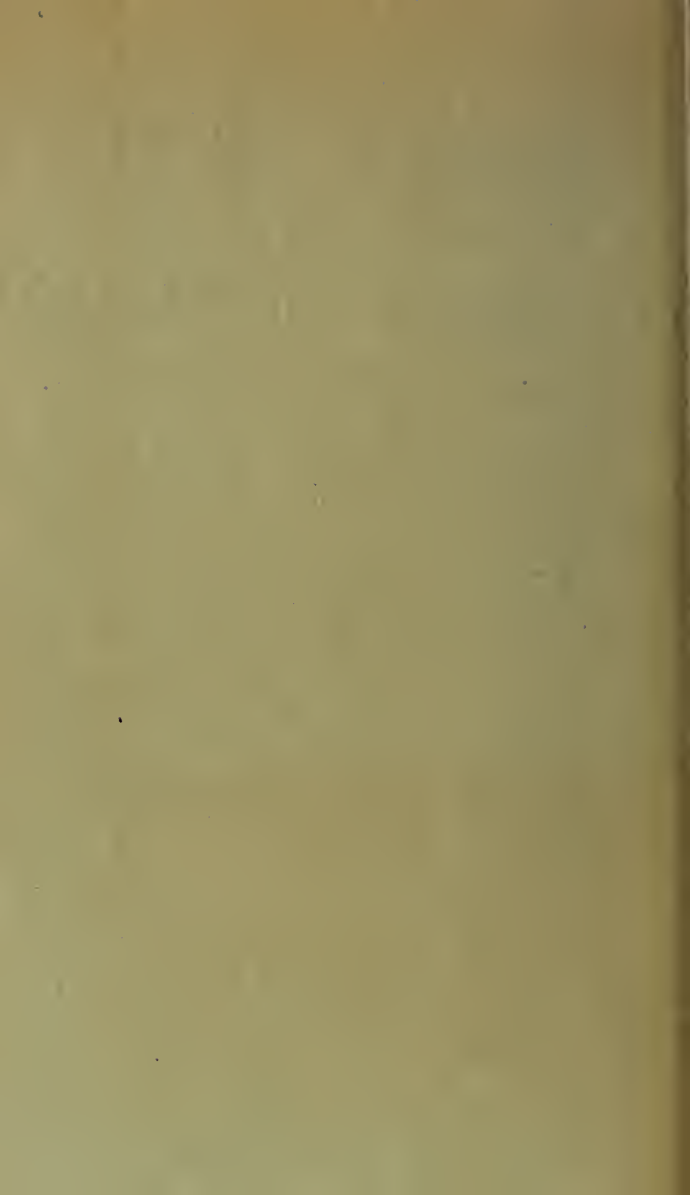
Before closing, I should like to deal with a point often raised, viz., the relation of the finance of the Government of Ireland Bill to "federal" finance. There is an impression that there exists some rigidly-defined system of finance which can be labelled "federal." I have long sought for this, and have failed to find it. What I have found is some crude abstraction from the organisation of the United States or Germany, both developed under special circumstances, not to be found repeated elsewhere. The ideal of a pure Federalism is quite unfounded. There are undoubtedly certain devices which have been adopted by several unions for simplifying finance. Prominent amongst these is the assignment of indirect taxes to the central, and direct taxes to the state Governments. The actual condition in the two great systems of Federalism to which I have referred, proves the impossibility of

adhering to this division. In the case of Ireland, the slightest inspection of the sources of revenue gives the impression that there is little analogy with other countries. Out of £9,500,000 of tax revenue, £6,500,000 comes from Customs and Excise; £1,500,000 from Income Tax; less than £1,000,000 from death duties, and £500,000 from stamps and miscellaneous receipts. It follows that the great rule of relativity applies, and that the scheme of finance ought not to be mechanically modelled on any supposed federal analogies.

In conclusion, I may express the opinion that the financial plan of the Government of Ireland Bill, alike in its provisions for Irish expenditure under the check of due responsibility, in those for affording the revenue necessary to meet that expenditure, and, finally, in its arrangement of financial machinery to secure the working of the system, is carefully adapted to the conditions of the problem, and though certainly by no means perfect, is quite capable of being worked satisfactorily by reasonable human beings. Amendments will be called for if the measure comes into being; but unforeseen contingencies apart, no radical alteration of the financial basis is required.







# Irish Unionist M.P.'s

THEIR APPEAL TO THE DEMOCRACY

— AND —

:: :: :: THEIR ATTITUDE :: :: ::

— TOWARDS —

:: BRITISH REFORM MEASURES. ::

BY J. O'D. DERRICK.

—

## AN INDICTMENT OF IRISH UNIONISM.

THIRD EDITION.

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Printed by THE IRISH NEWS, LTD., Belfast, and  
published by the United Irish League of Great  
Britain, 2 and 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster.

Just for a handful of silver he left us,  
Just for a ribbon to stick in his coat—  
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,  
Lost all the others she lets us devote.

\* \* \* \* \*

Blot out his name, then, record one lost soul more,  
One task more declined, one more footpath  
untrod,  
One more triumph for devils, and sorrow for angels,  
One wrong more to man, one more insult to God!

ROBERT BROWNING.



## THE RELIGIOUS BOGEY.

Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster Unionist members of Parliament have appealed to the British people to resist Home Rule. Some of them allege that if Ireland gets Home Rule the Catholic majority will persecute the Protestant minority. Those who make that assertion forget that Irish Nationalists in every phase of the Home Rule struggle have honoured Irish Protestants. Isaac Butt, assisted by the Father of Sir Edward Carson, founded the Home Rule movement. Both were Irish Protestants, and Isaac Butt was afterwards appointed the Leader of the Irish Party in Parliament. Charles Stewart Parnell was a Protestant, yet the Irish Party, composed in the main of men attached to the Catholic Church, appointed him as leader. Irish Unionist M.P.'s never had in Ireland a Catholic leader, and Irish Unionist constituencies never in their history returned even one Catholic Unionist to Parliament, while, just now, nine Protestants are representing constituencies in Ireland where the overwhelming majority of the people are Catholics.

Irish Unionist M.P.'s have opposed every reform demanded for Ireland just as they opposed by vote every reform measure the working classes in Great Britain desired to see made law. They supported the House of Lords in their rejection of every progressive measure affecting the people of Great Britain, and assisted in every way to prevent the Parliament Bill becoming law.

### SOME FACTS.

The people of Ireland return 103 Members to the House of Commons.

Eighty-five of the Members mentioned are believers in National Self-Government for Ireland and 18 are opposed to Ireland getting the management of her own affairs. The 18 Conservatives think that their views should prevail, in other words, that the minority should govern Ireland and vote down Irish public opinion.

Scotland returns to the House of Commons 72 Members. 56 are Liberals, 3 Labour Party men, and 13 are Tories.

If Scotland were governed as Ulster Unionists want Ireland to be governed, then Scotland would be ruled according to the views of the 13 Tories. Scotland would not stand any such proposal. Why should Ireland?

Ulster Unionist M.P.'s stand in politics for Landlord and other Reactionary interests. They try to vote down popular opinion on British Political Questions.

### **THE PROOF.**

The names in the following statements are taken from House of Commons Division Lists:—

#### **Small Landholders' (Scotland) Bill.**

25th February, 1908.—On this date the third reading of the above Bill took place. Amongst those voting against the third reading were:—Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson, Right Hon. Walter Long, Captain J. Craig, Mr. T. L. Corbett, Mr. H. T. Barrie, and Mr. W. Mitchell Thomson, then M.P. for N.W. Lanark, now representing North Down.

#### **Land Values (Scotland) Bill.**

26th February, 1908.—There voted against the third reading of the above Bill:—Captain J. Craig, Mr. T. L. Corbett, Mr. W. Mitchell Thomson, and Mr. C. C. Craig.

#### **Land Value Taxation Proposals.**

26th May, 1909.—The resolution re the Budget to levy increment value duties at the rate of one pound for every five pounds of increment value of land after 30th April, 1909, and to levy a halfpenny tax on the site value of undeveloped land, was voted against by Sir Edward Carson, Messrs. H. T. Barrie, C. C. Craig, J. Gordon, W. J. M. M'Caw, Marquis of Hamilton, Colonel M'Calmont, and Captain Craig.

#### **House Letting and Rating (Scotland) Bill.**

11th June, 1909.—Captain Craig and Mr. H. T. Barrie voted against this Bill, which the Scottish people have pleaded for for thirty years.

#### **Ulster Unionists and Pauper Disqualification.**

On June 7th, 1908, when the Old Age Pensions Bill was under discussion, Mr. Lloyd George accepted an amendment, which provided that the pauper disqualification should cease at the end of the year 1910. Amongst the Unionists voting against the amendment were:—Captain Craig, M.P., East Down; Mr. H. T. Barrie, M.P., South Derry; Mr. John Gordon, M.P., South Derry; Mr. W. J. M. M'Caw, M.P., West Down.

## London Elections Bill.

18th October, 1909.—Captain Craig voted against the second reading

## THE PLURAL VOTER.

There exists a large number of men who get votes for their business premises and whose residences are a few miles distant. These men are usually able to vote in two constituencies, and if they happen to have a coast residence they can exercise a third vote. In 25 constituencies in England Tory M.P.'s owe their majorities to these out-voters, and Glasgow Central Division and Buteshire are represented in Parliament mainly through the power exercised by plural voters. The object of the Plural Voting Bill is to provide that **NO MAN MAY VOTE MORE THAN ONCE**. The Irish Unionist M.P.'s believe in continuing the present power of plural voters.

On the 8th April, 1913, amongst those in the House of Commons who, by vote, sought to defeat the Plural Voting Bill were the Right Hon. J. H. M. Campbell, M.P., Dublin University; Captain Craig, M.P., East Down; Major R. C. A. M'Calmont, M.P., East Antrim; Hon. A. E. B. O'Neill, M.P., Mid-Antrim; Mr. C. C. Craig, M.P., South Antrim; Mr. Godfrey Fetherstonhaugh, M.P., North Fermanagh; Mr. W. J. M. M'Caw, M.P., West Down; Mr. R. Thompson, M.P., North Belfast; Mr. W. Mitchell Thomson, M. P., North Down; and Mr. H. T. Barrie, M.P., North Londonderry. In Parliament on 1st May, 1913, Sir Edward Carson, M.P., opposed by vote the Plural Voting Bill. These are the gentlemen who paraded Scotland, England and Wales appealing to the democracy against Home Rule, yet they had just left the House of Commons after recording their votes against the democracy for the retention of plural voting.

## HOME RULE FOR SCOTLAND.

On the Order coming up in the House of Commons on 30th May, 1913, for the second reading of the Government of Scotland Bill, which proposed to give Home Rule to the people of Scotland, the measure was opposed by the Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson, Right Hon. J. H. M. Campbell,

Sir John Lonsdale, Hon. A. E. B. O'Neill, Captain Craig, Messrs. Hugh T. Barrie, A. L. Horner, P. K. Kerr-Smiley, R. J. M'Mordie, W. Mitchell Thomson, W. J. M. M'Caw, and C. C. Craig, all of whom are Unionists and represent Irish constituencies.

## MR. ELLIS GRIFFITHS, M.P.,

### ON THE WELSH ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

Mr. Ellis Griffiths, K.C., M.P., in the "Daily News and Leader Year Book for 1913," writes that the Established Church in Wales "has never allied itself with the truly national movements in the country, but time after time it has been found in direct conflict with them, and to-day, after seven centuries, and in spite of its great wealth and opportunities, it finds nearly three-fourths of the actively religious portion of the population outside its pale.

"Wales itself, as a nation, is alive to the real state of affairs. Ever since 1885 it has always returned an overwhelming majority of its representatives to Parliament to demand the immediate termination of the Establishment within its borders. Well might Mr. Asquith declare that he could not remember a case so strong and so irresistible ever to have been presented to any legislature in the world."

## IRISH UNIONISTS.

### THEIR VOTES ON WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT.

The Liberal Government introduced the Established Church (Wales) Bill. The Bill had the support of the Welsh people and almost all its representatives in Parliament. What was the attitude of the Irish Unionist M.P.'s. The House of Commons Division List tells the story. The following Irish Unionists, on 17th June, 1913, opposed by vote the second reading of the Bill, thus trying to vote down Welsh public opinion:—Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson, Right Hon. J. H. M. Campbell, Hon. A. E. B. O'Neill, Captain Craig, Major R. C. A. M'Calmont, Messrs. H. T. Barrie, R. Thompson, J. Chambers, W. Mitchell Thomson, C. C. Craig, John Gordon, P. K. Kerr Smiley, W. J. M. M'Caw, W. Moore, and R. J. M'Mordie.



The facts in the preceding pages show that Irish Unionist Members of Parliament are in politics, not only to maintain minority rule in Ireland, but also to vote against measures of progressive character for Great Britain and bolster up privilege and vested interests wherever they exist.

### BRITISH CITIZENS,

Reject the ideas of the politicians who seek, for political purposes, to promote sectarian bigotry, and who use their positions in Parliament to serve the interests of British landowners. Ulster Unionists voted against the Land Clauses in the great Budget of Lloyd George, and took the side of the House of Lords against the people, voted against the Irish and Scottish Home Rule measures, against Welsh public opinion and in favour of plural voting.

Irish and British Landowners have subscribed to an enormous extent to Tory funds with the result that

A large number of men have been employed to speak and canvass in the constituencies to raise sectarian strife, thinking, on religious grounds, to keep Catholics and Protestants at variance, for the purpose of keeping attention off the Land Question

in England, Scotland, and Wales, where the taxation and rating system permits landowners to draw millions of pounds in ground rents, and who contribute nothing towards local rates on the land values they receive. So long as the electors can be kept quarrelling over old-time religious feuds the Tory Landowners are satisfied. Help to secure Home Rule for Ireland, thus leaving the House of Commons more time for British Reform measures, and more speedily there will arrive Legislative Measures for the betterment of Labour and Social conditions in Great Britain.

31st October, 1913.

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## **HELP TO EXPOSE**

**The Attitude of Irish Unionists in . .  
relation to British Reform Measures.**

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— FOR —

**HOME RULE and DEMOCRACY.**

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## LETTERS FROM IRISH PROTESTANTS.

The following communications from leading non-Catholics in Ireland were received by Mr. MacVeagh, M.P., in answer to a circular letter inviting expressions of opinion :—

**Right Hon. LORD PIRRIE, H.M.L., K.P., P.C.**

(Chairman of the world-famed firm of Harland & Wolff, Ltd., Shipbuilders, Belfast, which pays £20,000 a week in wages, and employs more labour than any firm in Ireland. Lord Pirrie is Lord Lieutenant of Belfast, ex-Lord Mayor of Belfast, ex-High Sheriff both of Co. Antrim and of Co. Down, and ex-President of the Chamber of Shipping).

It is with the utmost confidence that I give expression to my opinion that there is no fear that the impending inauguration of an Irish Legislature will have, as one of its results, the religious persecution of Protestants. On the other hand, I confess with shame that in the past the spirit of religious intolerance has been and is even now, although in lesser degree, prevalent amongst a portion of the Unionist population of Ulster.

**Right Hon. the EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P., P.C., C.M.G., &c.**

(Under Secretary of State for the Colonies in the last Unionist Government, His Majesty's Lord Lieutenant for the County of Limerick).

Protestants flying from the persecutions of Mary in England found safe shelter in Catholic Ireland. Quakers persecuted in Protestant England traversed Catholic Ireland unmolested, preaching the most extreme form of Protestantism. Wesley found respectful listeners in Ireland, and spoke of the docile and tolerant spirit in which he was received. I believe the fears for the minority to be groundless ; but they can be guaranteed equality and fair play, and for more than that they have no right to ask.

**Right Hon. Sir HORACE PLUNKETT, K.C.V.O., P.C., D.C.L., &c.**

(A Member of the last Unionist Government, Unionist M.P. for South Dublin, 1892-1900. Head of the Department of Agriculture for Ireland, 1899-1907).

The question of religious bigotry should not figure in this controversy. I have never observed that the fact of being a Protestant was a disadvantage to a man in Irish public life.

**His Honour Judge RENTOUL, K.C., LL.D.**

(Judge of the Central Criminal and City of London Courts ; Unionist Member for East Down, 1890-1892).

I have a very large number of relatives in Ireland who are strong Unionists, and all Protestants. Nearly all of them live in the counties of Donegal, Tipperary, Longford, and Cork, and they all declare to me that religious persecution is the very last thing they fear or regard as possible.

**Rev. WILLIAM CRAWFORD, M.A.**

(Twice Vice-President of the Methodist Church, and ex-Headmaster of Wesley College, Dublin).

Rev. W. Crawford, writing to the METHODIST TIMES, says :—By many of the younger generation Irish self-government is anticipated with pleasure and hope.

**Colonel Sir NUCENT TALBOT EVERARD, Bart., H.M.L.**

(A leading Irish Landlord, and His Majesty's Lord Lieutenant for the County of Meath).

For forty years I have been associated with my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen as a Magistrate, Poor Law Guardian, Grand Jurymen, and County Councillor, and I can testify to the spirit of religious toleration that prevails in a county where Protestants constitute an extremely small proportion of the population.

**Right Hon. THOMAS SHILLINGTON, J.P., P.C.**

(A prominent Linen Manufacturer in Belfast and Portadown, and a Member of the Privy Council in Ireland).

It is a great misfortune for any form of religion that it should be exploited by, and be dragged into the service of a political party, and be used by it for its political purposes. To that position Protestants in Ireland have been degraded by the Unionist Party. Unfortunately, it has been for many years the policy and practice of that Party to stimulate and foster, to the utmost of their ability, amongst Protestants, aversion towards, and distrust of their Roman Catholic neighbours. I am strongly of opinion that the fears expressed by some Protestants of persecution under a Home Rule government are chimerical and groundless.

**Right Hon. Sir DAVID HARREL, P.C., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., I.S.O.**

(Under Secretary of State for Ireland till 1902, Ex-Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Police, Chairman of the Railway Strike Peace Commission in 1911).

My conviction is that a change in the government of Ireland, provided that change be conceived and carried out on sound financial principles, would not adversely affect the position of religious minorities. As regards the generosity of Irish Catholics, I have a title to speak. I owe it entirely to non-official Catholic friends that I was placed in positions of trust and responsibility in which it has been my privilege to contribute to those changes which have been a benefit to my fellow-countrymen.

**Right Hon. R. C. GLENDINNING, P.C., J.P.**

(A leading Linen Manufacturer in Belfast, Liberal Ex-M.P. for North Antrim, and Member of His Majesty's Privy Council for Ireland).

The oft-repeated assertion of the leaders of the Unionist party to the effect that, under Home Rule, Protestants would be deprived of their cherished civil and religious rights, liberties, and privileges, and would be subjected to all manner of pains and penalties on account of their faith, is controverted by those who have resided in Roman Catholic districts, and are, therefore, competent to express an opinion on the subject.

**Rev. WILLIAM MacKEOWN**

(Presbyterian Minister, Scots Church, Cork).

It is now nineteen years since I came to live in Cork, and during that time I have never experienced, and have never known, an uncivil or unfriendly act done by a Roman Catholic to a Protestant on account of his Protestantism. No Protestant who has lived for any length of time in the South and has mingled with the people has any such fear. It is only in Ulster that people talk of intolerance. The fear of Roman Catholic intolerance or persecution under Home Rule is a pure bogey, invented by minds that are embittered by hate and prejudiced by political partisanship. If Englishmen could only realise that there are four provinces in Ireland, and that only in Ulster is there any bitterness, intolerance, or persecution, surely they would not permit themselves to be misled by this nonsensical cry of Roman Catholic intolerance.

**Mr. EDWARD ARCHDALE, J.P., D.L.**

• (Deputy Lieutenant and Ex-High Sheriff for two Irish Counties—Fermanagh and Tyrone).

I have every reason to repudiate the idea that the grant of self-government to Ireland would result in the religious persecution of Protestants. There does not appear to be a grain of evidence in support of such a charge. I consider the publicly expressed fears and forebodings of many North of Ireland Protestants in this respect are quite unfounded.

**Mr. HENRY JAMESON DAVIES, J.P.**

(Landowner: High Sheriff of Wexford County).

I have had innumerable opportunities in a public life of fifty years of noticing the absence of any prejudice on the part of Catholics in the South-east of Ireland against their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Personally, I have always met with the greatest courtesy from my Catholic neighbours, and have not the slightest fear of any change for the worse from Home Rule.

**Mr. WILLIAM HOLLIDAY, J.P.**

(High Sheriff of Limerick).

This city, perhaps the most intensely Catholic in the Empire, has, for the last five years, nominated each year a Protestant High Sheriff. On my re-election to the office in January last, a Roman Catholic gentleman of position and influence, especially clerical influence, contested the position; the Corporation, however, consisting of forty members, all Roman Catholics, by a substantial majority, placed my name first on the list to be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant. On the following Sunday evening two city bands, followed by a considerable body of workers, marched to my residence in the suburbs, and serenaded me, loudly cheering and congratulating me on my victory. The chief Catholic manufacturing and industrial concerns in this city have Protestants controlling chief positions. Then, again, the Harbour Commissioners, consisting of seventeen members, eleven of whom are Roman Catholics, the majority of whom for a great many years past have been Roman Catholic, were pleased, when vacancies occurred, to elect to the chief positions, namely, Harbour Engineer and Secretary, Protestants, replacing Roman Catholics.



**Mr. WALTER KAVANACH, J.P., D.L.**

(A leading Irish Landlord, Ex-M.P. for Co. Carlow, Deputy Lieutenant and Ex-High Sheriff of Co. Carlow, and Chairman of Carlow County Council).

Too much is made out of so-called religious differences in Ireland. As a matter of fact, they are, for the most part, political differences, such as exist in every country. I should like to bear my testimony to the tolerance and forbearance of my Catholic fellow-countrymen. As a Protestant-Unionist, I was elected as Chairman for two years by the Catholic-Nationalist members of a Board of Guardians. Then, when the Local Government Act came into force, I was also elected, under the same circumstances, and, after a contest, to the Carlow County Council, and was subsequently elected Vice-Chairman of that body. Since I have become a Home Ruler I have been elected Chairman of the Carlow County Council and Member of Parliament for the same county. Many other instances can be given of the willingness of the people of this country to elect and appoint those who differed from them in religion, but who agreed with them in politics. Can anyone ask more of them? Can anyone show an instance in England of a Conservative constituency returning a Liberal, or *vice versa*? Toleration is good, but it has its limits. Irish Nationalists cannot be asked to do what English Conservatives or Liberals will not do, and never have done.

**Sir HUGH MACK, J.P.**

(A leading Belfast Linen Merchant).

I have never at any time entertained the slightest fear that the grant to Irishmen of the control of their own domestic affairs would result in the persecution of the Protestant minority on account of their religion. I firmly believe that any change in the direction of local self-government, far from retarding, would promote the growth of tolerance among all creeds and classes.

**Mr. HOWARD ROWE, J.P. (Mayor of Wexford).**

There seems to me not the slightest cause for thinking Protestants would be persecuted by an Irish Parliament. These fears have been excited and fostered for political purposes; their source and origin will be found in the Rent Office of the Landlords. I am myself a Methodist, so are two esteemed members of the Corporation, and I have been elected this year to the Mayoral Chair with marked public approval, so that I am qualified to give an opinion as to the character and disposition of the people, and the probability of religious persecution.

**Rev. R. HERBERT SEWELL, B.A.**

(Minister of Great George Street Congregational Church, Liverpool).

I have come to the conclusion that no people in the world have so deep a reverence for all varieties of religious faith as have the Catholics of Ireland. My experience is that whatever religious intolerance there is in Ireland must be looked for in the districts where the Catholic is in a hopeless minority, and at the hands of those misguided so-called Protestants, who have been led by interested parties into looking on the Catholic as a natural enemy. I believe that once an Irish Parliament is established, Catholic and Protestant will be found working harmoniously together in the service of their country.

**Sir ALEXANDER SHAW, J.P.**

(Proprietor of the Limerick Bacon Factory, Ex-President of Chamber of Commerce).

As only about 5 per cent. of the population of Limerick County is Protestant, Presbyterian, or Methodist, surely we would have been swept into the sea long ago if there was any truth in the cry of religious intolerance, which is a bogey of the most absurd kind; and it astonishes me that the Northern men, who are shrewd enough, have not seen this long ago.

**Mr. LINDSAY TALBOT-CROSBIE, J.P., D.L.**

(One of the leading Irish Landlords, and a Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Kerry).

So far from seeking the support of the Orange Lodges, the scattered Protestants of the South strongly deprecate being exploited by the Northern party for the furtherance of their own political objects. Some little time ago, when this question was before the public, I wrote to the Press and challenged the production of a single case in which any Protestant in Kerry has suffered in purse or person on account of his creed. To this day the challenge remains unanswered.

**Mr. JOSEPH ALEXANDER, LL.D.**

(A Solicitor and Commissioner for Oaths in Londonderry).

So far as this part of the country is concerned, there is absolutely nothing in this cry of intolerance.



**Mr. JOHN ANDERSON, J.P.**

(Gorticar House, Clonelly, Co. Fermanagh).

I am a Methodist, living in the Northern portion of County Fermanagh, almost on the border of County Donegal, and have an intimate knowledge of the conditions of life, religious and political, prevailing in both counties. I have been living and moving amongst Roman Catholics all my life, many of whom I regard as my best friends, and I have never seen bigotry or intolerance exhibited by any of them.

**Mr. RICHARD M. BARRINGTON, J.P., M.A., LL.B.**

(One of the largest employers of agricultural labour in the County of Wicklow).

I have no fear of religious intolerance under Home Rule ; and have every confidence in the good sense of my Catholic neighbours and fellow-countrymen.

**Lieutenant-Colonel BOULGER.**

(Mahonville, Blackrock, Cork).

I am a Cork Presbyterian, and for the last eleven years have been living in the immediate neighbourhood of this metropolis of Munster, and where the Roman Catholics outnumber the Protestants (according to 1911 Census) by 15 or 16 to 1, and yet during all this time I have never heard the faintest whisper of religious intolerance.

**Mr. J. F. CAMPBELL, J.P.**

(Surveyor and Valuer in Garvagh, Co. Derry).

I am an Episcopalian, and have lived for over 50 years in a district in Co. Derry, where the Catholic religion is embraced by over half the population ; and I have relations living in other parts of Ireland where the Catholic people are in the majority ; and I consider it only fair to say, regarding a much maligned people, that our united testimony is that never at any time did we experience any treatment from our Catholic neighbours showing the slightest tendency to religious intolerance.

**Mr. JOSEPH CARR, J.P.**

(Gowan Lodge, Killyleagh, Co. Down ; landowner and prominent Ulster Liberal).

I have no fear of Roman Catholics treating Protestants unfairly under self-government.

**Mr. ALEXANDER J. CRICHTON, J.P.**

(Deputy Lieutenant and Ex-High Sheriff of Co. Sligo.)

It appears absurd to me to suppose that under Home Rule all Catholics would be united against Protestants.

**Mr. WILLIAM C. CARR.**

(Bellevue, Killyleagh, Co. Down ; a well-known County Down Agriculturist.)

As one of the minority, I have no fear of Home Rule. I believe that the scales of justice will be more evenly balanced under self-government than they are under the present system.

**Professor CROFTON.**

(Professor of Pathology in the National University of Ireland.)

I have never noticed the slightest sign of religious intolerance on the part of Roman Catholics in Ireland—very much the contrary, in fact.

**Mr. J. R. CROZIER, J.P.**

(Merchant, Ederney, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh.)

My experience for the past ten years in that, where any intolerance or persecution prevails, it is caused by our Protestant inhabitants.

**Mr. JOHN CROZIER, J.P.**

(Blacklion, Co. Fermanagh ; Lay Representative of Enniskillen District at the Methodist Conference.)

I was born and brought up in South Fermanagh, and am a member and office-bearer of the Methodist Church. I consider it a libel against my Catholic countrymen to say that they will not treat their Protestant fellow-countrymen fairly, and with toleration, in the future.

**Capt. the Hon. OTWAY F. S. CUFFE (Died January, 1912.)**

(Son of the late Earl of Desart, Gentleman-Usher to the King, and Ex-Mayor of Kilkenny.)

I have twice been unanimously chosen Mayor of the City of Kilkenny by a Corporation consisting exclusively of Roman Catholics. I think it is right to state that I never at any time have taken any part whatsoever in politics.

**Mr. W. H. DAVEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.**

(Editor of the ULSTER GUARDIAN, Belfast.)

My Irish Catholic fellow-countrymen would be more than human if they did not feel some bitterness at having to defend themselves against a charge which might be more properly laid at the door of those of my own faith. I, as a Protestant, an Ulsterman, and above all, an Irishman, welcome this opportunity of doing the little I can to expose as foul and false a slander as has ever been levelled against as generous and kindly race.

**Mr. ROBERT DAVISON.**

(A County Derry Landholder.)

My experience of Roman Catholic fair play and fair-mindedness has, indeed, led me to do what I thought in my youthful days to be an impossibility—namely, to be thoroughly convinced that self-government for Ireland is an absolute necessity if ever the Irish people are to be reconciled to the British Empire, and religious fanaticism to die a natural death.

**Mr. ST. CLAIR M. DOBBS, J.P., D.L., M.C.C.**

(A prominent Ulster Unionist.)

I am a strong Unionist and a strong Protestant, and have never concealed my opinions. I live in a district almost entirely Roman Catholic and Nationalist. Personally, I am not in the least afraid that my Catholic fellow-countrymen would ever persecute Protestants, simply because they were Protestants.

**Mr. C. C. DUNCAN, J.P.**

(One of the most substantial Farmers in Kildare.)

It is with pleasure I testify to the amiable tolerance of Roman Catholics in South Kildare towards all denominations of Protestants. I have lived amongst them as boy and man for forty-six years, and I never heard a wrong word; neither have I seen a wrong act done by any Roman Catholic towards a Protestant.

**Mr. HUGH ECCLES, J.P.**

(Hanover Gardens, Coleraine; a Justice of the Peace for Co. Derry.)

The intelligent section of the Protestant community treats the idea of persecution as a joke. The Protestant Ulster members will, I imagine, be much more powerful in a Home Parliament than they anticipate, and will be able to do more good than they have ever done in St. Stephen's.

**Mr. T. N. EDGEWORTH.**

(Secretary of the Longford County Council.)

I am a Protestant: I have earned my living by the not necessarily popular calling of a land agent since 1875, and as Secretary to the old Grand Jury of County Longford, I was transferred to the County Council, who had power to dispense with my services without assigning any reason. The Council asked me to continue to act as their Secretary, which I was glad to do, and for the past six years they have further shown their confidence in me by sending me (along with the Catholic Bishop) as one of their nominees on the Committee of Management of Mullingar District Lunatic Asylum.

**Mr. W. J. FENNELL, J.P.**

(Burton House, Athy; a leading Farmer in Kildare.)

Personally, I am not in the least afraid of any religious intolerance under Home Rule or otherwise.

**Dr. CHARLES FORSYTHE, J.P.**

(A Medical Practitioner in Coleraine, Co. Derry for forty years.)

I am decidedly of opinion that there is not the remotest danger of religious persecution of Protestants in the event of an Irish Legislature being conceded.

**Mr. ROBERT GIBSON.**

(One of the leading Butter Merchants of the South of Ireland.)

I have lived for sixty-seven years in the Catholic districts of Tipperary, Cork and Limerick. I have never in the least cloaked my real Protestant sentiments, and I have been a Freemason for fifty-five years, and always have expressed pleasure and satisfaction at being one. My experience has been that, in Ireland, the bigotry and intolerance has always been much more displayed by Protestants than by Roman Catholics.

**Mr. WILLIAM GIBSON, J.P.**

(A Magistrate and Farmer in Co. Down).

I am an Ulster Scotch Protestant. For over 30 years I have thought it wise to support the Irish Parliamentary Party, because that Party helped me as an agricultural tenant out of the hands of the extortioner. Solomon said that the righteous are as bold as a lion. Hence *I have no fear* to vote the occupiers of Ireland the right to rule themselves, because *that right is just*.

**Mr. H. F. S. COOLD-VERSCHOYLE, J.P., B.L., R.D.C.**

(A County Donegal Landlord).

I feel very strongly that every Protestant who is true to the principles of his creed is a democrat at heart, and that Irish Protestants have more to fear from the reactionaries of their own church, and from Toryism in all its forms, than from the Catholic people.

**Mr. HENRY H. GRAHAM, J.P.**

(Ex-President of the Baptist Union of Ireland and a Justice of the Peace in Belfast).

I have never come across a case where it could be shown that any fellow-Protestant of mine suffered the slightest intolerant treatment from his Catholic neighbours, and I am quite confident that if Ireland receives a measure of self-government this happy state of things will continue unchanged.

**Mr. J. ERNEST CRUDD, J.P., M.C.C.**

(Chairman of the Carrick-on-Suir Urban Council; Ex-Chairman of County Tipperary County Council, and an extensive employer of labour at Carrick-on-Suir, Clonmel, and Waterford).

In this town (Carrick-on-Suir), the percentage of Roman Catholics is about 98, yet I and others who are not Roman Catholics have been elected on public boards during these years by our Roman Catholic constituents.

**Mr. ROBERT WALL, J.P.**

(Proprietor of one of the largest Boot Factories in Ireland).

I am a native of Wigan, Cumberland, and came over to Ireland 45 years ago. From that time till now I have been in business in Castletwellan, Co. Down, where more than one-half of the population are Catholics. I have for all these years received nothing but kindness and good-will from the Roman Catholics. I am a Methodist. I do not fear Home Rule.

**Rev. J. M. HAMILTON, D.D., M.A.**

(Ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland).

I have lived in Dublin for nearly fifty years. I have always received the utmost courtesy and kindness from my Roman Catholic neighbours, and I have no fear of persecution in the future, no matter what the political changes may be.

**Mr. SAMUEL HARRIS, R.D.C.**

(Chairman of the East Limerick Executive of the United Irish League).

I am one of the Protestant minority of the South of Ireland who are said to be in danger if Home Rule is granted to Ireland, but, strange to say, although I am surrounded by the men who are to persecute me when granted the management of our own affairs, I look forward to that time with the greatest pleasure.

**Mr. EDMUND HARVEY.**

(A retired Land Agent in Waterford).

I have no fear of any attempt at religious persecution of Protestants, or non-Catholics, taking place under an Irish Home Rule Government. Religious dissensions are almost entirely unknown in Ireland, outside of Ulster (in which province more than half the population are Protestants), and even in Ulster such dissensions tend to lessen as time progresses.

**Captain the Hon. FITZROY HEMPHILL, J.P., B.L., L.C.C.**

(Son of the late Right Hon. Baron Hemphill, P.C.)

In my opinion, there is not the least danger of Protestants suffering any loss or injury by the grant of a full measure of Home Rule to Ireland.

**Mr. FREDERICK W. HIGGINBOTHAM, J.P., T.C., M.I.C.E.I.**

(Surveyor for the Earl of Howth's Estate.)

I am a Civil Engineer and Architect, and have been practising in Dublin, and the country generally, for several years. I have never found that the fact of my being a Protestant has interfered with obtaining work from Catholics.



**Mr. GEORGE M. HARRIS.**

(Clerk to the Justices, Kilmallock.)

I am a Protestant, and am a member of the Synod of the Diocese of Limerick. I have lived in this hotbed of Nationalism for fifty years, and for the last twenty-nine years I have acted as Clerk to the Justices, the majority of whom are Catholics. Immediately prior to the Boer War, I remember reading of an English Captain, in South Africa, who, when asked what were their grievances, replied: "We have to look in the English Press to find them," and so too with us Protestants in the South.

**Colonel W. M. HODDER.**

(Carrigaline Co. Cork, late of the Royal Engineers.)

I know of no cases of religious intolerance, not to speak of "persecution," by Irish Roman Catholics of Irish Protestants. It is inconceivable that such should take place under Home Rule.

**Mr. MILES RICHARD HOPKINS.**

(O'Connell Street, Dublin; Manufacturing Silversmith and Jeweller.)

I never heard in the county in which I was born (Co. Carlow) any such thing as ill-feeling or persecution by Catholics of any kind whatsoever.

**Mr. DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D., D.Litt.**

(President of the Gaelic League.)

I have often heard people talk of religious bigotry, so I suppose it exists. But if it does exist, it is not in the Gaelic League. And I thank God that I have myself been fortunate enough never to have come across it to any extent, even in private life.

**Mr. T. F. HARVEY JACOB.**

(An active Member of the Society of Friends in Waterford.)

I have come across very little religious intolerance among Catholics and a great deal among Protestants. Any cases I have known of Protestants suffering for their religion in any way were directly and unquestionably caused by Protestant bigotry. I am quite convinced that any full measure of self-government would very soon begin to lessen sectarian animosity in Ireland.

**County Court Judge JOHNSTON, M.A., LL.D.**

(An Ulster Presbyterian and elected to the Pembroke Urban Council by a Catholic majority.)

No Irish Protestant believes in his heart that his Catholic fellow-countrymen would oppress him. In truth and in fact, the suggestion is merely a Tory device to catch votes, and it will be promptly dropped when the Party managers think that it has served its turn.

**Mr. RICHARD JONES, J.P.**

(Member of the Dublin Corporation, and Chairman of the Richmond District Lunatic Asylum.)

I represented for nine years in the Corporation of Dublin the largest Ward in the City, the electorate of which exceeded six thousand voters, more than fourth-fifths of whom were Catholics. During that period I had to face three hotly contested elections; in each case my opponent was a local Catholic with strong claims, yet on all three occasions I was returned by an overwhelming majority of Catholic votes. I have the honour to be Chairman of one of the most representative Boards in Ireland, that of the Richmond District Lunatic Asylum, comprised of representatives from Dublin City and the three Counties of Dublin, Wicklow and Louth—all of which are Catholic constituencies. I have held that position without interruption since the year 1900, and each year that honour has been conferred on me by the votes of my Catholic colleagues. In all my life I have never known in Ireland a case where a Protestant suffered any disability, loss or inconvenience on account of his religion. It is my sincere conviction that the greatest safeguard which Protestants will have under a system of Home Rule in Ireland will be the clergy of the Catholic Church.

**Mr. RICHARD LATCHFORD, J.P.**

(A prominent Merchant in Tralee, Co. Kerry.)

At this time of day, it is simple nonsense for Protestants to talk of danger of persecution at the hands of their life-long friends, the Catholics. No such fears are ever spoken in the province of Munster.

**Mr. ROBERT F. MACK.**

(An extensive Corn Miller in Cork).

I have a business experience of over 25 years in Cork, the Capital of the Catholic South, and I do not remember a solitary instance of religious intolerance on either side. On the other hand, I know of many instances where public positions and appointments in the gift of Catholics have been accorded to Protestants.

**Mr. WILLIAM MACAFEE, Barrister-at-Law.**

(Graduate of Dublin University, Liberal Candidate for North Antrim.)

I have never known of any instance in which a Protestant was persecuted, boycotted, or in any way molested by Roman Catholics on the ground of his religion.

**Mr. THOMAS McDOWELL.**

(Secretary, Ulster Liberal Association, Belfast).

I have no fear whatever that the civil or religious liberty of any Protestant in Ireland would be in the smallest degree interfered with under Home Rule.

**Mr. JOHN MCKEE.**

(A leading Solicitor in Newtownards, Co. Down, and Belfast).

I am of opinion that you could easily get the testimony of many Unionists themselves that they have no fear of religious intolerance if Home Rule were granted.

**Mr. MURROUCH O'BRIEN.**

(Retired Chief Land Commissioner for Ireland.)

The apprehension of religious persecution or unfair treatment seems to me absurd, nor do I see how such would be possible under a democratic Irish constitution.

**Mr. C. H. PEACOCK, J.P.**

(A Wexford Magistrate and Landowner).

I consider this cry about religious intolerance is a political and partisan cry on the part of so-called Unionists. I myself am an elected representative on many public Boards in this country, and I have the honour of being Chairman of several representative bodies.

**Professor RISHWORTH.**

(Professor of Civil Engineering in University College, Galway).

During the last twenty-five years I cannot recall a single instance of a Protestant in the district being subjected to any annoyance on account of his religious views.

**Mr. THOMAS SCOTT, J.P., Belfast.**

For upwards of forty years I have had a large and extensive business connection amongst them, and although of a religion different from that of the majority of my fellow-countrymen, I have never found the semblance of religious intolerance, but have ever been treated by them with the greatest respect, courtesy, kindness and impartiality.

**Mr. THOMAS HENRY WEBB, Dublin.**

I believe Protestants in Ireland who are free from sectarian feelings and prejudices are trusted and esteemed by their Catholic neighbours, and as free and untrammelled in religious matters as in any other country.

**Mr. WILLIAM WHALEY.**

(Knockboy House, Waringstown, County Down.)

I, as a Protestant, have ever looked upon the cry of religious intolerance as a fine election dodge manœuvred by a few practised hands in their own selfish interests.

**Mr. JAMES WILLIAMSON, B.L.**

(A native of Armagh and Liberal Candidate for East Down).

In my experience I have never seen a Protestant either persecuted or interfered with on account of his religious views. The Catholics of Ireland are a warm-hearted, generous people, and so far from displaying religious intolerance when Home Rule is granted, I believe they will accord to the Protestant minority a fair and even generous part in the government of our beloved country.

**Mr. ARTHUR N. WRIGHTSON, B.A., B.E., T.C.D.**

(Churchwarden of St. John's, Dublin, and son of the late Vicar of Lusk).

For my part, I consider that I am more safe from religious persecution under a Catholic majority than the reverse.



# SOME FACTS FOR CATHOLIC ELECTORS.

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BY JEREMIAH MACVEAGH, M.P.

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**NO CATHOLIC CAN VOTE FOR THE UNIONIST CANDIDATE IN THIS ELECTION WITHOUT MAKING COMMON CAUSE WITH THE ULSTER ORANGEMEN.**

What forms the sum and substance of the opposition to Irish Self-Government? Nothing more or less than that **Ireland is a Catholic nation**, and that **Catholics cannot be trusted**.

That charge is never made in a constituency in which there are Catholic electors whom the Unionists hope to humbug: on the contrary, every effort is made to get Catholic Unionists to come into the constituency to support the Unionist candidate. But it is used unscrupulously **where there is no Catholic vote**. For example, it did duty at the recent by-election in **Taunton**; and one of the Unionist Whips had subsequently to apologise to the Catholics in his own constituency for his references. The attacks made upon Catholics have, in fact, been so gross and infamous that even so strong a Tory Catholic as **Mr. Mark Sykes, M.P.**, has been driven to protest against the insults to his religion.

So recently as January 28th, 1913, **Lord Farnham**—speaking in the House of Lords on the motion to reject the Home Rule Bill—said:—

“Then we are also to have, as the head of the Government in Ireland, a Viceroy; but for the first time he is now to be allowed to be a Roman Catholic. This in itself is utterly inconsistent with the Bill of Rights, and it is to this Government that it is now proposed to hand over the Protestants in Ireland. What have we done that we are now to be cast off and **handed over to a Roman Catholic Parliament?**”

Three days later—on January 31st—a letter appeared in one of the leading Unionist papers in Ulster, the “Northern Whig,” from **Rev. Dr. Madill**, a Protestant clergyman in Garvagh, co. Derry, advocating the boycott of Nationalist working-men (about 100,000 in number) by Unionist employers, in the event of the Home Rule Bill becoming law; and this proposal aroused the indignation of a Protestant Liberal newspaper, the “Ulster Guardian,” which wrote:—

“In Rev. Dr. Madill’s confidence that there is ‘no British law’ which can prevent the adoption of his proposal (a confidence which we think is misplaced, or else our knowledge of the law of

criminal conspiracy is sadly at fault), has he forgotten that there is a higher law than mere man-made enactments, a law which he of all persons is bound to regard? Has the Sermon on the Mount—nay, the whole teaching of the Master he professes to serve, no sanctity in his eyes that he is ready to advocate wrong-doing merely because he thinks it is not forbidden by the law of the land? How many of the Ten Commandments are enforced by a legal sanction, and what would Dr. Madill say to a hearer who was prepared to break all those which he was in no danger of being punished for in this world? We hope that Dr. Madill will live to repent the letter he has written, if not for his own sake at least for the sake of common religion. For if Protestantism is to be advocated in such a manner by those occupying high places in the Protestant Communion, there will be many Protestants ready to cry out: **‘Take away your heathen Christianity and give us honest Christian paganism.’**”

Another up-to-date specimen of the bigotry and intolerance of the Orange faction which Catholics are asked to support is to be found in the words of **Colonel Wallace, J.P., D.L.**, Grand Master of the Orangemen at Ulster, spoken at Belfast on July 12th, 1911:—

“What keeps Ireland going now? Protestant money and English subsidies. What keeps the mills going and employs the workers? Protestant money. What pays the wages of thousands of Roman Catholic workers? Protestant money. What would happen if the Protestant men of wealth realised what they could and left the country? If the Protestant employers of labour shipped their works to the other side of the water, **if the Protestant employers refused to employ anyone who wasn’t a Protestant**, do you think the wretched Roman Catholics who would be starving would be shouting for ‘Ireland a Nation’ then? Let them pause and carefully consider all these things.”

In that speech, however, the “Grand Master” was only re-echoing the words of **Viscount Cole**, ex-M.P. for Fermanagh, at Floreneecourt, co. Fermanagh, on January 14th, 1886 (“Irish Times” report):—

“I say to you farmers, many of whom I see around me, employ more Protestants, and **don’t employ Roman Catholics**. Roman Catholics must live, **but they must go elsewhere to live**, and joy be with them. (Loud applause.) I say if you **don’t feed them**, they will have to be fed in some other country, and they will leave Fermanagh, **and that is all we wish.**”

To give another example, **Mr. William Johnston, M.P.**, the Orange leader, issued the following manifesto on February 6th, 1893, because Sir Henry James, M.P., afterwards Lord James of Hereford, dared to vote for Mr. Gladstone’s Catholic Disabilities Bill after arranging to visit the Orangemen of Belfast:—

“The 1st of April is fixed for the visit of Sir Henry James to Belfast. He has spoken and voted in favour of Mr. Gladstone’s

Bill to open the British Chancellorship and Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland to Roman Catholics. Let no Protestant or Orangeman attend his meetings. Leave him to be received by those who share his views.—William Johnston.”

This, too, is how the “Derry Sentinel,” a Unionist organ, wrote of Mr. Justin McCarthy’s election for the city of Derry in 1886 :

(The Nationalists) “have their triumph of the hour ; the mob is exulting over the defeat of those **on whom they depend for their daily bread.** We shall see hereafter which of the two classes will have most cause to rejoice.”

Even **Mr. Walter Long, M.P.**, their chosen leader for years, was not intolerant enough to satisfy his followers. In 1892 he was returned to Parliament for the West Derby Division of Liverpool, but the local Orangemen refused to re-elect him because he would not beat the Orange drum with sufficient fervour. His appeal to them in January, 1907, to cease talking about sectarianism was indignantly repudiated, and when a year later he announced his intention of supporting the alteration of the King’s Declaration he went through exactly the same experience as Lord James of Hereford had met with in 1893 ; for the boycotting order was passed around, and the invitation he had received to an Orange meeting in Belfast was publicly cancelled.

Similarly, **Mr. Gerald Balfour** was driven out of public life because he could not satisfy the Orange bigots ; **Mr. Wyndham** was forced out of the Chief Secretaryship by the same faction ; and **Sir Horace Plunkett** was hunted out of Parliament because he appointed a Catholic as Secretary to the Department of Agriculture in a Catholic country like Ireland.

It is only a few months since **Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P.**, was imploring the electors of Liverpool to vote for “**the twin causes of Protestantism and Tariff Reform**” ; and on the day of the signing of the precious “Ulster Covenant” in September last, scores of Orange platforms were graced with the presence of English Tory M.P.’s, and nearly every speech reeked with foul insults to the Catholic Church.

**Hundreds of Catholic workmen and women in the shipyards and factories of Belfast have in the last few months been hunted like wild beasts, and are at this very moment being denied the right to earn their livelihood in their native country.**

The “Crimson Banner Song Book,” “a collection of the latest popular songs and poems for all true Orangemen,” dedicated to Colonel Wallace, Grand Master of the Belfast Orangemen, and published in Belfast in 1911, contains many poems and “hymns,” of which the following on page 57 is a specimen :—

“ We won’t give up the Bible,  
 The beacon of our hope,  
 For all the powers of darkness,  
 The Devil or the Pope !  
 What though the Drunken Woman  
 Should gnash her bloodstained jaws,  
 Their strength is more than human  
 Who fight in God’s own cause.

We won’t give up the Bible,  
 Which set our fathers free  
 From Rome’s polluting bondage  
 And blind idolatry :  
 Beneath whose living power  
 The reign of terror ceased,  
 And men refused to cower  
 Before a sinful priest.”

Page 127 is also typical :—

“ Farewell to your worship of pictures and stones,  
 Your rags, and your relics, and rotten old bones ;  
 Your images winking—your bleeding imposture,  
 Your ten Ave Maries for one Pater Noster ;  
 The Second Commandment you cunningly hide,  
 A service of sense for the true one provide ;  
 The word of the Lord by your rubbish disguise,  
 And cheat all the world with your refuge of lies.”

The Liberals gave us **Catholic Emancipation** ; they expunged the repulsive anti-Catholic passages in the **King’s Accession Declaration** ; they gave to Irish Catholics a **National University**, of which Archbishop Walsh is Chancellor ; they extended the **Franchise** in 1884, and thus enabled the voice of Irish Catholics for the first time to be effectively heard.

The Ulster Orange M.P.’s will not be brought into this by-election ; and the Ulster Orange canvassers, if allowed to work for the Unionist candidate, will be warned to say nothing at this Election about Catholics. **Why ? Because there are large numbers of English Catholic electors whose votes the Tories want to capture.**

**CAN ANY CATHOLIC HONESTLY AND CONSISTENTLY VOTE IN  
 SUPPORT OF ORANGEISM, AND AGAINST SELF-GOVERNMENT  
 FOR CATHOLIC IRELAND ?**



## **PROTESTANT OPINION IN THE SOUTH OF IRELAND.**

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In the House of Commons the Unionist leaders disavow in the strongest terms any imputation of religious intolerance in the majority of Irishmen. Sir Edward Carson said on October 29th :—

“ Mr. Redmond appeals to us and says :— ‘ Do you think we are going to pass legislation as against Protestants? Do you think we are going to pass legislation that will be persecuting the Protestants? ’ Has anybody ever said that? I certainly have never said that.”

Mr. Walter Long repeated and emphasised this denial. Yet the Unionist Party outside Parliament deliberately countenance and make use of the appeal to religious bigotry. A single instance is conclusive. On Friday, October 25th, Mr. Bonar Law spoke at a dinner given by “ representative Nonconformist Unionists.” According to Press reports :—

The Rev. Dr. W. L. Watkinson, proposing ‘ The Unionist Cause,’ said they did not care about taxation, but they drew the line at being taxed by the Roman Catholic Church. (Cheers.) Before long there might be a slaughter-house in Ireland of larger dimensions than many people thought. They were on the edge of dangerous days. They would have to inaugurate a holy war before long. They would have to send out the fiery cross: in other words, they would have to appeal directly to the Protestant sentiment of this country. (Cheers.)

This echoes and emphasises the note struck by Protestant preachers at the signing of the “ Covenant ” in Belfast. It takes up the attitude of the Protestant Bishop of Derry, Dr. Chadwick, who was not ashamed to speak from the pulpit of Nationalist Irishmen as the “ hereditary foes ” of himself and his fellow Protestants.

Who are the people really entitled to be heard in this matter? The Protestants of the North, where Protestantism holds such a position that Catholic workmen can with impunity be driven out of the factories and shipyards where they earn the daily bread of themselves and their families? or the scattered Protestants of those three provinces where the Roman Catholics are ten to one?

Between these two classes of testimony there is absolute and flat contradiction. Allegations of fear for life and property and for religious freedom come from those Protestants who themselves have the power to oppress and who have not spared to exercise it. From Protestants in the South and West comes nothing but frank recognition of the happy relations which exist between Irishmen of the different persuasions.



No man has a better right to speak for Irish landlord opinion than the Marquis of Ormonde, who, at a meeting of Unionists held on October 23rd in Kilkenny Castle, said :—

"Neither he nor those beside him on the platform would be there if that meeting were in the slightest degree of a sectarian character. (Hear, hear.) The best relations always existed between people of every creed and class in Kilkenny, and he trusted that those relations would ever continue. (Hear, hear.) He did not think that those who differed from them now would desire to restrain their freedom or to prevent them from voicing their opinions, or to allow their present differences to interfere with their good relations."

Here again is the testimony of a distinguished alumnus of Trinity College, Dublin, born and bred amongst the Irish-speaking Catholics of the West of Ireland :—

"In the course of a sermon in St. George's Protestant Church, High-street, Belfast, on Sunday, October 13th, the Rev. Canon F. W. O'Connell, B.D., said his own experience in the South of Ireland was that he had never known any intolerance, either religious or political, in the Roman Catholics he had come into contact with. Certainly Protestants had been persecuted, but it was not because of the fact that they were Protestants, but that they had been aggressively thrusting tracts and printed bills denouncing the Roman Catholic faith into the hands of Roman Catholics. He believed that the Roman Catholics were, at the bottom of his heart, tolerant. Should they (Protestants) be ever able to wipe out the disgrace of the old days, in the matter of their own intolerance? Should they ever get back to the sweet sensibility of true Christianity? 'By the help of God we will,' added Canon O'Connell."

The Rev. Canon Courtenay Moore, Rector of Mitchelstown, wrote in the *Cork Examiner* of October 22nd :—

"Do we not all, Catholics and Protestants, live in Munster happily and amicably? Why, the funeral of the late Bishop, which took place on Thursday last in Cork City, is a striking instance of this. He was universally respected and beloved. He held his own views and stated them; he was elected to every Board and Committee on which he could possibly serve, and on the day of his funeral he was carried to his grave, followed not only by his own clergy and people, but practically by all the citizens of Cork, from the Lord Mayor downwards. The rich and poor thronged the streets, all business was suspended, as the long cortege passed on its way among uncovered heads and heartfelt, earnest prayers. There was a wonderful atmosphere of calm, of reverence, of affection, of respect."

Bishop Meade in his lifetime himself bore the same witness, and it could be corroborated by every man of his cloth in the same province. A few years ago, when the present Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Orpen, was elected to his office, the Catholic town of Tralee, in which he had for many years been rector, was illuminated in public rejoicing at the news.

On October 21st there was published in all the leading newspapers a manifesto, signed, it is true, by only 24 names, but of the 24, 5 were Irish Peers—Lords Dunraven, Carrick, Fingall,

Gormanstown, and Rossmore; two of these are H.M. Lieutenants of their counties, Lord Dunraven and Lord Rossmore. The list included Colonel Sir Nugent Everard, H.M. Lieutenant of Co. Meath, and ten other Deputy Lieutenants. With the single exception of Mr. Alec Wilson, a very able business man from Belfast, every name on the list represented an Irish family of high standing in the landlord class. The importance of the manifesto for our present purpose lies in its last two paragraphs:

"(6.) We all deeply deplore the distortion and embitterment of the whole question by a revival of sectarian prejudices and animosities, which, happily, had almost, if not completely, disappeared.

(7.) We desire, moreover, to dissociate ourselves from the fears expressed in Ulster and elsewhere, that under any system of Irish Government Protestants would be exposed to religious and civil disabilities. We unhesitatingly record our convictions that whatever results the settlement of this question has in store for us, religious intolerance or civil oppression need not be feared."

This is the testimony of men who live in those parts of Ireland where, within their memory, there raged a bitter class war, coinciding on the whole, since most landlords were Protestants, with the religious division. But these men know the temper of Ireland, and they know that religious intolerance is alien to the spirit of their fellow-countrymen, as proved in long centuries of history and in the everyday experience of their own lives.

Their attitude upon this question of Home Rule is admirably expressed in the following letter from one of their number, Sir Anthony Weldon, Deputy Lieutenant of Co. Kildare, and a soldier decorated with the Order of Distinguished Service:—

Sir—It must be evident to any man of average intelligence that the present intolerable condition of affairs in this country cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely.

I, for one, am tired of Irishmen being made use of as pawns in the game by one or other of the great English political parties; and believing, as I do, that the time is ripe for a settlement of the controversy which has so long distracted and divided our country, I have attached my name to the declaration published in your issue of Monday, which, though framed in purposely general terms, is at bottom an appeal to moderate men of all shades of politics to come forward and help in the solution of this question of Self-Government. I am not connected with, or bound to, any political party, and therefore feel I can speak my mind freely on the subject.

We have before us a demand from at least three-fourths of the population of Ireland for Self-Government—call it Home Rule or what you will—to which a deaf ear can no longer be turned.

We have also a concrete proposal before us in the shape of the Government of Ireland Bill, which, though far from being perfect, to my mind affords a basis on which I think the long-standing dispute may be settled.

The condition of the country is entirely different from what it was 25 or 30 years ago. The growth of a spirit of moderation amongst all classes is evidence that the dangers which we feared in those days have ceased to exist. I would, therefore, urge my fellow-country-

men—and I would especially appeal to the landed gentry of Ireland—to put aside all past differences and prejudices and to approach the consideration of this Bill in a spirit of reasonable criticism, and with a view to obtaining such amendments as will make it acceptable to all classes of Irishmen. Even if this particular Bill is defeated, the settlement of the question is only deferred, and Home Rule in some shape or form is bound before very long to become an accomplished fact.

No one who has read the recent speeches of Mr. Redmond can fail to be struck by the sincerity of his professions—speaking on behalf of himself and his party—to hold out the hand of friendship to those who have differed from him in the past. I think the landed gentry in Ireland will make another, if not the greatest, mistake which they ever made if they now refuse to believe that this offer is genuine and sincere.

The main objection on the part of landlords, as a body, to Home Rule has been based on the fear that under an Irish Government their property would be arbitrarily taken from them without adequate compensation, which would mean ruin to themselves and their families. That certainly was one of my fears, but the speeches of Mr. Birrell and Mr. Redmond last week, and the promise of the former, on behalf of the Government, that land purchase would be completed on fair and generous terms, remove that objection.

The Irish tenant farmer is the most conservative and aristocratic human being in the world. Having become owner of his land, he is not likely to acquiesce in legislation which would oppress landlords as such, for by so doing he would be legislating against his own interests.

Let the Irish gentry cease sulking Achilles-like in their tents, and come forward and play the part which I feel sure is theirs' in the settlement of this great question.

If I have read Irish history aright, I am justified in holding that the Irish people have at all times been only too ready to welcome the assistance and guidance of men of education and good standing who have been willing to help them. Surely it is not too late to unite in order to assist in removing the reproach from us of placing personal interests and vain fears before the common good.

Why should either side seek to perpetuate, or recall, the unhappy past, or waste time in vain recriminations? We have all erred. Why should not all join to undo the evils of the past, and make the future brighter and better for those who shall come after us.

ANTHONY A. WELDON.

These then are the views of those Protestants who know Nationalist Ireland by living in it and with it, who are bold enough and strong enough to speak out what they believe.

Against their judgment there is to be set only that voice of a section in North-East Ulster which deliberately keeps itself aloof from friendly communication with Roman Catholics—the dishonest voice of a bigotry, which in the House of Commons every politician of any standing is eager to disavow.

# Do the Irish want Home Rule?

## THE MONEY TEST.

It is constantly stated that the Irish people do not want Home Rule, and show their indifference by an unwillingness to subscribe. The simple answer is that in the last four years, since Home Rule became an immediate issue of Parliamentary action, the subscriptions to the Parliamentary Fund have been higher than at any time since the United Irish League was founded.

Here are the figures:—1909, £9,879; 1910, £14,797; 1911, £12,029.

In the present year some apprehension was expressed that the country might not feel called upon to subscribe so lavishly—owing, first, to the fact that a very large supplementary fund had been subscribed by the people of Australia, and, secondly, to the introduction of payment of members.

Yet in November the total stands at £19,310 14s. 5d., and it will undoubtedly exceed £20,000 before the close of the year.

It must be remembered that this sum is raised by a multitude of small subscriptions. The Nationalist population of Belfast is often taunted with its poverty, yet they subscribed among them this year £1,189, made up by more than 1,600 individual subscribers. The publication of this list on September 28th was the answer of Nationalist Belfast to the signing of the "Covenant."

A single typical case from agricultural Ireland may be stated. Nothing is more frequently asserted than that the operation of Land Purchase kills the interest in Home Rule. The parish of Rathangan in Co. Kildare is inhabited by tenants on the Duke of Leinster's estate, all of whom bought their holdings, not under the Wyndham Act, but under the Ashbourne Act of 1891. They have been peasant proprietors for close on twenty years, and yet this sparsely inhabited country parish has in the present year subscribed no less than £78 to the Parliamentary Fund.

In like manner, Wexford, which is the most "bought out" of Irish counties, always has an honourable prominence for the generosity of its contribution.

The Unionist party in Ireland is financed by the rich. Nationalist Ireland has for over thirty years maintained the Parliamentary struggle by the exertions and the sacrifices of poor men.





## **COLONIAL STATESMEN AND ST. PATRICK'S DAY.**

Some organs of English opinion have been offended by the expressions of sympathy for the Irish Cause which came on St. Patrick's Day from Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the United States of America, as well as by the resolutions passed in Congress at Washington and by the Legislature of New York and by those of 17 or 18 other States. But it is to be hoped that they will be able to read without discontent the speeches of those Colonial statesmen who were present, under Mr. Redmond's chairmanship, at the Irish National Banquet in London on St. Patrick's Day.

Of these perhaps the most notable was Sir Joseph Ward, who, as Prime Minister of New Zealand, was responsible for voting the first Colonial Dreadnought to the British Navy. Sir JOSEPH WARD, after paying an opening tribute to Mr. Redmond said :—

“I have lived in British self-governing countries all my life, and, as long as I can remember, the great majority of the public men, and specially can it be said of the leading public men, have been sincere and earnest supporters of Home Rule for Ireland. It mattered not whether they were Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, or Colonials born, or whatever their creed, with rare exceptions they have been supporters of Home Rule. In support of this statement, let me remind you of those Prime Ministers with whom I attended the two last Imperial Conferences. They were all, by honest conviction, supporters of, and believers in, Home Rule for Ireland. Nor can this be wondered at. They lived in countries where Home Rule existed, where the people had the right to govern themselves, where—under the widest freedom—the feelings of loyalty to the Sovereign and British Empire have not only never weakened, but have grown stronger and stronger as the years have rolled by. In those young countries everyone can worship his Maker as he thinks fit without the slightest interference, and men and women of different nationalities and creeds are associated in every avenue of life, both public and private, each respecting the others' convictions, and, generally speaking, a spirit of broad and mutual tolerance helps to smoothen the paths of life over which they tread.

"I have heard it said that Ireland's nearness to England puts it in a different position to that of the free young rising nations across the sea. I am unable to subscribe to, or admit the soundness of, this doctrine. It is said that distance lends enchantment to the view, and I am afraid that it is so in this case. The assumption that there is any difference in the Irishman abroad and the Irishman at home requires an over-supply of imagination to believe. How, I ask, is it that the Irishman who leaves his native land, often under stress and with feelings of unkindness to England, where he is not trusted to take part in the government of his own country, when he settles in a British possession readily conforms to the laws of the new land, and is as loyal a citizen of the Empire as those of any other section of the British family? It is because he is trusted, because there is no insult to his manhood ever before him, because he has found a home in a country of freedom, because he is given the same equal opportunity as his fellow-man, because he has the same rights as any other man to take his part in the public life and government of the country. Trust him and he trusts you. Distrust him and he distrusts you. The fact that he has transferred from Ireland and has the rights of free citizenship and is a loyal son of the Empire does not in the least diminish his fervour for self-government being given to Ireland. On the contrary, added to his natural desire to see it accomplished, his daily environments make his feelings in that direction stronger than ever.

"Distance truly makes the heart grow fonder. Not alone does the man who was born in Ireland hope and pray for the day of freedom to come to the land of his birth, but his descendants, his children, and their children, the great majority of whom have never seen Ireland, are as sincere and strong in their support of Home Rule for Ireland as their forbears. Absence from Ireland and the passing of years, and with them of the elder generation, makes no difference. It is an undying spirit passing down from generation to generation that cannot be quelled. It is not alone due to an unchanging love for the land of their fathers, but it is a rooted conviction which they have that their race is suffering under injustice, and is ever insulted by the want of trust shown in them. There is no other country in the world to-day that is put in the humiliating position of an outcast so far as the right of its people to govern themselves.

"The Irish race beyond Britain's shores do not stand alone in their support of Home Rule. There is a large proportion of English, Scotch, and other nationalities, who are on Ireland's side in this matter. It is computed that the Irish and those of Irish descent abroad number some twenty-five millions, and to have the good-will of nearly the whole of that vast number for England would undoubtedly be a great work, from the point

of view of Empire protection and Empire co-ordination and development, and it is a sad reflection upon the splendid work in almost every other direction of successive British Parliaments that the population of Ireland to-day is only about half of what it was seventy years ago. I want to see all parts of the British Empire working unitedly in the interests of the whole, scattered as it is and, consequently, more difficult for that reason to protect. There is no room for an ugly wound near to the very heart of the Empire to be kept open. The festering sore should be healed with as little delay as possible and a healthy body established, which, with its sturdy oversea offspring, while having freedom within their respective borders, should stand solidly as one for the preservation of all interests common to them all. In every walk of life Irishmen have helped to build up, defend and make the Empire greater. At a time when things were critical I was responsible for New Zealand giving a Dreadnought to the Imperial Navy. What of the attitude of the so-called enemies of England? Not an Irishman in New Zealand took the slightest exception to the presentation of that Dreadnought, but willingly bore his portion for supplying it. It costs every man, woman, and child £2 per head, upon which interest and sinking fund are payable for twenty years, and it would be done as cheerfully again, and much more if necessary. Could you have any greater proof of their practical loyalty than that?

#### ULSTERMEN ABROAD.

"I know there is a strong feeling existing between the men of the North of Ireland and the Irish Nationalists upon the question of an Irish Parliament. It is a thousand pities it is so, and everything possible should be done to show that there are no real grounds for the fears they entertain. I know numbers of North of Ireland men in New Zealand where they are living on terms of amity and good-will with their fellow-countrymen. There are millions of men at home and abroad who if they believed the establishment of an Irish Parliament meant any danger to the minority or any interference with their religious convictions, and I am one, who would be as strongly opposed to anything of the kind as the strongest opponent of Home Rule for Ireland is to-day. The very essence of self-government is freedom for all sections of the community. I do not believe there is the slightest danger to a minority in Ireland on account of their religious belief. As one who wants to see conditions existing within the Empire that make for unity and strength, I would do much to see Ireland and her sons and daughters across the seas pacified. It is necessary in the interests of Ireland, in the interests of the overseas dominions, in the interests of the Empire, aye, in the interests of the whole civilised world."

Sir Joseph Ward was followed by the Hon. Mr. O'Loughlin, Speaker of the Parliament of South Australia, who joined, as an Australian, with what the ex-Prime Minister of New Zealand had said in praise of the Irish Leader and in deprecating the fear of religious differences.

Later on in the evening, after Mr. Redmond had welcomed "a broad Imperial view of the Irish Question," a word of comment was added by Mr. HOLMAN, Attorney-General of the State of New South Wales. Mr. Holman said:—

"I have found the deepest interest in the sentiments of the Dominions expressed—and I am bound to believe honestly expressed—by a certain political party in London. I have noticed that to a certain extent that political party is most anxious to see the Dominions conciliated on the question of foreign policy. I wonder if it would be an impertinence on my part if I suggested that on the question of Home Rule for Ireland that party would also take the Dominions into their counsels? As our Chairman and our Leader—I use the pronoun advisedly, because he is the leader throughout the British Empire of every man who values the right of self-government—has shown to-day the language of the great Tory Party can be used with sincerity by those who are not Tories, by those who are advocates of democracy. And those who profess to these broad and Imperial sentiments, who are so anxious to see a united nation manifested throughout the various dominions, let them consult the Dominions on the question; let them be honestly and sincerely guided by the fair expressions of opinion and Governments in all parts of the world in which the British flag waves to-day, and they will find that in no corner of the Empire is there any substantial dissent from the opinion that the present position of the Irish nation is a disgrace upon the English name and a weakness to the British Empire."

"We in Australia rejoice in our good fortune. We find ourselves with not one but seven parliaments. We know how futile and how hypocritical are the cries that another Parliament will disintegrate the Empire. Under the control of seven Parliaments the people of Australia not only tend to more close union with one another, but to closer union with the mother country. Our Parliament and our people have spoken, and our Press has spoken, even though some of it is hostile to democracy, but it has felt the overwhelming force of public opinion and has spoken almost unanimously in favour of granting Home Rule to Ireland."



# THE TRUTH ABOUT CASTLEDAWSON.

What is known as the Castledawson Riot, took place upon Saturday, the 29th June, 1912.

The Organisation known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, an Irish Benefit Society, recognised under the Insurance Act, held a meeting at Castledawson, in the County of Derry, on that day, and there was, at the same place an Excursion party from Whitehouse, consisting of school children and adults, at the head of which was the Presbyterian Minister of Whitehouse, the Rev. Robert Barron.

The riot itself has been grossly and outrageously exaggerated; there was a little scuffle between the opposing parties who met shortly before seven o'clock in the evening on the public road, but only one person was seriously injured, and that person was a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

A discussion took place in the House of Commons upon the subject, upon the following Tuesday, 2nd July, which was opened by Earl Winterton, who read an account of the affray, which purported to be furnished by the Rev. R. Barron, and which contained the following passages:—

“No sooner had I spoken to the children than they all moved to the right-hand side of the road. When we came opposite the approaching procession I was walking close beside the band. The whole of the party kept very near to the side of the road, when one of the men made a leap at the middle of the band and grasped the Union Jack that was being carried by a small boy—the only Union Jack in the procession.”

" . . . . Of course the children became frightened ; our ranks were rushed, and an attack on the Union Jack was made by the Hibernians, who rushed in and in a moment were amongst the children with pikes and other weapons, scattering them right and left. They also used bludgeons and threw stones. Our young men behaved heroically. They tried their best to hold the banners. There were very few police. I do not think more than half-a-dozen. They did what they could to separate the Hibernians from our ranks. We did our best to get our children out of the melee. I exerted myself as well as I could. Some Protestant young men passing realised our desperate situation, their numbers increasing as the minutes went by. Parents, too, tried to divert the attention of the attackers. Many of our people have been stabbed with pikes—women and children mainly—many of their faces being cut. In the struggle for the banner and flags, one of our young men was stabbed right through the hand."

"The struggle lasted for a considerable time, and so terrified were the children that many of them fled as far as a mile from the scene, where, cowed and terrified, they crouched under ditches and hedges. Several are seriously ill as a result of what has taken place. Many others will carry the scars of the struggle—of this wanton attack—to their dying day."

This lurid account of the transaction which was published broadcast in every paper in the Kingdom, and even abroad, was wholly and entirely false and inaccurate, and it is not now suggested by anyone that it bears the slightest resemblance to what occurred upon the occasion.

On August 7th, 1912, Mr. Barron himself wrote a letter to the *Times*, in which, indeed, he gave the foregoing account an emphatic contradiction. He said :—"So far as I know, no woman or child was struck or stabbed, but many of them suffered from shock and fright."

A number of persons on both sides were prosecuted for taking part in this riot, and the Rev. Robt. Barron made a deposition date before the Magistrates in the Co. Derry, in which there was not the slightest allusion to the name of a woman or child injured.

The prisoners were brought to trial at the Derry Assizes in December, 1912, before Mr. Justice Wright. The Rev. Robt. Barron was again examined and the Judge himself took the witness in hand in reference to the injuries to the women and children. He asked Mr. Barron—"Did you see any injuries on the children." Mr. Barron answered: "I saw injuries on the men."

Fourteen Police witnesses were examined for the prosecution; some of these witnesses had travelled with the excursionists from Whitehouse and returned with them in the evening. Everyone of them declared that there was no woman or child injured, and in fact that they only saw blood upon one person, who happened to be a Hibernian. Twenty-three witnesses who were present also upon the occasion, were examined for the defence, and the fact that neither woman nor child was injured was conclusively established. The Judge, Mr. Justice Wright, one of the most experienced criminal Lawyers in Ireland, and an ex-Unionist-Solicitor General in that country, in charging the Jury said: "He was glad to know that women and children had not been struck by pikes. He did not know whether the newspapers had headed their reports of this affair as an attack upon women and children. He was glad to say he had not read any of them. At any rate, what had been absolutely proved in that court was that no injuries had been inflicted on any woman or child, and he was glad to hear that proved in court. It detracted very much from the seriousness of the charge, and they were glad to think that nothing so dastardly or unmanly had taken place. The idea that decent, respectable-looking men like the prisoners would attack a woman or a child was a horrible idea. I am glad that the lie has been given to that."

He further commented on an admission made by Mr. Barron—namely—that when after the occurrence and in the heat of the excitement he was interviewed by the representative of the Belfast paper he had used very much stronger language than when he was on his oath.

It is well that the British public should know what followed. This riot at Castledawson was made the pretext for a general raid on Roman Catholics or Nationalists in the engineering works at Belfast, in which

Unionists are an overwhelming majority. More than three thousand workmen were driven out of their employment. Many were set upon by mobs, pelted with stones and rivets, or beaten and kicked almost to death. One man was five months in hospital with fracture of the groin and with blood spitting from internal contusions ; another had his skull fractured, another his jaw broken, and so on. The mobs when they attacked a man, commonly asked him to prove his loyalty by cursing the Pope. This is religious toleration as it is practised in Belfast. The rioting continued for several days, and not only the police but the military had to be called in. Even so, order could not be established in the great shipyards. Fortunately the firm of Harland and Wolff whose head, Lord Pirrie, is a Liberal Home Ruler, threatened to close their works unless Catholics and Home Rulers were allowed to resume their places. At another yard where no such step was taken practically none of the expelled men have ventured to return ; hundreds have been driven to leave Belfast. But for a considerable period in July not hundreds but thousands of working men, most of them Trade Unionists, were driven by their fellow-workers from the means of earning their daily bread.

Finally, the riot at Castledawson and the riots at Belfast, led to prosecutions. For the Castledawson affair which was a casual outbreak of half-a-hour, over twenty men were sentenced to three months' imprisonment. For the Belfast riots, deliberately organised and extending over weeks, not a single person was punished ; the Belfast juries obstinately refused to convict in every case.



## HOME RULE AND "GREATER BRITAIN."

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The speeches of Sir Joseph Ward and other eminent Colonial statesmen show that the Overseas Dominions are unanimous in supporting Ireland's demand for Self-Government, and they advocate it in the interest of the Empire.

But Great Britain and its Colonies are only a part of what, in a famous book, was described as "Greater Britain." The United States of America do not hesitate to speak through their elective assemblies and their representative men, supporting Ireland's claim in the interest of the English-speaking world. Twenty years ago Home Rule was advocated largely by Americans who had no love for England. To-day it is advocated by England's warmest friends in America.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the ex-President of the United States, writes :—

"I welcome the passage of the Home Rule measure through the British House of Commons, which, as I understand the situation now, means the practical certainty that it will ultimately be adopted. I feel that the enactment into law of this measure, backed as it is by a majority of the British members of Parliament, and accepted with absolute unanimity by Irish Nationalists, bids fair to establish good-will among the English-speaking peoples. This has been prevented more than by any other one thing by this unhappy feud between Ireland and England, a feud that has raged for centuries, and the settlement of which I most earnestly hope and believe **will be a powerful contribution to the peace of the world, based on international justice and good-will.** I earnestly feel that the measure is as much in the interest of Great Britain as of Ireland."

Mr. William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, who is not only head of the Cabinet, but also Minister of Foreign Affairs for the United States, made a public speech in which he welcomed, as a democrat, the limitation of the power of the Hereditary Chamber in England, and expressed his delight that before two years **"the Irish people in every quarter of the globe will be able to rejoice upon the re-establishment of freedom upon Irish soil."**

Nobody will even suggest that behind these utterances there is anything but good-will to the British Empire. If such a suggestion were made, solemn resolutions of the elective assemblies would give the lie to it. Upon the passage of the Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons, in Congress at Washington a resolution was introduced :—"Resolved, that the House of Representatives of the American Congress congratulate the people of Ireland **and the British House of Commons** upon the passage through the Commons of the Home Rule Bill."

The same note occurs again and again in the resolutions passed by eighteen of the United States.

The Assembly of Massachusetts "Congratulated not only the people of Ireland, but the people of Great Britain."

The State of Oregon resolved:—"That the bond of legislative freedom for Ireland will be a strong link in the unity of the British Empire."

California congratulated the British nation on "an act of frank justice."

New Mexico linked "the democracy of England, Scotland, and Wales" with the people of Ireland in a message of rejoicing.

Kansas recorded "its sincere pleasure at the approaching accord of the peoples of two nations, so vital to the welfare of all nations."

Washington State, at the very heart of the great Federation, passed by both Houses of its Legislature a motion congratulating Mr. Redmond "and through him the people of Ireland and Great Britain upon the happy mutual understanding now reached by both," and resolved:—"That the bond of legislative freedom for Ireland will be **a strong link in the unity of the British Empire and will add to the peace, good-will and prosperity of all her people.**"

These resolutions, introduced in most cases by Irish-Americans, breathe throughout the same spirit of friendship to both peoples. Telegrams of congratulation came to Mr. Redmond from twelve Governors of States, twenty-four Senators, and fifty-six Congress men, and every fibre of the composite American people is represented in the list.

All unite in welcoming Home Rule for Ireland as a triumph for humanity and as a bond of peace and good-will throughout the English-speaking world.

## THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL COVENANT

AND

### SIR EDWARD CARSON'S "COVENANT."

Presiding over the Home Rule Demonstration, held on June 16th, in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, Professor ROBERT LATTA, of the University of Glasgow, said that Sir Edward Carson had traced an analogy between the

#### SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT

and the recent Covenant which had been signed in Ulster. The Scottish National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were **the Covenants of a nation**. They were not the Covenants of a majority in four counties of a province. What was the object of these great Scottish Covenants? The object was to protest and to gather together the strength of the country against the imposing on Scotland by an absolute English King of English ways and English Institutions. It was not because the men were Presbyterians that they were Covenanters. It was because they said to themselves—"We will not have forms of religion established in England imposed on us in Scotland at the will of the King." They were rebels but not rebels against a Parliamentary Government. They were rebels against a tyrannical English King. The one purpose of their Covenant was the maintenance of Scottish institutions, the maintenance of the Scottish form of religion, against an attempt to conform it to that of England.

#### WHAT WAS THE ULSTER COVENANT?

It was not the Covenant of a nation. It was **the Covenant of a minority of a nation**. Its purpose was to compel the majority of that great nation to remain under institutions which, whatever they were, were not Irish.

#### NO ANALOGY.

There was nothing in common between those different Covenants except name. The name Tory was first given to men in Queen Elizabeth's time, outlaws who haunted Irish bogs. There was just as much difference between the Solemn League and Covenant and the Covenant of Ulster as there was between those old bog-haunting Tories and the Tory of the present day. It was nothing but a clever, rather unscrupulous advertising trick.

#### THE TRUE ANALOGY

is not between the Ulstermen and the Covenanters, but it was rather between Home Rulers and the Covenanters. For what did Home Rule mean? Simply what Scotland fought for long ago—that the country should be ruled according to the people's own ideas—that it should have the institutions which the people desired and which were best suited to them; and that was what the Irish Home Rulers asked.





| No.  | Measure.                            | Object of Measure.   | How the Irish Tories voted on 2nd or 3rd Reading. |               |            |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|---|---------------|------------|
|      |                                     |  | For.  | Against.      | Abstained. |
| 1908 | Budget                              | Sugar tax more than halved.                                      | 0   | 9             | 9          |
| 1908 | Old Age Pensions' Act.              | Pensions to nearly one million old people.                       | 2   | 1<br>(Carson) | 15         |
| 1908 | Small Landholders' (Scotland) Bill. | To assist small tenant-farmers (crofters).                       | 0   | 9             | 9          |
| 1908 | Land Values (Scotland) Bill.        | To restore to the people a share in the land values they create. | 0   | 7             | 11         |
| 1909 | "The Great Budget."                 | Placed burden of taxation on those best able to bear it.         | 0   | 12            | 6          |
| 1912 | Minimum Wage Act (Coal Mines).      | Rates of wages determined by Joint District Boards.              | 0   | 8             | 11         |
| 1913 | Trade Union Act                     | To repair breach made by the "Osborne Judgment" of 1909.         | 0   | 2             | 17         |
| 1913 | Plural Voting Bill                  | To abolish unjust power of property vote.                        | 0   | 14            | 4          |

## TOTAL.

On 15 democratic measures the record of these "democratic" Ulstermen is—2 votes for the measures, 132 against, and 143 abstentions.

Sir Edward Carson's vote on Old Age Pensions is especially interesting because of his present anxiety concerning them. He said, speaking in Co. Antrim on July 19th, 1913.—"They knew from the utterances of Nationalists that **under an Home Rule Government it would not be possible to give the same Old Age Pensions as before.**" He did not say that the pensions would be taken away from the people who had them, but the Nationalists had intimated that it was quite plain they would not be able to give them unless new taxes were raised when Home Rule came.

Sir Edward Carson may rest easy. **None of the democratic reforms against which he voted will be undone under Home Rule.**

# “ULSTER” UNIONISTS POSE AS “DEMOCRATS.”

Speaking at Norwich, on June 16th, Sir Edward Carson said “The men for whom he appealed were the great and only democrats in Ireland.” (*Norfolk Chronicle*, June 20th, 1913.)

Speaking at Norwich, on June 16th, Mr. Wm. Moore said:— “They had come there from the democracy across the water.” (*Norfolk Chronicle*, June 20th, 1913.)

But if the Ulster Unionists are democrats, then, irrespective of the Home Rule Bill, they should have supported those Parliamentary measures that were calculated to lighten the burdens of the working classes of Great Britain and Ireland. Yet here is the actual record of the votes given by these “democrats” on the democratic Budget of 1894, and on a few of the principal democratic reforms since the beginning of 1906.

| Year. | Measure.                           | Object of Measure.  | How the Irish Tories voted on 2nd or 3rd Reading |          |            |
|-------|------------------------------------|---|--|----------|------------|
|       |                                    |   | For.   | Against. | Abstained. |
| 1894  | Budget (Harcourt) “Death Duties”   | Placed burden of taxation on those best able to bear it.                      | 0  | 18       | 5          |
| 1906  | Labourers’ (Ireland) Act.          | Provided for erection of cottages for agricultural labourers.                 | 0  | 7        | 11         |
| 1906  | Plural Voting Bill                 | To abolish unjust power of property vote.                                     | 0  | 8        | 10         |
| 1906  | Town Tenants’ (Ireland) Act.       | Compensation for improvements or disturbance to tenants of houses or shops.   | 0  | 10       | 8          |
| 1907  | Small Landholders’ Bill (Scotland) | To assist small tenant-farmers (crofters).                                    | 0  | 12       | 6          |
| 1907  | Land Values (Scotland) Bill.       | To restore to the people a share in the land values they create.              | 0  | 4        | 14         |
| 1907  | Evicted Tenants’ (Ireland) Act.    | Reinstated or compensated small tenant-farmers who had been unjustly evicted. | 0  | 11       | 7          |

constituencies was at the General Election of 1885. The results were almost incredible. Three instances will serve.

In two divisions of County Mayo the Unionists only polled 200 votes against nearly 10,000 for the Home Rulers. In one division of County Wiltkenny there were 4,000 Home Rule votes against 170 Unionist. In East Kerry the Tory could only muster 30 supporters. No wonder that at the last election the anti-Home Rulers challenged only 4 seats outside Ulster.

The 101 Irish Members of Parliament are divided between the four provinces of Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster.

**All the Members from Leinster, Munster, and Connaught are Home Rulers.**

**Ulster returns, Home Rulers, 17; Anti-Home Rulers, 16.**

But it is wrong to suppose that the 16 anti-Home Rule seats in Ulster represent what Mr. Bonar Law calls "a homogeneous population." Of the 6 constituencies only 11 have been consistently Tory. Of the remaining five, three have been Home Rule at intervals, and two were represented by liberals who are now Home Rulers. In the last election the total vote cast in these five was 13,615 for Home Rule, 16,876 against it.

What is "a homogeneous population"? You have one in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. In politics all the 68 seats are held by Home Rulers. In religion, Roman Catholics are 85 per cent. in Leinster, 94 per cent. in Munster, 96 per cent. in Connaught. But, in the four elected counties of Antrim, Down, Derry, and Armagh, which Unionists always speak of as "Ulster," there are, excluding Belfast, 223,163 Catholics, against 435,920 of all other denominations. In two of the four counties, Armagh and Derry, Catholics are 45 per cent. of the whole; and even in Belfast itself, they make a quarter of the population. **Taking Belfast with the four counties, the sectarian test shows that the population is 316,406 to 729,624, or, roughly speaking, three Catholics to seven non-Catholics.**

But it must be remembered that all elections in Ulster show a percentage of Protestant Liberal Home Rulers. Nowhere does the political line follow the sectarian one more closely than in Londonderry City; yet at the last election there was on the register a majority of Protestants, estimated at from 20 to 40, and in spite of this, the Home Ruler was returned by a majority of 57.

The Ulster Liberal Association and the Independent Orange Order, both strong bodies of Protestants, have declared definitely against Sir Edward Carson and his Covenant.

It is safe to say that the "Provisional Government" would have at least 10 per cent. of the people in the "four counties" actively opposed to it.

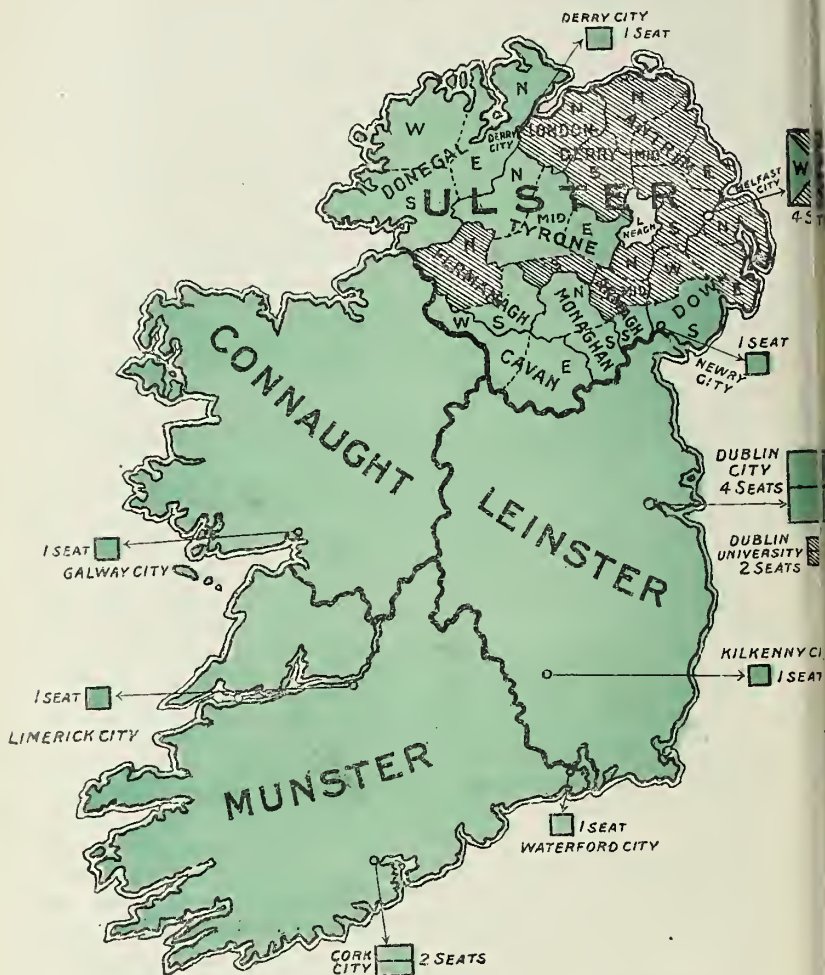
**The remaining five counties in Ulster return twelve Home Rulers and only two Unionists, and they are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic.**

So much for "homogeneous Ulster." There is no overwhelming majority, even in the four counties, either upon politics or upon religion.

But every man in the four counties, Protestant or Catholic, reckons himself an Irishman, and is proud to be one.

**"Ulster" is part of an Irish nation, just as much, or as little, "homogeneous" as England or Scotland.**

## IRELAND AND "ULSTER."



Omitting two representatives of the University of Dublin (both Tories), Ireland returns 101 Members of Parliament. When the last Home Rule Bill was under discussion, twenty years ago, there were 80 Home Rulers against 21 anti-Home Rulers, the figures now are :—

**85 Home Rulers and only 16 anti-Home Rulers.**

The last time the anti-Home Rulers made a general attack on the Irish



## **A PERSONALLY CONDUCTED TOUR IN ULSTER.**

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In June, 1913, an Ulster Unionist offered the Member for Rotherhithe to pay the expenses of any two representative Radicals from that working-class London constituency who would go to Ireland and see for themselves, and write a report.

The offer was accepted by Alderman Lawrence, a skilled artisan, and Mr. George Beach, Secretary to a Commercial Company. They were asked to spend a few days in Belfast and its district under Unionist guidance; to spend a day or two at Dublin "on their own," and to examine selected cases of boycotting in Co. Longford. These things they did, and they wrote a report which, after very full acknowledgment of the kindness they received, proceeds as follows:—

Speaking generally, we find that the opposition to Home Rule is confined to the Belfast and North-East corner. In the South we failed to find any serious opposition at all.

We visited, by the courtesy of Messrs. Workman and Clark, their ship-building yard, had a chat with several of the men, but found them very bigoted and bitter against the Catholics. They had no arguments to give, and invariably blamed the Castledawson incident for all the trouble. We reminded them of the trial, and of what the Judge said in his finding after the verdict, but they simply replied, "Packed jury." They may, or may not, believe this themselves, but we, at all events, believe that the Judge's version, being unbiassed, was correct.

**Poverty.**—The first thing that struck us on reaching Belfast was the poverty-stricken appearance of the workers (factory and mill), especially the women and children, a very large proportion being barefooted. To Londoners, the sight was terrible, and, having heard so much of the prosperity of Belfast, it came as a great surprise. It was explained to us that they preferred it; but, to say the least of it, it seems a strange choice. **The little children, too, half-timers, would not be tolerated here as workers.** We found that some employers were considerate of the welfare of the workers, notably at both of Barbour's Mills, where the children are provided with free breakfast, and at Liddell's, at Donaghcloney, good employers, and no doubt there are others, but the condition of the workers in the main cannot be described as good. We were informed in Belfast that the Textile Operatives' Society, in connection with the Insurance Act, had so much sickness and ill-health among their members, that the Society's funds were absolutely exhausted, and no funds were available for the hundred or so still sick.

**Another thing that struck us (both Nonconformists) was the self-restraint of the Belfast Catholics.** At almost every street corner insolent and offensive remarks about the Pope are chalked or painted on the walls in the poorer Protestant parts. This we only noticed in and about Belfast.

The natives of Belfast are not unnaturally proud of their city, but we met many who had an exaggerated idea as to its importance, and minimised the

other towns south. We think this is due to the very narrow and intolerant views held by so many Ulstermen. Of course, we met many (not Orangemen) who were both thoughtful and tolerant, and were prepared to discuss the subject in a fair manner. Naturally, it was these people whose views impressed us, and among them were farmers, pretty well-to-do, who showed a genuine fear that any alteration in the existing state of affairs might not be to their interest.

If this type of man predominated in Ulster, we are convinced that the solution to the difficulty would soon be found. Unfortunately, they are comparatively few. The majority cannot fairly be described as tolerant. As an example, we were asked several times, **"Why not have an election on the subject?" and on our asking whether they would accept the verdict, if it again went against them, they invariably admitted they would not. Their motto seems to be, "Heads I win, tails you lose."**

Whilst in Belfast, we were privileged to see the "drilling" at one of the Ulster Clubs, and were enthusiastically received, although the numbers were but few; but the thought which naturally came to our mind was,—Is this preparation for attack or defence? If attack, who is to be attacked? And if for defence, against whom are they to defend themselves? In our opinion, there is no Nationalist foolish enough to wish to attack Ulster. The thing is too foolish for words. We also think it probable that the better part of Protestant Ulster is rather weary of the "Orange" movement and its fanaticism.

**Tolerance.**—Many figures were given us which we have very carefully looked into. We find some are very misleading and not very reliable, but we think our investigation on this head shows more tolerance among the Roman Catholics than the Protestants. We cannot find a Catholic M.P. returned by Protestants, but we can find several Protestant M.P.'s returned by Catholics, even against Catholic opponents.

One other point we have not been able to solve is: How is it that only where Protestants are in the majority they profess to be afraid of the Catholics.

**Boycotting.**—We visited the various cases given to us in the Longford district, and found that the boycotting had died out, and, to use their own words, "without any fear of its being renewed." The "sufferers" all seemed to have done extremely well.

**Dublin.**—Our visit to Dublin was very interesting. We found the city and its surrounding districts much more prosperous in appearance than we had expected, and the people seemed to us in the main to get more enjoyment out of life than those in a similar position, say, in Belfast.

Of course, there were the poor districts, where much improvement is necessary, but, on the whole, we were favourably impressed with Dublin and its suburbs.

The Home Rule question does not trouble them, and the few people we spoke to on the subject quietly replied that no doubt next year would see a Parliament established there. There was no trace of boast, or even of enthusiasm. Our impression was that all desired to get a settlement and peace.

We found Y.M.C.A.'s and various denominational bodies in evidence. **The Salvation Army and others were preaching in the open in Phoenix Park, without let or hindrance**, and we wondered, not knowing, whether the same treatment would be meted out if Roman Catholics held open-air meetings in "Orange strongholds."

We found the military stationed at Dublin apparently on the best of terms with the people, contrary to what we had been led to believe. If any animosity had existed it must have been in past times; great crowds came to hear, enjoy, and applaud the bands.

Dublin appears to take things easy: the shopkeeper works about two-thirds the hours of the London tradesman—we cannot entirely blame him.

The financial side of the question seems to be not so important as we had thought. We fully expected to hear strong arguments on this point. We were introduced to Dr. Kyle Knox, nice gentleman, 76 years of age, a well-known solicitor and bank director, and a strong opponent of the Bill; but, in reply to our question, said:—"He did not think that there was anything much in that point (the financial). He opposed the Bill on religious grounds."

Of course, there were those who stated that building, etc., in Belfast was being held up, pending the result of Parliament's decision on the question. This argument is not new to England, or, as you will know, even to Bermondsey politics; but there is not, we think, very much in it.

**The Belfast manufacturer is far too shrewd and keen to allow this or any other question to interfere with the natural development of his business.** In our opinion for what it is worth, the linen and its auxiliary trades are too competitive and too subject to real difficulties in working to permit of the creation of political barriers. We think that when a business is of such an expansive character (as many of the Belfast firms undoubtedly are) that extensions are necessary, no Home Rule or any other bogey will stop these developments, and the business instincts of the Ulsterman would outweigh his political bias.

In bringing these notes to a close, may we say that, whilst we cannot blame Ulstermen for taking every possible precaution in making so important a change, and even for looking at the subject in every conceivable manner to safeguard interests, we think we have seen sufficient to convince us that fears of oppression are absolutely groundless. Ireland is a beautiful country, with great possibilities; and prosperous as Belfast has been in the past, its development would be greater, and more stable, too, in our opinion, if the whole country was prosperous, too, and we think it is coming.

Two details may be added. The drilling which these gentlemen saw was that of the Belmont Club, which, they were informed, numbered over 1,000 members. On the selected occasion when the visitors were present, the muster amounted to 22 front rank, 22 rear rank, or 44 in all. Two or three sergeants or instructors must be added. The men were of all ages and sizes; they had no weapons; and their evolutions did not impress the Londoners.

The Green Island Club, whose guests the visitors were, had not yet begun drilling; but it was thinking of doing so.

Messrs. Lawrence and Beach saw no rifles.

Lastly, the original invitation comprised a proposal that they should lecture to Unionist audiences on their impressions. This part of the programme has not yet been carried out.

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY.

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No.

34. Protestant Opinion in the South of Ireland.
  35. Do the Irish Want Home Rule? The Money Test.
  36. Colonial Statesmen and St. Patrick's Day.
  38. The Truth about Castledawson.
  39. Letters from Irish Protestants.
  40. Home Rule and Greater Britain.
  41. The Scottish National Covenant, and Sir Edward Carson's  
"Covenant."
  42. Ireland and "Ulster."
  43. "Ulster" Unionists pose as "Democrats."
  44. A Personally Conducted Tour in Ulster.
  45. Will "Ulster" Fight?
  46. "Toleration" in Ulster.
  47. What is meant by Orangeism?
  48. The Ascendancy Spirit in Ireland.
  49. The Fate of "Ulster."
  50. What "Ulster Rebels" would Lose.
- 

The Case for Home Rule, by Stephen Gwynn, M.P. With Preface  
by John Redmond, M.P. 160 pp. 1s.

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The Financial Aspects of the Government of Ireland Bill, by  
Professor C. F. Bastable, Professor of Political Economy, and  
Regius Professor of Laws in Dublin University. 16 pp. 1d.



## WILL “ULSTER” FIGHT?

Will the group of Tories who dwell in the North-Eastern end of the Province of Ulster resist Home Rule by force? Well, they say they will.

On July 12th, 1913, Lord Londonderry proposed a resolution at Craigavon calling upon his followers “to complete all preparations necessary **for resisting by force and every other method** the decrees of . . . any Nationalist Parliament that may be established.” (*The Times*, July 14th, 1913.)

What do they mean by this? They have communicated to the public the detail of their plans. They propose to set up a “**Provisional Government.**” On July 26th, 1913, Sir Edward Carson stated that:—“On the day the Government put the Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book the Unionists would set up their own Parliament, and fight to the end. . . . I hope in September to call together the whole of the Ulster Council, and I hope we shall sit in our own Parliament from day to day . . . until we have absolutely completed all our arrangements for taking over the Government of ourselves.” (*Morning Post*, July 28th, 1913.)

Part of the plan is **the refusal to pay taxes.** Sir Edward Carson hopes that “there will be a general refusal throughout the Province of Ulster to pay any taxes.” (*The Times*, July 14th, 1913.)

Then, there is the “**Ulster Volunteer Force.**” This “force” executes military manœuvres, is supported by standard bearers carrying Union Jacks, and is reviewed by Sir Edward. The “Lisburn Battalion” were presented with “new colours” on July 22nd, 1913.

Concerning these proposals, it may be remarked, first, that establishment of a Provisional Government is not a means of resistance. The resistance of Ulster is generally taken as meaning armed resistance.

Some indication of the probable strength of the “force” is afforded by the observations of two London Radicals, Messrs. Lawrence and Beach, who were brought over to see Belfast under Unionist auspices. They were taken to a drill of the Belmont Club, which they were told was one of the strongest, numbering over 1,000 members. There were present at the drill 44 rank and file, with two or three instructors. The men were unarmed, of all ages up to extreme old age, and, in the opinion of the observers, incompetent to manœuvre. The Green Island Club, under whose auspices the tour was conducted, had not as yet

begun to drill. It may be fairly inferred from this inspection, at a moment selected by the Unionists themselves, that the "fighting force" would not be very formidable if opposed by troops.

Can we take it that those who have signed the Covenant mean to fight? On this point we have sworn testimony.

### THE COVENANTERS!

Of course the members of the "Volunteer Force" and Drilling Clubs signed Sir Edward Carson's "Covenant." But a curious fact was revealed during the course of two actions for libel which took place recently in the Dublin Courts. On June 4th, 1913, under cross-examination and on oath, three "Covenanters," named McCullough, Porter and Rowland, repudiated any suggestion of fighting.

Asked what was his object in signing the Covenant, McCullough replied: "I do not know as a matter of fact what was exactly my object. **I didn't believe there would be any fighting, and that is why I signed the Covenant. I never thought of the possibility of armed resistance.**"

When Counsel said to the "Covenanter" Rowland: "I am assuming that you won't fight," Rowland answered: "Oh! not at all."

The "Covenanter" Porter, when under cross-examination, said that his idea of fighting was "the same as passive resisters are doing in England, and as anti-vaccinators in Ireland!"

In an action for libel in January, 1913, Mr. George Clarke, of the Belfast shipbuilding firm of Workman and Clarke, was a witness. Having admitted that drilling was in progress in the shipyard, and that on one occasion he marched at the head of his men "in military order," Mr. Clarke was asked: "Were they drilling for the purpose of fighting or of being able to fight?" He replied: "They were not." **He subsequently stated that his men were being drilled merely "to demonstrate their feeling."**

To this may be added the fact that in the declaration signed by each recruit to the "Volunteer Force" are the words: "I, the undersigned, hereby declare that I signed the Ulster Covenant at \_\_\_\_\_, and that I agree to serve in the above Force throughout the crisis created by the passage into law of the Home Rule Bill, at present before Parliament, or in any previous emergency, for the mutual protection of all Loyalists, **and generally to keep the peace.**"

Sir Edward Carson is probably aware of the temper of his followers, and thinks it necessary to reassure them by unusual encouragements. On July 21st he said that every man in the

Government "has a rope round his neck." (Generally, it is rebels who are in that position. But this is a singular rebellion.) "They will do nothing to you; they will leave us alone . . . They know perfectly well that if they were to touch a hair of the head of any man whose only crime is that he is loyal to his Sovereign and the Union with Great Britain, they could not possibly foretell what could be the other course on which they would be drawn." (*Morning Post*, July 22nd, 1913.)

In other words, Sir Edward Carson assures his followers that if they resist Home Rule by force, they will be perfectly loyal subjects. He goes further. He assures them that the Army will countenance this "loyal" rebellion. He said, on July 12th, that:—"The Army was with their party"; and on July 18th, that:—"The victory of Home Rule . . . would smash the Army into pieces."

In this respect he has gone further than Unionists are prepared to follow him. On July 14th Colonel Hickman, M.P., told a meeting at Cliftonville, that:—"He did not want any of them in Ulster to be under the impression that if a British regiment were ordered to come here they would not obey. The regiments of the British Army were strictly under discipline. Let them not be under any misapprehension on that point. He thought it was his duty as a soldier to say it."

That is, of course, plain sense. If people go into rebellion they must accept risks. **When a leader assures his followers in rebellion that there will be no risks, he means that there will be no fighting.**

### THE RIGHT TO REBEL.

No people in any age ever risked the hardships of civil war or rebellion unless one at least of two conditions were present—(1) That the rebels were confident of success against all forces and authorities that might be brought against them; or (2) that these rebels, regardless of success or defeat, had entered on a desperate resistance against some system of unbearable oppression.

The second of these conditions does not apply, because resistance is contemplated before Home Rule has come into being.

The first condition does not apply so far as fighting is concerned. No one suggests that the Ulster levies could win by force; and it has been shown that fighting is not contemplated. The troops of "Ulster" are to be used only under the condition that a hair of their heads may not be touched.

### REFUSAL TO PAY TAXES.

It remains to consider what they may hope from a policy of passive resistance. Can Home Rule be defeated by refusal to pay taxes? Seventy per cent. of Irish taxation is indirect, and

can only be resisted by refusing to consume tea, tobacco, alcohol, and similar commodities.

The remainder consists of Income Tax, Estate and Death Duties, Stamps and Land Value Duties. These yield respectively—£1,474,000, £980,000, £362,000 and £13,000.

**But Income Tax, which is the principal item, is mainly collected at the source, and at least three-quarters of the Irish Income Tax is collected outside the four loyal and rebellious counties of Ulster.**

It may be asserted that no very hopeful field for resistance is here offered; for at most the refusal to pay taxes will be a fight about £368,000 out of nearly eleven millions.

But this is not all. The revenue of the Irish Government will consist of a transferred sum, which will be paid by the British Treasury to the Irish Government, no matter what taxes are collected. The loss, therefore, if there is one, cannot amount to more than £368,000 out of Income Tax, without estimating the proportion of this sum that will be deducted at the source—and **it will fall directly upon the British Exchequer.** The Home Rule Government will not be a penny the worse.

#### SUMMARY:

To sum up :—

- (1) There is no evidence that the drilling of which so much has been made has produced a force of the least importance.
- (2) There is evidence on oath that typical persons who signed the Covenant considered that it carried no obligation to fight.
- (3) There is evidence that Sir Edward Carson's followers have been led to consider that whatever they do will be done with impunity, because they are "loyal."

When the Home Rule Bill shall have become law, the "Ulster" Unionists will remember the advice of the Tory *Daily Mail* given on January 19th, 1911 :—

"To resist the decrees of Parliament by force of arms is to wage war against the Crown. They ('the rebels') cannot imagine that they can make war without bringing down on them that last resource of civilised government—the armed forces of the Crown. . . . They cannot be so foolish as to believe that the law . . . will hesitate to suppress rebellion, because the rebels profess to be animated by loyalty."



## **"TOLERATION" IN "ULSTER."**

The Carsonite Campaign is mainly intended to deceive the British electorate into believing that the Orangemen, although strong Protestants, are without the slightest trace of religious bigotry; that Irish Roman Catholics are intolerant, and that—to use Sir Edward Carson's own words—the Home Rule Bill is a "nefarious conspiracy, which threatens our civil and religious liberty."

On Orange Day, Sir Edward Carson said:—"They were holding their celebrations in no spirit of aggression, but of humility and of gratitude." ("Times," 14th July, 1913). Let us see with what humility the precept was obeyed.

### **A REPORTER ATTACKED.**

At an Orange meeting held that same day in Castlecaulfield, Co. Tyrone, and addressed by Mr. Horner, M.P., Mr. Conway, a reporter for the "Dungannon Democrat" (a Catholic and Nationalist journal), was inoffensively discharging his duty to his employers, when, during the course of the meeting, he was compelled to leave the platform. Although eight policemen went to his assistance, he was mangled, robbed, and stabbed by the mob.

The doctor who attended him reports:—"I found Mr. Conway in a semi-conscious and collapsed condition. I found several bruises on his body; the face and both hands had several gravel-mark scratches, two large lumps on side of head, due to some direct violence; and on right knee-cap a clean, incised wound, cutting skin and fascia down to bone. This wound was fully an inch long. Whilst disinfecting and dressing Mr. Conway's wound, he suddenly collapsed. Only I had restoratives with me I have no doubt Mr. Conway would have succumbed.

### **THE SHIPYARD RIOTS.**

On July 21st, 1913, Sir Edward Carson said:—"Believe me, **we** are fighting the very noblest and very highest battle that men **have** been called upon in the course of history to fight. It is the battle of your country, your freedom, and your religion." Some of these battles for freedom took place in 1912. The "Daily Telegraph" wrote:—

"Before the holiday vacation, which began on July 10th and ended on the 23rd instant, very strong political feeling was engendered in the shipyards owned by Messrs. Harland & Wolff and Messrs. Workman, Clark & Company. **This feeling resulted in the Home Rule workers in both establishments, numbering in all about 2,500, leaving their employment, a number being assaulted, others intimidated, and others again threatened.** It was thought that during the vacation the feeling would die down, and that when the date for the resumption of work came the position would be normal. **Unfortunately this anticipation was not realised, the hostility becoming even more acute than before.** The result was that the several hundred workers of Home Rule tendencies employed by Messrs. Workman, Clark &

Company made no attempt to resume work and are still idle. According to arrangement, the 2,000 odd workers employed by Messrs. Harland & Wolff who had been out returned to the shipyard on the morning of the 23rd. At the breakfast hour on that day there were scenes of disorder outside the yard, and an hour afterwards 400 of the Cheshire Regiment which is stationed at Belfast, and 200 officers and men of the Royal Irish Constabulary . . . were brought on the scene. . . . On the same day and the following days up till Friday there were disorderly scenes inside and outside the yard, and **gradually the workers whose political opinions did not meet with the approval of the other 14,000 men, were forced again to leave their employment, the last of them doing so on Friday night last.** Thus all the arrangements made by Messrs. Harland & Wolff for the protection of their workers were futile."—  
July 31st, 1912.

A list of the casualties in these "battles" between Carsonite mobs and isolated Nationalists was compiled by the "Daily Chronicle's" correspondent on August 2nd, 1912.

#### THE NUMBER OF INJURED.

"I visited both the Royal Victoria and the Mater Infirmorum Hospitals to-day, and got a complete list of the men who, after being assaulted in the shipyards, had been taken there. Here it is:—

|        |           |    |        |           |    |
|--------|-----------|----|--------|-----------|----|
| July 2 | - - - - - | 12 | July 7 | - - - - - | 12 |
| " 3    | - - - - - | 9  | " 23   | - - - - - | 2  |
| " 4    | - - - - - | 10 | " 25   | - - - - - | 2  |
| " 5    | - - - - - | 15 | " 26   | - - - - - | 4  |
| " 6    | - - - - - | 16 |        |           | —  |
|        |           |    | Total  | - - - - - | 82 |

"These are only cases which were detained. **There were hundreds of others who were struck and kicked who did not go to the hospital for treatment.**"

The same "tolerance" was extended to all political opponents, whatever their nationality or religion. The "Morning Post" wrote:—

"A meeting of the men was held in St. Mark's Hall (Belfast), almost 2,000 being present. One of the speakers who spoke with a broad scotch accent, said **the audience included four hundred Protestants, mostly Englishmen and Scotchmen, who were driven from their employment because their political views did not coincide with those of the Unionists.**

#### THE CASTLEDAWSON BOGEY.

It is pleaded that these incidents of the campaign were provoked by what happened in the scuffle at Castledawson. What had English and Scotch Protestant working men to do with Castledawson? In truth, the shipyard riots in 1912 were only an exaggeration of the usual methods by which Orangemen proclaim their "tolerance." It is complained that at Castledawson a procession with women and children was attacked. Whatever happened then happened as the result of a chance meeting between two processions. Compare it with previous occurrences, debated in the House of Commons, on March 10th, 1911.

"TOLERANCE" IN 1909.

On August 15th, 1909, a Catholic festival, it was known that a body of Catholic excursionists would leave Portadown by an early train. Portadown is an Orange town, and according to the statement of the Attorney-General deliberate preparations were made overnight. to attack this body of about forty people, **including many women.** **"As much as a ton of small stones, which had not been there before, were scattered upon the road to serve as ammunition,** and a body of 200 men assembled on Sunday morning, at 8 o'clock, as this party was proceeding to the railway station, and used the ammunition placed upon the road overnight for the purpose, and made a most grave and brutal attack upon the body of 40 people."

The matter was raised in the House by Mr. William Moore, K.C., who complained bitterly because Cassidy, the ringleader in this assault, was sentenced to imprisonment under exceptional circumstances.

But Cassidy was not the only combatant for the cause of "toleration" whom Mr. Moore championed in the same debate.

AND IN 1910.

On September 24th, 1910, an Orange procession from North Armagh was on its way to the opening of an Orange Hall at Ardmore. They were sixty strong. On their way they were about to pass through the little Catholic village of Columcille, when two men of the village asked them to adhere to the customary usage and desist from playing their band as they went through a quarter inhabited by political opponents. What followed was described to the House of Commons by the Attorney-General. "Immediately the crowd broke loose and attacked Fox and Tennison. Tennison ran a few yards to escape, and was knocked down, and while on the ground was kicked several times by the crowd and hit with a spear. One of the defendants was seen by Constable McDonnell kicking Tennison while on the ground. His behaviour was so violent that the constable had to raise the cry that the crowd should not kill Tennison, and actually stood over him to ward off the blows aimed at him. The crowd then ran after Fox. After the original attack Fox ran away as hard as he could down the street, and he was now pursued by the crowd. The police at once followed, and saw Fox being hotly pursued by fifty or sixty men . . . Tennison had disappeared, and I believe was never seen afterwards; Fox had fled for refuge, as I have stated. **This band of sixty men, instead of pursuing their way with the road absolutely clear before them, went back and began a series of what I certainly think were most discreditable attacks upon the houses of eight of the fifteen Catholic residents in the village. There was not a window left whole . . .** At the end of half an hour they went on towards the place where the celebration was to take place. They were occupied an hour or two, and returned, as I gather, between six and half-past six, when a disgraceful thing occurred. On their return journey they resumed their attack when passing through Columcille."

Mr. Moore's complaint in this case was that the leading actors in this riot were actually prosecuted. He was not satisfied with the fact that a Belfast jury proved its "tolerance" by acquitting them.

### ORANGE "FRIENDSHIP."

These cases illustrate Orange "tolerance" in action. What about their "expressions of feeling?"

On July 28th Sir Edward Carson said that "he believed the present agitation had destroyed much of the peace and prosperity that was growing up in the kindly friendships of classes."

Who is responsible? On August 2nd, a prominent article in the weekly edition of the "Belfast Newsletter" (Orangeism's accredited organ) described the talk about "living in peace and amity with our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen" as "sickening rot," and went on:—"Live in peace and amity with all men certainly, but clip the wings of Rome by keeping her apostate church and slaves in their proper places. **The Papist makes a good hewer of wood and drawer of water,** he is servile to baseness, his Church teaches him that; but he makes the most tyrannical of masters at the instigation of the black-coated bigots who own him body and soul."

There is tolerance for you!

### HOW "TOLERANT" ORANGEMEN BOYCOTT ROMAN CATHOLICS IN ULSTER.

There is another aspect of the question. "This is no ignoble struggle. It is no selfish battle," said Sir Edward Carson at Lisburn. Let us analyse this unselfish self-sacrificing battle.

Take Belfast. Just 25 per cent., or one quarter of the population of Belfast is Roman Catholic. Now consider the religious statistics of the **Belfast Board of Guardians.**

Total Salaries in 1911 - - - £16,790

Salaries voted to Catholics - - - £233

Of the twelve dispensary officers not one is a Catholic.

### The Corporation of Belfast.

| Salaried Officials. | Salaries. | Religion of Officials.           | Salaries.                             |
|---------------------|-----------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 437                 | £68,723   | Protestants 428<br>Catholics - 9 | Protestants £67,955<br>Catholics £768 |

Of 25 medical officers on the salaried list not one Catholic. **The Belfast Harbour Office** pays £11,269 in salaries. The only Catholic employed receives £250. From **The Belfast Water Board** Catholics get £65; Protestants £5,300.

Wherever the Orangemen control the local governing bodies in Ulster, they follow the scandalous example set by Belfast.



# WHAT IS MEANT BY ORANGEISM.

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Orangeism is a perpetual celebration of the Battle of the Boyne, where William of Orange conquered James the Second. Curiously enough, the sympathies of the Pope were on King William's side, and the Catholic Court of Austria caused prayers to be said for the success of his expedition. But the result of that victory was to establish what is called the "**PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY**" in Ireland. The direct consequence was seen in the penal laws, whose effect was to enserf or drive out the entire Catholic population of Ireland. The Orange Society was founded to perpetuate the principle and spirit of this execrable legislation, after the laws themselves had been repealed. In 1793 Irish Catholics were admitted for the first time to the right of voting, and a great agitation was set on foot to secure for them complete emancipation. Two years later the first Orange Lodge was founded at Loughgall, in the County of Armagh. The avowed purpose of the Society was the total extermination of Catholics in Ireland.

An Orange Oath at the time was as follows :

"I, A.B., do swear that I will be true to King and Government, and that I will exterminate the Catholics of Ireland, as far as lies in my power."  
—(*Plowden, History of Ireland from its Union—I. Introd. p. 54.*)

An authoritative contemporary pamphlet—"A View of the Present State of Ireland," published in 1797—gives the following as the form of an early Orange "purple" oath :

"In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A.B., do solemnly swear that I will, to the utmost of my power, support the King and present Government, and that I do further swear that I will use my utmost exertions to exterminate all the Catholics in the Kingdom of Ireland."

These were not abstract declarations. The Protestants in County Armagh drove out all the Catholic inhabitants.

According to Lecky (the Unionist Historian), "A terrible persecution of the Catholics immediately followed. . . . After the Battle of the Diamond (a riot in 1795) the Protestant rabble of the County of Armagh, and of part of the adjoining counties, determined by continuous outrages to drive the Catholics from the country. Their cabins were placarded, or, as it was termed, 'papered,' with the words 'to hell or Connaught,' and if the occupants did not at once abandon them, they were attacked at night by an armed mob. The webs and looms of the poor Catholic weavers were cut and destroyed. Every article of furniture was shattered or burned. The houses were often set on fire, and the inmates were driven homeless into the world. The rioters met with scarcely any resistance or disturbance. Twelve or fourteen houses were sometimes wrecked in a single night. Several Catholic Chapels were burned, and the persecution which began in the county of Armagh, soon extended over a wide area in the counties of Tyrone, Antrim and Derry."

—(*Ireland in the 18th Century.—III. p. 429.*)

Lord Moira wrote to the Chief Secretary that on his estate, within one parish, ninety-one persons had been so driven out. Curran stated in Parliament that 1,400 families had been so ejected. Lecky puts the figure at 700 for County Armagh alone. He adds: "Some of the magistrates shamefully tolerated or connived at the outrages," and "the Government were very generally accused of conniving at" the apathy of the Grand Juries.

—(III. pp. 446 and 482.)

Thus the Orangemen were successful and were unpunished. Yet Grattan described them as "a banditti of murderers." The Earl of Gosford, Governor of the county in which the movement was founded, referred to them as "an ungovernable mob"; and the Rev. Dr. Killen, the Presbyterian historian, said they were "the very scum of society, and a disgrace to Protestantism."

## ORANGEISM NOT DEFENSIVE.

The statement that the early Orange Organisation was merely defensive has no foundation in history. Lecky wrote:—"The Protestants in Armagh, being considerably stronger than the Catholics, Orangeism in that county had assumed the character of a most formidable persecution." Lord Gosford said that they were "greatly superior in strength." In fact what came to be known as the Orange reign of terror began with the foundation of the first lodge.

## HISTORY IN BRIEF.

It is unnecessary to follow the history of Orangeism through the century. In 1825 the society was dissolved by Act of Parliament, but was reconstituted three years later.

In addition Royal Commissions condemned Orangeism six times between 1835 and 1886. The Select Committee of the former date was composed of twenty-seven members, of whom only two were Roman Catholics; and its report, after deploring "the baneful and unchristian influence of the Orange Lodges," proceeds:

"The obvious tendency and effect of the Orange Institution is to keep up an exclusive association in civil and military society, exciting one portion of the people against the other; to increase the rancour and animosity too often, unfortunately, existing between persons of different religious persuasions; to make the Protestant the enemy of the Catholic, and the Catholic the enemy of the Protestant."

In consequence of the grave nature of the disclosures made by the Select Committee of 1835, the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord John Russell, unanimously prayed the King to put down Orange Societies; and in reply, the King called upon his loyal subjects to aid him in doing so.

The important point, however, is that the methods and principles of Orangeism are the same to-day as they were fifty or hundred years ago. Its principles may be illustrated by a letter, which appeared on August 2nd, 1913, in the weekly edition of the "Belfast News Letter" (Orangeism's accredited organ), a sentence in which was as follows:

"Live in peace and amity with all men certainly, but clip the wings of Rome, by keeping her apostate Church and slaves in their proper places. The Papist makes a good hewer of wood and drawer of water, he is servile to baseness, his church teaches him that, but he makes the most tyrannical of masters at the instigation of the black-coated bigots who own him body and soul."

The methods of Orangeism may be illustrated by the many

## RIOTS

in 1864, 1872, 1875, 1876, 1881, and 1885; but notably by the Belfast Riots of 1886 and 1912.

In 1886 the Orange fraternity maltreated and murdered men and women, merely on account of their religion. They wrecked, looted, or burned the houses of about 200 Roman Catholics in the city of Belfast, and shot down two members of the Queen's forces in broad daylight. Several thousands strong, they fell upon a hundred Roman Catholic "navvies" who were peaceably at work, and drove them into the river; and when one poor lad attempted to save himself from drowning, they hurled stones at his head until he sank to rise no more! Roman Catholics were compelled to leave their work; and in one shipyard, the only Roman Catholic who had the temerity to remain was immersed in hot tar! These "loyal" Orangemen afterwards attacked two funerals: one, that of the poor lad whom they had murdered, and the other, that of a Roman Catholic priest.

The riots which began on June 3rd, were continued by way of rejoicing on June 8th, immediately after the news of the rejection of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill had reached Belfast. On that day twelve persons were arrested for rioting, and sixty-nine members of the Constabulary were injured. The riots of 1886 lasted for several months, and the facts are recorded in the Blue Book embodying the evidence taken before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Belfast Riots of that year.

## ORANGEISM IN ACTION—1912.

Orange rioting has continued at more or less regular intervals since 1886. Thus a sample of militant Orangeism is to be found in the brutal

### SHIPYARD RIOTS OF 1912.

On that occasion 2,500 Home Rule workers in the yards of Belfast were forced to leave their employment, 82 being assaulted and others intimidated.

"Several of the Nationalist workers in Messrs. Harland and Wolff's yards were assaulted. One of them escaped by jumping into the dock and swimming about fifty yards to a jetty on the opposite side."—DAILY TELEGRAPH, July 5th, 1912.

"One unfortunate was stripped naked and borne to the open raging furnace, held over it while his hair singed in the awful heat, and was only saved from instant incineration by the action of four manly fellows, armed with sledge hammers, who vowed with grim determination to smash like eggshells the skulls of the miscreants.

"The next hour a Catholic was taken prisoner by four other ruffians, his arms pinioned to his sides, and his head battered by the blows given by the four. A fifth now came up and felled the victim unconscious by the blow of an iron bar. Madly his distressed co-religionists flocked to the gates, and in the rush, escaped with their lives only."—MR. DEVLIN, House of Commons, July 31st, 1912.

## THE "CONDITIONAL LOYALISTS."

According to the report of one of the Parliamentary Committees in the first half of the last century (1835) the following appeared amongst the original rules of the Orange Society:

"I, A.B., do solemnly and sincerely swear of my own free will and accord, that I will, to the utmost of my power, support and defend the present King George the Third, his heirs and successors, so long as he or they support the Protestant Ascendancy."

It will be observed that this solemn protestation is expressly conditional. The Crown must be Protestant—and in the Orange sense of the word. A case in point was the “Cumberland Conspiracy,” organised by the Orangemen in 1835. That plot was promoted with the object of excluding Queen Victoria from the throne, and securing the Crown for their Grand Master, the Duke of Cumberland. Again, during the controversy over the Dis-establishment of the Church in Ireland Bill in 1868 the Rev. Mr. Flanagan said at Newbliss “People will say, ‘Oh, your loyalty is conditional.’ I say it is conditional.”

Quite recently Mr. C. C. Craig, M.P., interpreted loyalty to the Crown in this fashion: “If Home Rule is granted it will not matter a row of pins whether we are separated from Great Britain or not.”

—(DERRIAGHY, OCTOBER 19TH, 1911.)

The views of Captain Craig, M.P., are as follows: “There is a spirit spreading abroad, which I can testify to from my personal knowledge, that Germany and the German Emperor would be preferred to the rule of John Redmond,” etc., etc.

—(Interview MORNING POST, January, 1911.)

## POLITICAL INTOLERANCE.

The Orange politician is so reactionary that Mr. Walter Long, M.P., their chosen leader for years, was not intolerant enough to satisfy his followers. In 1892 he was returned to Parliament for the West Derby division of Liverpool, but the local Orangemen refused to re-elect him because he would not beat the Orange drum with sufficient fervour. His appeal to them in January, 1907, to cease talking about sectarianism was indignantly repudiated, and when a year later he announced his intention of supporting the alteration of the King's Declaration, the invitation he had received to an Orange meeting in Belfast was publicly cancelled.

Mr. Gerald Balfour, M.P., another Tory Chief Secretary, also incurred the displeasure of the Orange Lodges because he carried through Parliament the Act establishing Local Government in Ireland, and they pursued him relentlessly until the end of his official career.

Still another Tory Chief Secretary, Mr. George Wyndham, M.P., fared similarly, and was driven out of the Chief Secretaryship by the same little faction because he, Mr. Wyndham, had encouraged the idea of a measure of Devolution for Ireland.

And Sir Horace Plunkett, M.P., was hunted out of Parliament by the same organisation because, as Vice-President of the Irish Department of Agriculture in a Tory Government, he had appointed a Roman Catholic as Secretary of that Department.

## SUMMARY.

Orangeism has two functions. When the Tories are in, to denounce what an eminent Orangeman, Mr. Moore, M.P., called the “wretched, rotten, sickening policy of conciliation,” and to drive out of Parliament, or out of power, such men as Mr. Wyndham or Sir Horace Plunkett; when the Liberals are in, and attempt some sweeping measures of reform, to threaten civil war in the name of “**CONDITIONAL LOYALTY.**”



## THE ASCENDANCY SPIRIT IN IRELAND.

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Sir Edward Carson constantly asseverates that Irish Unionists seek no ascendancy, but desire that Protestant and Catholic shall be on an equal footing in Ireland.

In saying this he does not represent the spirit of his followers. In a pamphlet called "The Protestant Side of Home Rule," Captain Craig, M.P., says :—

"In dealing with the Roman Catholic Church, **there can be no such thing as equality. If you are not top dog, she will be.**"

In other words, there must always be the ascendancy of a "top dog" in Ireland, and Captain Craig means to keep it.

The same spirit is more crudely and brutally expressed in the *Belfast Newsletter*, the most important Unionist paper in Ulster. In the weekly edition of this paper there is on the leader page every week a regular article entitled "Ulster Orangeman to His Friends at Home and Abroad." On August 2nd this article contained the following :—

"Brethren and friends, for a quarter of a century we have been sleeping whilst the enemy sowed the tares which have now borne such a bitter crop. Even our friends told us that the danger was over, there was no need for Orangemen, **we should live in peace and amity with our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, and all that sickening rot,** from men who up till a few months ago failed to realise that there can be no peace where Rome is.

"Live in peace and amity with all men certainly, but clip the wings of Rome by keeping her apostate church and slaves in their proper places. **The Papist makes a good hewer of wood and drawer of water,** he is servile to baseness, his Church teaches him that, but he makes the most tyrannical of masters at the instigation of the black-coated bigots who own him body and soul."

Mr. Robert Lynd, the well-known writer, himself a Protestant from Belfast, says :—

" 'The Papist makes a good hewer of wood and drawer of water.' That is typical of the spirit which Sir Edward Carson (himself, I believe, free from sectarian feeling) has called into being in Ulster again, when most of us hoped it was dead past revival. It is not, let me say, the spirit of the moderate Ulster Unionists. But it is the spirit from which the 'Ulster-will-fight' party draws its main support. There, crudely but forcibly expressed, is the only real argument that exists in Ulster against Home Rule—the argument of ascendancy, of contempt for the Catholic—an argument which would be equally valid against Catholic Emancipation itself."



## **“ULSTER” UNDER THE “PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.”**

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By J. J. CLANCY, K.C., M.P.

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We are not sure whether under the “Provisional Government” it is intended to constitute “Ulster” an independent State, or a new province of the British Empire. On the one hand, generals have been appointed to command an “Ulster” army, and a department has been created “to take over” the management not only of Excise and the Post Office but of Customs. On the other hand, no admirals have as yet, at least, been appointed to the command of an “Ulster” Fleet, nor has any department yet been set up to deal with foreign affairs. Some consequences, however, are pretty certain to ensue from the accomplishment of even the least ambitious of the Carsonian designs, and, as they do not seem to have been widely thought of, it may be useful to set them down in plain language.

Let us assume that the Home Rule Bill passes into law as it stands and that the “Provisional Government” will be able successfully to resist its application to “Ulster.” This latter assumption, I admit, is a large one, especially if “Ulster” is to comprise the whole province of that name, in view of the fact that, of the nine Ulster counties, five have Nationalist majorities, and that even in the remaining four the Nationalist minority is 30 per cent. of the entire population. What then happens?

### **I.—REFUSAL TO PAY TAXES.**

There is a refusal, let us say, to pay taxes of any sort to the Imperial Government, which, under the Home Rule Act, will collect all the taxes. In the first place, it may be observed that it will not matter to the Irish Government whether the taxes are paid in “Ulster” or not. Under the new Constitution the Irish Government will continue to get its stipulated revenue in either case. But it will matter a good deal to Carsonia.

Take the **indirect taxes**—that is, the Customs and Excise duties and taxes on the manufacture or import of such commodities as tea, coffee, fruit, tobacco, whiskey, foreign spirits, beer, wine and certain chemicals. None of these commodities could pass into or out of “Ulster” without the duties being paid. If the Ulster distillers, for example, did not pay the duty on their whiskey, their exports would be held up till it was paid by some one. If the Belfast merchants who at present distribute tea, coffee, and wines throughout not only Ulster, but a large part of Connaught, and even portions of Leinster and Munster, did not pay the import duties on those articles, they could not distribute them, or even obtain possession of them; and the immediate result would necessarily be to divert from Belfast to Dublin and elsewhere all the distributing business from which its prosperity is at present largely derived. Its merchants could not trade in dutiable commodities, either in or outside “Ulster,” unless the Imperial Government was unable to protect its own Custom House in Belfast; and, accordingly, no merchants would consign any dutiable articles to Belfast or any other Carsonian port; while, if the inhabitants of “Ulster” obtained any such articles from Dublin, they would, after all, be paying the duties which the Covenanters have said they will not pay, and would be thus making recognition of the new order of things in Ireland.

**Direct taxes** are chiefly the Income Tax and the Stamp Duties.

Of the Income Tax a large part is collected “at the source.” Dividends on Government Stocks and on investments in foreign and other companies,

and official salaries, are, and will continue to be, paid less Income Tax, which, therefore, must be paid if the dividends so paid are accepted.

The non-payment of Stamp Duties, including the Death Duties, involves widespread consequences. Nearly sixty separate classes of instruments must now be stamped to have any legal effect. In every case where such instruments are now necessary, business could not be carried on beyond the range of General Richardson's guns. No merchant, say, in Great Britain could get a valid receipt for money paid to anyone in "Ulster," nor receive a valid cheque from anyone there for goods delivered. No Covenanter could sue anyone in Ireland outside the sacred area without thereby acknowledging the Irish Government.

The position of the **Banks** in "Ulster" would be peculiarly trying. They could not issue bank notes which would be accepted outside; they would not or could not, without paying the duty that is to be refused, pay cheques to, or discount promissory notes or bills of exchange for anyone outside that area; nor lend money on mortgage to such persons; nor receive deposits from such persons, because naturally depositors would hesitate to give them money on which interest could not be paid by valid bank drafts or Irish Post Office Orders. The Northern Banks, which now have numerous branches in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, could not, indeed, trade at all in those three provinces without paying duty.

## II.—NON-RECOGNITION OF THE IRISH POST OFFICE.

The non-recognition of the Post Office and its telegraph and telephone services which are to be handed over to the Irish Government would be attended by even more widespread consequences.

First, **Old Age Pensions** which are paid through the Post Office **would necessarily cease to be paid** unless, of course, "Ulster" after all recognised the Irish Post Office by meekly accepting them!

Second, the business under the National **Insurance Act** would also necessarily come to a dead stop. Insurance benefits are secured by the purchase of stamps in the Post Office, and as those stamps would not, of course, be bought by the "grim, dour, determined" Covenanters, the Imperial Government contribution would not be forthcoming, with the result that **no benefits** would accrue in such cases.

Third, **no letters** from the area of the "Provisional Government" would, of course, be stamped, for to buy postage stamps from the Irish Post Office would be not only to recognise that institution, but to contribute to the revenue of the Irish Government. **Telegrams could not be sent** at all, for they, too, would have to be paid for in Irish Post Office stamps—which, of course, is unthinkable; and so, perhaps, the signalling corps, of which so much has been heard, might after all have a useful function to discharge in the "Provisional Government" area. Beacon fires might be resorted to at night, but telegraphic communication would, in fact, cease to exist for "Ulster," and the telephone might as well never have been invented. All this opens out a fine prospect for Belfast in particular.

## III.—REFUSAL TO RECOGNISE THE IRISH COURTS.

If the administration of the law by the Irish Courts under Home Rule is not recognised in "Ulster" the consequences will be both interesting and important.

**Barristers and solicitors** who take sides with the "Provisional Government" **could not practise at the Irish Bar**. They must go to and remain in Belfast, and they could practise only within the area of the "Provisional Government."

All the briefs they may hold at the time of the "taking over" must be given up in all cases in which the results would affect persons living outside Carsonia. Moreover, they must, such of them at least as live in Dublin—



where most of them do reside at present—remove their household goods from the Irish capital to the Carsonian capital, wherever that may be, before the “appointed day.” Otherwise they would recognise the Irish Government and Parliament by paying rates and taxes, which would be an abandonment of Carsonian independence, and an acknowledgment of that hated thing, the Irish Government. It will be an interesting fight when the leading legal supporters, and (possibly) members of the “Provisional Government,” take wing for Belfast or Portadown. Some of them hold offices under the Crown such as Crown Prosecutors. Those **offices must be surrendered.**

The legal effects on the public at large will be important. Writs are now issued for all Ireland in the name of the Irish Lord Chancellor. Those writs will, of course, not run in “Ulster,” and writs issued in the name of the proper Officer of the “Provisional Government” will, of course, not run outside Carsonia. The consequence will be that all debts due in either region must be recovered before the “appointed day” or not at all; all pending actions must be determined finally before the “appointed day”; all mortgages must be called in before that day and realised. Future business transactions must not be undertaken. **Credit transactions must cease.**

#### IV.—REFUSAL OF SUPPLIES.

The money spent out of the Imperial Exchequer on Ireland at present consists, first, of the sums paid for national services, and, second, of the grants in aid of local taxation. All will be paid to the Irish Government under Home Rule, to be distributed, subject to the rights of existing Civil Servants, as the Irish Parliament may determine. On the assumption that “Ulster” will not recognise the Irish Parliament, no provision will exist for—

- (1) Education;
- (2) The work of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction;
- (3) The administration of the Labourers’ Acts and Housing Acts;
- (4) Prisons, Reformatories, and Industrial Schools;
- (5) The Land Commission for fixing fair rents;
- (6) The administration of the ordinary law;
- (7) The work discharged by County Councils, District Councils, and Boards of Guardians, so far as it is paid for by grants in aid; and
- (8) Local Loans.

The throwing away of the Agricultural Grant, which, for all Ireland, amounts to something between £700,000 and £800,000 a year, and of which Ulster gets its share, will not be a negligible loss.

But this is not all. Amongst the Irish services which are reserved—some permanently, others for a period—the latter are:—(1) Land Purchase;

(2) Police; (3) Old Age Pensions; and (4) National Insurance.

**Payments for these must all cease,** so far as “Ulster” is concerned, if the “Provisional Government” becomes a reality. Land Purchase advances could not continue to be made for two reasons—first, because “Ulster” would be in rebellion against the Crown; second, because the Land Purchase annuities could not, on the assumption that the “Provisional Government” would be effective, be recoverable. Similarly, with regard to advances for the building of Labourers’ Cottages in the rural districts and of houses in towns. Within the last year over £100,000 has been borrowed by the Belfast Corporation for housing, and a grant out of the Irish Housing Fund would be payable in aid of the repayment of that sum under Home Rule. Under the “Provisional Government” it would cease to be payable, unless the Irish Government were recognised—which, of course, will not be the case.

Old Age Pensions and the Imperial grant towards National Insurance, as has already been stated, would also cease to be paid.

#### V.—“TAKING OVER THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE.”

At present Ireland is governed—legislated for and administered—as a whole; and this has always been the case in modern times. All the executive departments which deal with Irish affairs are situated in Dublin, and their authority extends to every part of Ireland. If their authority is repudiated in “Ulster” it follows that separate authorities dealing with the same matters must be substituted for them in that region, unless local Government there is allowed to get into a state of chaos. Putting aside, therefore, the question of providing for a Fleet and for the transaction of foreign affairs, for Old Age Pensions and National Insurance, for Land Purchase and Labour Exchanges, for Police and a Post Office, the following departments would need to be organised immediately for Carsonia:—

1. A legal establishment, consisting (I suppose) of a Lord Chancellor or (as the appointment already given to Mr. J. H. Campbell suggests) a Lord High Assessor; a Court of Final Appeal; a High Court, consisting of Equity and Common Law Judges; County Court Judges, and newly-commissioned Justices of the Peace, with appropriate staffs; Law Officers and Crown Solicitors, sheriffs, returning officers, and bailiffs; and a Land Commission for fixing rents, with registrars to record its decisions, and clerks to make copies of them. **A Court of Bankruptcy will also be required, and will probably be the busiest court of the lot.**

2. A Local Government Board (with staff) to supervise the working and audit the accounts of the County Councils, the County Borough Councils, the Urban District Councils, the Rural District Councils, the Boards of Guardians, the Lunatic Asylum Committees, the Water Boards, the Joint Hospital Boards, and the Burial Boards, with all of which Ulster is liberally provided.

3. A Board of Works (with staff) to make loans (provided it can obtain the money!) for public works, and to supervise the execution of such works.

4. A Primary Education Board and an Intermediate Education Board, with inspectors and teachers, a training college or colleges.

5. A Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, which at present performs a great variety of functions for every part of Ireland.

6. A Prisons Board, with prisons and staffs of doctors, warders, wardresses, and other servants. A Criminal Lunatic Asylum must also be provided in place of the Dundrum (Co. Dublin) Criminal Lunatic Asylum, which at present serves “Ulster” as well as the rest of Ireland.

“Taking over the Government” of Carsonia is thus no simple matter, and it is obvious that it would be much more costly than even the present system of governing Ulster as a part of Ireland. But if Carsonia refuses to recognise an Irish Parliament and Government, then **all this new administration must be set up and the necessary funds obtained from Carsonian pockets alone.**

Under the “Provisional Government,” indeed, the fate of “Ulster” would be tragic, that is, if that “Government” were able to make good its boasts and threats. Its trade and commerce would be destroyed; its social system would be rent in pieces; its existing local government would disappear; bankruptcy would be universal. And as has been said, **all this would happen without even a shot being fired** at the “grim, dour, determined” Covenanters. The “Provisional Government” and its supporters would be simply committing suicide.

## WHAT "ULSTER REBELS" WOULD LOSE.

Suppose "Ulster," in refusing to recognise the Irish Parliament, sets up the threatened "Provisional Government" of the province,

### WHAT, THEN, WILL HAPPEN ?

Well, no money will be available for **Old Age Pensions** : nor for **National Insurance**—already so popular in "Ulster."

For the same reason, **Land Purchase**, with all its benefits, will cease to operate in "Ulster," because the purchasers, by virtue of their Covenant, would disregard both the Imperial and Irish Parliaments, and would not feel compelled to pay their annuities at all. The condition of agriculture will steadily decline, for that part of the **Agricultural Grant** hitherto credited to "Ulster" can no longer be distributed there.

Then, no provision will exist for the work discharged by County and District Councils and by Boards of Guardians, so far, at least, as **grants-in-aid** pay for such work. Payment to Local Taxation accounts will cease. When that condition will have been realised, local bankruptcy will follow.

Moreover, they will be without the **necessaries of civilisation**. If the "Ulster rebels" want to **educate** their families, they will have to pay for education themselves. If they want **police**, they will have to raise them and pay for them. If they want **law courts and civil administration**, they will have to pay for them.

Sir Edward Carson's "Cabinet" or "Central Authority" reply by asserting that they will not pay taxes to an Irish Parliament, but will collect and spend the current taxation of "Ulster" in "Ulster."

### BUT HOW CAN THEY POSSIBLY DO SO ?

For, observe, taxation is both direct and indirect. **Indirect Taxation** is the duty levied on the manufacture or importation of tea, tobacco, alcohol, and similar commodities. **Direct Taxation** consists principally of Income Tax and Stamp Duties.

The "rebels" can only resist payment of **indirect taxes** to the Irish Parliament by refusing to buy or sell tea, tobacco, or such like commodities. That condition makes resistance absurd.

With regard to **direct taxation**, Income Tax is mainly collected "at the source." Thus dividends arising out of investments are paid less Income Tax. Hence a "rebel" in order to resist payment of Income Tax must begin by refusing to accept his dividend warrant. That situation would be even more eccentric than a refusal to consume tea or tobacco. The refusal to pay Stamp Duties would land a "rebel" on the horns of another Gilbertian dilemma.

But are "grim, dour, and essentially business-like" "rebels" likely to pay double taxes—first, their lawful taxes which, as we see, are unavoidable, and, afterwards, taxes for the maintenance of the "Cabinet" and the "Provisional Government?"

If not, then "Ulster" will lose Old Age Pensions, the Imperial Grant towards National Insurance, the Educational Grant, and many other benefits if the Provisional Government becomes a reality instead of a chimera.





# **WILL HOME RULE BE ROME RULE?**

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It is often said by ignorant persons, that, under Home Rule, Irish Roman Catholic politicians would have to do whatever the Roman Catholic Church dictated to them.

This is wholly untrue. Its untruth is made clear by cases in which the Pope officially endeavoured to dictate political action to Nationalist Ireland.

First, in 1814, the English Government proposed to endow the Irish Catholic Church on condition that England should have a veto on the appointment of Irish Bishops. In return they were prepared to give emancipation to the laity. Three Irish Catholic Archbishops and seven Bishops supported this policy, so did the Roman Catholic Bishops in England; and finally a Rescript was issued from Rome declaring that the proposal had been gratefully and thankfully received. Cardinal Gonsalvi was sent to negotiate with O'Connell. But the Irish laity, under O'Connell's leadership, resisted and defeated the proposal.

"I would as soon," said O'Connell in one of his speeches, "receive my politics from Stamboul as from Rome."

But there are much more recent instances. In 1883, a testimonial to Mr. Parnell was started and subscriptions were coming in steadily but slowly, when suddenly a Papal Rescript was published denouncing the Land League and warning the Irish People, Clergy and Laity to hold aloof from subscribing to the Parnell Testimonial. The result was that the Testimonial to Mr. Parnell, which was intended to have been £15,000, came to £37,000 within a few months.

This interference of the Vatican was undertaken at the request of the English Government, conveyed through a Tory Catholic. In 1888, by the same agency, the Pope was again moved to interfere, and a Papal Rescript was issued on April 20th, 1888, condemning the Plan of Campaign. A meeting of protest was held in the Mansion House at Dublin by the Catholic members of the Irish Party. The meeting refused obedience to the Rescript, in six resolutions of which this was the sixth:—

## **RESOLUTION OF THE IRISH PARTY CONCERNING POLITICAL INTERFERENCE OF ROME.**

**"That while unreservedly acknowledging as Catholics the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See, we, as guardians, in common with our brother Irish Representatives of other creeds, of those civil liberties which our Catholic forefathers have resolutely defended, feel bound solemnly to reassert that Irish Catholics can recognise no right in the Holy See to interfere with the Irish people in the management of their political affairs."**

MR. THOMAS SEXTON, M.P., and then Lord Mayor of Dublin, who presided, declared :—

“ Our religion is independent of England and our politics are independent of Rome. We would think as soon of taking our politics from the Palace by the Tiber as our religion from the Palace by the Thames.”

MR. JOHN DILLON, M.P., said :—

“ We are here to declare that we will not submit or bow to action like this, and that we will assert, in spite of the Tory Government, in spite of English intrigues at Rome, our civil rights, and show to the whole world that we know how to distinguish between spiritual and political domains.”

MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P., said :—

“ The responsibility which rested upon them in speaking to that meeting seemed to him to be of a twofold nature. There was first a heavy responsibility lest by any word spoken, any ill-temper, or any rashness, they should seem to throw any doubt or question upon the absolute submission which as Catholics they owed to the Holy See in every matter of spiritual concern, and the still heavier responsibility lest in their desire to make plain that submission in spiritual matters they should have the appearance either in theory or in practice of abating one single jot of that independence of thought and action in political matters which required assertion, and in the desertion of which they would be the veriest slaves and unfit for any measure of freedom.”

MR. HEALY and MR. O'BRIEN also spoke in the same sense.

These instances make plain beyond dispute, first, the traditional attitude of the Irish Catholic laity ; secondly, the attitude of the present leaders of Irish political opinion ; and, thirdly, the definite pronouncement of the Catholic members of the Irish party.

## **BRITISH ANTI-HOME RULERS ON THE CAMPAIGN OF CALUMNY.**

A well-known "argument" employed by "Ulster" Tories against Home Rule consists of an appeal to sectarian bigotry. This particular line of attack does not challenge the principle of Home Rule, nor the Bill itself; but seeks to prove that the notions of civil and religious liberty current amongst the Roman Catholics of Ireland are of the most reactionary character. The Nationalists of Ireland are conjured up—with a vividness that is calculated to leave nothing to the imagination—as a people actuated by religious intolerance of the most loathsome kind. There is nothing too base or unworthy that is not alleged against them. Speakers and canvassers spread calumny broadcast, and rely on the fears and prejudices of the people to reap an electoral harvest.

That this style of "argument" against Home Rule does not appeal to many British Unionists may be gathered from a glance over the following :—

**LORD EDMUND TALBOT, M.P. (Unionist Chief Whip),** said :—

"Things had been said and written by Anti-Home Rulers with reference to his religion which he absolutely repudiated. Things of a most offensive character, displaying most narrow-minded ignorance and bigotry, had been uttered and written against his religion by those who were undoubtedly strong opponents of Home Rule, not by responsible leaders of the Unionist Party, but by what he might term the third-rate type of lecturer, who found it conveniently easy to dilate in anger and venom on matters of religion, either through incapability or lack of intelligence to understand the question as a whole."—Waterloo (Liverpool), "Morning Post," Oct. 23rd, 1912.

In reply to a bigoted speech by Mr. W. Moore, M.P., at Craigavon (Belfast), on September 23rd, 1911,

**COLONEL SIR MARK SYKES, M.P. (a Unionist),** wrote :—

"If the Anti-Home Rule campaign is going to be conducted on such texts and speeches, I feel convinced that for a number of Unionists it will be impossible to take any active part in it. . . . If Mr. Moore's speech is to form the basis of Unionist policy it makes it impossible for any Irish Catholic to be a Unionist, or any English Catholic Unionist to countenance the tactics of his party."—"The Times," September 27th, 1911.

### **"THE CAUSE OF THE UNION NOT SERVED."**

Sir M. Sykes also wrote to the "Daily Telegraph" of June 10th, 1913, to protest against an attack on the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland. During the course of his letter he wrote :—

"I submit that the cause of the Union is not served either by attacks on Christianity in any form, or appeals to passions which should now only survive among half-civilised people."

## THE DUKE OF NORFOLK (a Unionist) said :—

"A great deal of the religious bigotry stirred up in Ulster rested upon panic and sprang a great deal more from deep-rooted and wide-spread ignorance than from any established fact."—Norwich, "Morning Post," November 12th, 1913.

**LORD NINIAN CRICHTON-STUART, M.P. (a Unionist),** said that :

"He not only deplored that the question of religion had been brought in, but he considered that the dragging of religion into the argument was disgusting and disgraceful."

Discussing the religious aspect of the Home Rule question in the House of Commons on May 9th, 1912,

**MR. JAMES F. HOPE, M.P. (another Unionist),** said that :—

"to take advantage of a political situation to set up a religious controversy is a method unworthy of a great cause. I am bound to say that there is not anything which has been said in this Debate by any of my Hon. Friends which is open to these strictures, but such things have been said on platforms, and it is necessary to protest."—(Parliamentary Debates.)

**Finally, Messrs. N. Cockshutt (Unionist candidate for Rochdale, December, 1910), and G. Doyle (a prospective Unionist candidate for Newcastle-on-Tyne)** have both repudiated the campaign that has been inaugurated to calumniate the Roman Catholics of Ireland. On August 10th, 1912, Mr. Cockshutt wrote to the public press :—

"I have also informed Mr. Bonar Law that I disapprove of and dissociate myself from a type or method of opposition to Home Rule of which the leaflet headed, 'Oath of Ancient Order of Hibernians,' bearing the imprint of a recognised Conservative press in Manchester, issued by the Unionist Association of Ireland and circulated at the recent Crewe election in support of Conservatism, is an illustration."

Replying to a bigoted manifesto which appeared in the public Press on August 14th, 1913, Mr. Doyle wrote :—

"I am convinced that more real harm is done to the cause of the Union and to the Unionist Party in this country by the publication of such effusions than is effected by all the speeches and writings of political opponents. . . ."

The excerpts given above are from the statements of Roman Catholic Unionists in England. But it is to be observed that while such Unionists are content to take any Party capital that can be made out of the campaign of calumny, still, their own consciences compel them to enter periodic protests against a **series of allegations which they themselves feel are devoid of foundation.**



# ULSTER AND HOME RULE

## A SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P.

AT

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE,

November 14th, 1913.



# ULSTER & HOME RULE

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## A SPEECH

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Mr. John Redmond said—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, allow me to commence what I have to say by thanking you most sincerely for the extremely kind reception that you have given to me. It is something for an Irish leader to be proud of—that he can find as cordial and as enthusiastic a welcome on British soil from a British audience as he can receive at home in his own land from his own people. I trust the enthusiasm of your welcome is due to some extent to the fact that you recognise in me not merely an Irishman come here to plead the cause of his country, but a man who is sincerely desirous to be friends with the people of England, and who has done his best, all through a somewhat long career in the House of Commons, to support, by voice and vote, every measure designed for the benefit of the masses of the British people. Ladies and gentlemen, we meet here to-night at a moment of exceptional political interest, at a moment fraught with the gravest possible political consequences not only to Ireland, but to the democracy of the country, and to the future of all those great causes upon which the welfare of the people of Great Britain depends. I am here, as you know, to speak to you on the Irish question, but I recognise, and I am glad to recognise, that, bound up with the fate of that Irish question, is the fate also of the entire democratic cause in Great Britain. The opposition to Home Rule is, in certain quarters, vehement, and, it might be said, passionate.

### CAMPAIGN TO DESTROY THE PARLIAMENT ACT.

But, ladies and gentlemen, I venture to suggest to you, that the vehemence and the passion of that opposition are not inspired so much by hostility to the merits of the Home Rule question as by the desire to destroy the Parliament Act, and to restore the veto of the House of Lords. So far as the Home Rule question is concerned, our opponents have absolutely failed in influencing the intelligence of the people of this country. They have been arguing about this Home Rule Bill, and the Home Rule question, now continuously for two years, and their argument, on their own admission, has failed. It has failed in Parliament, it has failed on the platform, and it has failed on the hustings; and now admitting, as they do, that their argument has failed, they are engaged in a last desperate

effort to intimidate the people of this country whom they have utterly failed to persuade or convince.

## BLUFF AND BLACKMAIL.

They are now engaged in a gigantic game of bluff and of blackmail, and I say to you that the people of Great Britain would be both fools and cowards if that game were allowed to succeed. Now, what is this Irish question of which I am to speak to-night? People's memories are very short, and I think it will be useful for me if I can claim your patience for a few moments to recapitulate, in a few sentences, the history of this Home Rule question. Ireland is asking for nothing new. Ireland had a Parliament of her own, going back in history almost as far as the Parliament of England. During the last eighteen years of that Parliament Ireland showed an increase in prosperity and in commerce and in industrial effort not paralleled in any other country in Europe at the time.

## HOW IRELAND WAS ROBBED OF HER PARLIAMENT.

In 1800 that Parliament was destroyed. How? The greatest Unionist historian of our times has declared that it was destroyed by means of the deepest turpitude—by force, by fraud, by corruption. We hear a good deal nowadays about the necessity of having yet another General Election on the question of restoring the Irish Parliament. There have already, in succession, been three General Elections; in each the Government was returned to power pledged to Home Rule for Ireland. But yet our opponents demand a fourth. How was the Union carried? Was the question of the Union ever submitted to a General Election? As you know, in the year 1793 the vote was given by the Protestant Irish Parliament to the Catholics of Ireland; but on the question of the Union those voters were never allowed to vote at all. No General Election was held, and the Union was carried over the heads of the electors of the country. Now, from that day to this there has been a never-ending protest by the great mass of the Irish people. During that dreadful period, now more than a century, there were three unsuccessful insurrections in Ireland put down ruthlessly in the blood of the people. There were famines every ten years. In one great famine, you know, Ireland lost two millions of her population. During that terrible period England's population increased and multiplied, and the population of Ireland fell one-half. Her industries were destroyed. Ireland, which, in the eighteen years before the Union, was the most prosperous country in Europe, in the eighteen years after the Union sank to the lowest depth of industrial stagnation and decay.

## IRISH MEMBERS AND ENGLISH REFORMS.

And, mind you, during this period the Irish Nationalists, who went to your Parliament at Westminster against their will and to protest against the destruction of the Parliamentary liberties of their country, in spite of all provocation, all through that century returned good for evil, and by their votes supported—aye, and often by their votes carried—every popular reform that the century has seen passed for the British people. And all this time, during this terrible century of famine, discontent, industrial stagnation, insurrection and bloodshed, Irish soldiers fought the battles of the Empire throughout the world. Wellington's



words are on record where he said, "At least one half of the soldiers under my command in the Peninsular war were Irish Catholics." And where he further said, "It is mainly to Irish Catholic soldiers that we owe our proud pre-eminence in our military position." As I have said, whilst Ireland was lying bleeding at every pore, Irish soldiers were fighting your battles and Irish representatives at Westminster passed by their votes every great reform for the people of this country. Remember what Mr. Lecky said, "The majority of the Irish members turned the balance in favour of the great Reform Bill of 1832." And from that day to this there has not been a democratic measure which they have not powerfully assisted. "It is not," said this Unionist historian, "it is not too much to say that their presence in the British Parliament has proved the most powerful of all agencies in accelerating the democratic transformation of English politics." Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is our record, notwithstanding the sufferings of our country during the century.

### THE ASCENDANCY PARTY'S RECORD.

What is the record of the representatives of the Ascendancy in Ireland which to-day alone stands out to defeat, if they can, the restoration of Irish rights? Those men voted against the emancipation of the Catholics, against the emancipation of the Jews, against the emancipation of the Nonconformists. They voted against the ballot, they voted against the franchise, and let me, for fear people would say I am talking ancient history, let me give you their record during the last few years. Let me go back to 1894. They voted against the death duties and the Harcourt Budget, which placed the burden of taxation on those best able to bear it. They voted against the Labourers Act in Ireland to provide for the erection of cottages for agricultural labourers in 1906. They voted against the Plural Voting Bill to abolish the unjust power of the property vote. They voted against the Town Tenants Bill to give compensation for improvement and disturbance of tenants of houses and shops. They voted against the Small Landholders Bill for Scotland to assist the poor crofters. They voted against the Land Valuation Bill for Scotland to restore to the people a share in the value of the land which they had created. They voted against the Evicted Tenants Bill to reinstate unjustly evicted tenants in Ireland. They voted against the Budget of 1908, which took off half the sugar tax from the shoulders of the working man of this country, aye, and on the Old Age Pensions what is their record?

### OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Two of them voted for them, fifteen did not vote at all, and one man—who do you think it was?—Sir Edward Carson—voted in the Lobby against Old Age Pensions. They voted against the Minimum Wage Coal Mines Act, which provided that rates of wages should be determined by Joint Wages Boards. They voted against the Trades Union Act to repair the injury done by the Osborne judgment. In 1909 they voted against the Plural Voting Bill again, and let me not forget, they voted also against the concession of Home Rule to the Transvaal, which has saved South Africa for the Empire. Now, during all that long period, when our record was what I was giving you, and when the

record of our opponents is the damning record that I have read out to you, Ireland never ceased to demand the restoration of Home Rule. From the day the Irish people got the franchise, five-sixths of the Irish representatives have come, General Election after General Election, to Parliament to ask for Home Rule. At first repeal was demanded, and restoration to Ireland of a sovereign independent Parliament. That was given up, and Home Rule took its place, and the demand since 1873, and down to this moment, is not for the repeal of the Union, but for the readjustment of the Union, not for the restoration of a sovereign Parliament, but for the concession to Ireland of a subordinate Parliament, subject to the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament in this country. In 1886 Gladstone proposed that settlement. The country was not prepared for it, and it was defeated. In 1893 he again proposed that settlement; it was passed in the House of Commons, and was rejected by the House of Lords. It was never rejected by the people. Those who say so tell an untruth. When the Bill of 1893 was rejected by the House of Lords Gladstone wanted to dissolve Parliament. His Cabinet, most unwisely as I thought then and I think still, declined. Gladstone went out of office into retirement. The Government carried on, hung on, for two years. The whole attention of the country during those years was directed to what was called from this town the Newcastle programme. When the elections of 1895 came it was decided not upon Home Rule but upon a multitude of other issues.

### A BRITISH MAJORITY FOR HOME RULE.

At the same time, I must admit that in 1893 there was a British majority in the House of Commons against Home Rule. That is so no longer. To-day there is a British majority, a larger, an overwhelming British majority, apart from Irish votes altogether, in favour of the Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons. There have been three General Elections returning Home Rule Governments to power in succession. The Home Rule Bill has passed the House of Commons twice by majorities of over a hundred. It has passed by large British majorities, far larger than those which carried most of your great reforms during the last century. Let it pass once more and it becomes the law of the land. The power of the House of Lords to wreck it is gone. All the old arguments have disappeared, and to-day there is absolutely no obstacle in our path save one, and this is so ridiculous and so audacious in character as to find no parallel in the history of constitutional government in any land upon earth.

### A RIDICULOUS OBSTACLE.

One small handful of men in one small corner of one province in Ireland declare they won't allow this Bill to pass, this Bill, mark you, which has a majority of Ireland at its back, and the whole Empire practically unanimous. They won't allow it to pass, and, if it is passed in spite of them, then they swear by high heaven they will declare war upon their fellow-countrymen in Ireland, upon the Empire, and upon the throne itself. Now let me say to you, English people, this one serious word: If such an obstacle as that were allowed to prevail, if such a threat as that were allowed to become effectual, then there is an end to all Constitutional Government—an end to all liberty, an end to all law and order, aye, an end to all

civilised society.\* Now allow me briefly to examine the claims that these men make. They speak of Ulster.

What is Ulster? It is a province that consists of nine counties which returns to Parliament seventeen Home Rulers and sixteen anti-Home Rulers. It is a province where the population is very nearly evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants, and allowing for that margin, which I believe to be a large one of Protestant Home Rulers, Ulster to-day consists of a population, the majority of which is in favour of Home Rule.

### THE FOUR COUNTIES.

To exclude Ulster bodily, therefore, is so patently absurd that our opponents have been forced to fall back upon what are called the four counties—i.e., the counties of Down, Armagh, Antrim, and Derry—and this is their case. They say: "Here you see a homogeneous population, homogeneous in race, in religion, in politics, in unity, in opposition to Home Rule." Now, allow me to examine that for a moment. Homogeneous in politics! Why every one of these counties returns one Home Rule member to Parliament. Homogeneous in religion? Allow me to examine that. I have here the figures from the latest Census, and they show that in the County of Down there is a percentage of 31.6 Catholics; in Antrim there is a proportion of 20.3 Catholics; in Armagh there is a population of 45.3 per cent. Catholics; in Derry County there is a proportion of 41.4; in Derry City there is a proportion of 56.2 Catholics, and in Belfast itself there is a proportion of 24.1 per cent. of Catholics. Now consider the politics of those counties. You start from the assumption, which, of course, is true, that all these Catholics are Home Rulers. The Protestants of the four counties number 729,624, and if you take the percentage of 10 per cent. of the Protestants as Home Rulers, and everyone who knows the North of Ireland knows that is a ridiculous under-estimate of their number, and, if you add this 10 per cent., that is 72,962 Protestant Home Rulers to the 316,406 Catholic Home Rulers, we then have a grand total of 389,368 supporters of Home Rule in these four homogeneous counties. Now that amounts to 37 per cent. of the whole population of these counties, and, therefore, to arrive at a homogeneity in these counties our opponents are obliged to wipe out of evidence for the sake of their argument 37.2 of the population.

### THE ONLY PROSPEROUS PART OF IRELAND?

Now, ladies and gentlemen, these people say, when driven by that argument to which there is no answer, they say, "Oh, these four counties are the only prosperous part of Ireland, and the Nationalists only want to include these counties in the Irish Parliament in order to ruin them by taxation." Well, now, there is no power under the Home Rule Bill to differentiate in the matter of taxation between one place and another

\*Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P., speaking at Manchester on October 14th, 1902, made the following reference to *passive* resistance:—"Is not this principle that, whenever you disapprove of the action of the Ministers or Parliament or the electorate, you may immediately refuse your rates, capable of indefinite application? I do not like Home Rule. Suppose, for simile, they passed Home Rule. Am I going to protest by refusing rates and taxes? Is civilised government possible on terms like that? Does not the whole idea of a free, self-governing country contradict it?"

And, again, in the House of Commons, on May 18th, 1903, Mr. Balfour, referring to the *passive* resisters, said:—"I do not know whether they have taken action which would bring it within the scope of the criminal law; but I should trust no person of sense would embark in any undertaking of the kind, which is equally at variance with sound logic, sound morality, and sound constitutional principles."



or between one class and another. But that is too small a matter apparently for our opponents to consider. Now, don't complain if I weary you a little by giving you some figures. Rhetoric is all very well, but, in a matter of this kind, facts and figures are better. On December 9th, 1912, the Treasury issued a return, from which I am taking these figures. The gross annual value of property under Schedule A, Schedule D and Schedule E, in Dublin, was £11,107,391. In Belfast it was £6,339,214; and the estimated income tax payable for 1911-1912 in Dublin was £361,000, and in Belfast £206,000; and the gross assessment per head of the population in Dublin was £36 8s. 9d., and in Belfast £16 7s. 7d. But, let me go now from individual cities to provinces. The rateable value per head of the population in Leinster was £4 8s. 9d., in Ulster £3 9s. 8d., in Munster £3 4s. 8d., and in Connaught £2 5s. 1d.; and, lest it should be thought unfair to take provinces, let me take counties—let me take these four counties that are supposed to represent practically the whole wealth of Ireland. I have a list here of all the counties of Ireland, according to their rateable value. I find that the County Down, instead of being at the top, is the fifteenth county, that the County of Antrim is twentieth, County Derry twenty-sixth, Armagh twenty-first.\* In the face of these hard, official figures, what is the use of people coming and talking about these counties being the only prosperous part of Ireland? Let me take another test. Since 1851 1,190,194 people have emigrated from Ulster. "Ah, yes," I hear someone say, "but that is from Catholic, Nationalist, thriftless part of Ulster." No, no. I have here the figures for the four counties, and, in that period, there emigrated from those four counties, 652,957 people, and, ladies and gentlemen, the last emigration returns, issued only the other day, continue the story.

### EMIGRATION FROM ULSTER.

In the last emigration returns Ulster heads the list for the whole of Ireland. From the one County of Antrim alone last year 3,628 people emigrated, or within 600 of the total of the emigration for the whole province of Leinster. But, go on further still. It is said that the Customs Duties collected in Belfast amount to £2,206,000, out of a total for the whole of Ireland of only £3,271,000. Therefore, you are told, Belfast pays almost the whole taxation of Ireland. Was such absurdity ever heard? The Customs Duties are levied in Belfast, but they are paid by the consumers all through Ireland. Belfast is simply the port of distribution, and I would venture, respectfully, to say to Belfast that it would be well for her to consider whether, if she were excluded to-morrow from the Home Rule Bill, and cut off from Ireland, whether other ports—Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and so forth—might not easily take her place as centres of distribution. The plain truth of the matter is this—Belfast and the four counties are more dependent for their prosperity upon the rest of Ireland than the rest of Ireland is dependent for its prosperity on them.

### BELFAST'S DEPENDENCE ON IRELAND.

There is not a merchant in Belfast who is not dependent, more or less, upon the South and West of Ireland. All the great banking institutions

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\*Taking the figures for 1912, it will be found that the value of the crops produced in Ulster was £12,901,861; Leinster, £10,702,398; Munster, £16,275,975; and Connaught, £5,828,115. The value of live stock on 1st June, 1912, was, in Ulster, £16,211,571; in Leinster, £18,499,370; in Munster, £20,739,032; and in Connaught, £10,966,100.



in Ulster have branches through the South and West. One of their great banks, the Ulster Bank, has twenty-eight branches outside Belfast in purely Catholic quarters through the South and West of Ireland. The same is true of the Northern Bank, and of the Belfast Banking Company, and other institutions of the kind.

### EXCLUSION OF ULSTER WOULD MEAN ITS RUIN.

And I say as one who, whether he is believed or not, will continue to assert as one who is as anxious for the maintenance of the prosperity of Ulster and Belfast as of any part of Ireland, I say that the exclusion of Ulster or any part of Ireland would mean the ruin of its prosperity. But, ladies and gentlemen, to us exclusion would mean something more. It would mean the nullification of our hopes and aspirations for the future Irish nation. It would mean the erection of sharp, permanent, eternal dividing lines between Catholics and Protestants, whereas our ideal has been an Irish nation in the future made up of a blend of all races, of all classes, and of all creeds.

### THE BISHOP OF TUAM.

Let me read for you some words spoken the other day by a Protestant Bishop in the West of Ireland. The Bishop of Tuam issued an address the other day to his flock, and he said :—

“My coming to the West of Ireland has made me more proud of the fact that I am an Irishman than ever I was, for here I have been brought into personal contact with one of the most prominent features, that characteristic mark of the true Ireland. Where in the whole world will you find such kind-heartedness and such humanity? The generous welcome extended to me by the people of Connaught, Irish Churchmen and Catholics alike, has made a deep impression upon me. I think I see here in the West of Ireland the dawn of my most cherished hopes. Loving my Church as I do, and loving hardly less my country, I have often longed to see our Church taking a more prominent part in the moulding of our national life and national character. It is sad to think how little sympathy there has been in the past between our Church and the aspirations of the nation; and remember (he said) in a very real sense Ireland is a nation, and there is nothing in the least inconsistent in being a Nationalist and a patriot in the truest sense of the word and being at the same time the staunchest loyalist.”

Those are noble words. Are we to be asked to annihilate and destroy the noble ideal put forward by that great Protestant Irishman by the erection of an artificial and impassable gulf between the Protestants and Catholics of Ireland? Ladies and gentlemen, the real position of our opponents is, in my opinion, plain and unmistakable. Just as in Canada when Lord Durham proposed to end Canadian disaffection and unrest by giving Home Rule there was a section, an ascendancy section, who, as Lord Durham points out in his famous report, holding in their hands all the offices of power and emolument, bitterly opposed the concession of Home Rule—just as there was that in Canada, so our opponents to-day in Ireland, the representatives of the old ascendancy—that cursed ascendancy whose spirit has been the cause of all the miseries and misfortunes of our country—are standing out now to-day and saying, “You shall not do justice to Ireland.” I was reading the other day in the most powerful Unionist journal published in Ulster—I mean the “Belfast News-Letter”—an article in which these dreadful

words occurred. It was written the other day—in August. (Mr. Redmond here read from a newspaper clipping) :—

“Over a quarter of a century we have been sleeping while the enemy sowed the tares which have now grown up a bitter crop. Even our friends told us the danger was over, and that there was no need for Orangemen, that we should live in peace and amity with our Catholic fellow-countrymen and all that sickening rot. Live in peace and unity with all men certainly, but clip the wings of Rome. The Papists make good hewers of wood and drawers of water.”

This is the spirit which animates our opponents to-day. Five-sixths of the Irish people are to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the little ascendancy faction is to be allowed to maintain its grip on every office of power and emolument and honour in the country.

### THE HOLD OF THE ASCENDANCY.

This ascendancy to-day holds, as it has held all through the century, practically every office of power and honour and emolument in the country where five-sixths of the people are to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. I have some figures here I am loth to quote. Out of 6,000 Justices of the Peace the ascendancy faction hold 3,653. Out of 30 Lords Lieutenants the ascendancy holds 27, and they have 30 High Sheriffs, practically the whole body; they have 601 Deputy-Lieutenants out of 650; they have 62 members of the Privy Council out of 72; they have 57 Stipendiary Magistrates out of 76; they have nine Judges of the High Court out of thirteen; they have 33 County Inspectors of Police out of 37, and so on I might continue the list all through the whole hierarchy of government in Ireland. It is the same; the ascendancy holds to-day, and has held, a practical monopoly of every office of power and emolument and honour and dignity in Ireland, and five-sixths of the people, the mere Irish, the Papists, the mere Irish who happen to be the remnants of the ancient Irish race, are to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water. Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, it is not fear of religious persecution. Men like the Protestant Bishop of Tuam, where not three per cent. of the population is Protestant, he and men like him know that the spirit of intolerance and persecution does not exist amongst the Catholics of Ireland to-day. It is not fear of religious persecution. It is not fear of taxation, of unjust taxation, in Ulster. If there were any such fear I fancy that Lord Pirrie, who is the biggest business man of Belfast, and who pays, I believe, something like £20,000 a week in wages would not be as he is enthusiastically in favour of the Home Rule Bill. No; it is not fear of religious persecution, it is not fear of unjust taxation which animates our opponents; it is fear of the loss of the old ascendancy, and to-day in defence of that unholy monopoly and ascendancy these men threaten civil war on the Empire and the Throne.

### WE IN IRELAND WILL NEVER SUBMIT TO THEIR THREATS.

Their threats are idle. In Ireland we will never submit to them. For Great Britain to submit would not only be treachery to Ireland, but would be treachery to the best interests of Great Britain herself. This demand of our opponents means the wrecking of the Parliament Act and the restoration of the House of Lords. Now, ladies and gentlemen, let me impress this one other consideration upon your minds. At this moment Ireland is confident, and she is trustful. She has learnt to trust the justice,

the honour and the wisdom of an enlightened British democracy, and she profoundly trusts the great man who is leading the Home Rule movement, the Prime Minister. Ireland is not only confident and trustful, but, mark you, she is patient, self-restrained and peaceful. You have all, no doubt, seen a great deal lately in the papers about a settlement of this Home Rule question by consent.

### SETTLEMENT BY CONSENT.

Now, I am one of those who believe that it would be worth paying a large price to obtain a settlement by consent. I have always said publicly and privately that I did not want Home Rule to come in the garb of a humiliating defeat for any section of my countrymen. We do not believe in this nonsense about a civil war and a provisional government, but, at the same time, it would be of enormous and incalculable value to Ireland if Home Rule could come to a satisfied and united people. We have been willing to safeguard every possible danger to civil and religious liberty of every section of our people, no matter how small. All I say to-night is this—let these men say what they want, and I repeat what I have so often declared that there is no demand, no matter how extravagant or unreasonable it may appear to us, that we are not ready to carefully consider so long as it is consistent with the principle for which generations of our race have battled, namely, the principle of a settlement based upon the national self-government of Ireland. I therefore, ladies and gentlemen, do not shut any door on a possible settlement by consent. On the contrary no man living would welcome such a settlement more than I would, but I say here, and let it be clearly understood, I mean what I say, we will not be intimidated or bullied into the betrayal of Ireland. It is said that we are asking for the exclusion of Irishmen from their British citizenship. It is ridiculously untrue. We don't desire the exclusion of any Irishmen from British citizenship.

### FOR ADMISSION TO THE EMPIRE.

On the contrary, what we are demanding is admission for ourselves to the British Constitution. We have never during the last century lived under the blessings and the safeguards of that Constitution, which has been the palladium of your liberties. We stand at the door of the Empire and we ask admission; we pledge you our fealty as a nation, and our loyalty as men. We seek to blot out even the memory of ancient wrongs and ancient miseries, and ancient causes of heart-burning and discontent. We ask to-day to be allowed to cross the threshold into an Empire—ours, remember, by right of service, as much as yours—where the genius of our people, the valour of our soldiers, and the fidelity of our race might, possibly, prove to be one of your greatest assets in the vicissitudes and the dangers of an unknown future. I beg of you, and those whom you represent; I beg of you in the name of justice and of honour no less than in the name of wisdom and of self-interest, if, as I fear will be the case, our opponents remain obdurate, and will agree to no reasonable settlement of this question, I beg of you not to permit the door of the Empire to be slammed in the face of Ireland, either by the fear of fanatics or by the bludgeons of bullies.

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**MR. BALFOUR**

ON

**NATIONALITY**

AND

**HOME RULE**

A REPLY BY

**JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P.**

PUBLISHED BY THE IRISH PRESS AGENCY,  
2 & 3 GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER.

is a resistance to religious equality in Ireland. The logical expression of it is to be found in a resolution adopted by the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland, which runs—

It will be for ever impossible to fight Home Rule successfully so long as it is contended or admitted that the Romanists and other open enemies of the true religion ought to have political power. We regard the so-called Catholic Emancipation Act as the first "plague spot" of the Home Rule evil. From the time of the passing of the Act, which gave the Romanists the franchise, dates the beginning of their power to threaten the liberties of the Protestants of Ireland.

More dexterous politicians express the same sentiments in another form. Mr. Kerr-Smiley, M.P., for instance, declared on the 12th July last, that :—

There were no faint-hearted Protestants there that day, but a resolute body of men and women determined to sacrifice everything rather than submit to the rule of a Roman Parliament.

I could accumulate citations to show that the real contention against our cause is that Home Rule must not be given to Ireland because the majority of Irishmen are Roman Catholics. Otherwise the whole argument of "Ulster" would fall to the ground. Presbyters and bishops, clerics and laymen, have reiterated that they will not submit to be ruled by an assembly of their fellow-countrymen, and the reason alleged is religion. What they claim is that there shall be within the British Empire a discrimination practised against one particular form of Christianity. This argument is not heard in the House of Commons, because even those who use it in Ulster are aware that modern democratic civilisation does not tolerate such a contention. What we are told at Westminster is, that there must not be Home Rule because to grant Home Rule will produce civil war in Ireland. When we ask a reason, we are told simply that "Ulster will not have Home Rule"—and that Ulster does not choose to argue.

## **ENGLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR IRISH SECTARIANISM.**

England has been responsible for making Ulster what it is. In Ireland the religion of the majority was first proscribed by law, then penalised so that all political power was placed in the hands of the minority. Catholic and Protestant were deliberately kept apart by the creation of an arbitrary political division. "When Catholic and Protestant combine," said one of Ireland's English rulers, "farewell to the English interest in Ireland." When the Irish Parliament had its brief period of freedom, Catholic and Protestant showed dangerous symptoms of combining; to avert this evil the Irish Parliament was strangled out of being.

When the Union came, Catholic Irishmen were told they would have full political equality with their Protestant fellow-citizens, yet 30 years' struggle was needed before an Irish Catholic could represent his fellow-countrymen in Parliament; and then the concession was made, not to argument or the plea of justice, but to the threat of civil war.

Thus under the Union for thirty years Irish Catholics were kept in a position of helotry as an inferior class of citizens, and in all that time the influence of this political division, augmented by every political device, taught Protestants to consider a position of privilege their right, and every measure of justice to Catholics as something taken from themselves. They were taught to believe that their liberties would only be safe under a Parliament where Protestants controlled the majority.

Such a spirit does not easily yield to reason. But is it, therefore, to be tolerated? Is it to be laid down as a part of Imperial statesmanship that Catholics, because they are Catholics, should be under a disability within the British Empire? And, further, is the assertion of this principle to be conceded under threat of civil war?

### **THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION.**

Mr. Balfour's policy of doing nothing in regard to Home Rule must be considered in relation to the facts. It is a decision to do nothing after the House of Commons has twice decided by very large majorities that a definite measure of Home Rule shall pass; and it is a decision to do nothing after a section of the Irish people has declared that if anything is done they will resist by force of arms. Suppose the British Government decide to do nothing, what will be Mr. Balfour's attitude if four-fifths of the Irish people declare their intention to take up arms in order to claim that settlement which the Representative House has offered to them, and has only withheld under threat of violence?

These are the realities of the situation, and I observe that they are not touched upon in Mr. Balfour's interesting dialectic.

### **REPRESENTATION AND TAXATION.**

I may, perhaps, be allowed to advert to some details of his article. He notes that Ireland cannot be oppressed at present because it has "far more than its fair share" in the councils of the United Kingdom. It has the share laid down by treaty under the Act of Union, which provided that Ireland should have 100 members in the Imperial Parliament; but it is no thanks to Mr. Balfour that Ireland retains this stipulated proportion, because he endeavoured to set aside this provision of the Act of Union, and was defeated by the Irish Party. Further, it is an article of faith with the Unionist Party to reduce Ireland's representation. In short, Mr. Balfour can say that we have no grievance, because he has not succeeded so far in creating one in this respect.

He says, again, that Ireland pays less than her proportionate share of taxation to Imperial objects. It is quite true that per capita Irishmen do not pay so much as Englishmen or Scotchmen. It is equally true that the same taxes are levied from them—unless Mr. Balfour wishes to lay stress on the fact that dog-licences are cheaper in Ireland than in England. But our contention is—and here again we base ourselves upon the Act of Union—that Ireland pays, and has paid, out of proportion to her ability, and that the payment should be in proportion to it. It is quite true that at present more money is spent in Ireland than Irish taxation amounts to. The main cause of that lies in the fact that for upwards of 70 years far too great a proportion of the revenue raised in Ireland was spent on so-called Imperial purposes. From 1817 to 1870, according to the Treasury figures, there was raised in Ireland two hundred and eighty-seven millions of taxation, and there was spent in Ireland only ninety-two millions; and a great part of the other one hundred and ninety-five millions ought to have been usefully and profitably spent in developing the resources of a country which then lay like a derelict farm.

When we are told that under any system of Home Rule Ireland ought to "pay her own bills," it should be asked what is meant by her own bills. The present revenues of Ireland are some £10,500,000, amply sufficient to finance a country with Ireland's population; but in taking

over Home Rule, we have to take over the establishment which English Government has created, the most expensive thing of its kind in the world. It is reasonable, therefore, that there should be a provisional system of finance until we can adjust our expenditure to our means, and until we have succeeded in developing the resources of a country on which an undue drain has been made.

### **GEOGRAPHY AND HOME RULE.**

There are some other points to which passing allusion may be made. Mr. Balfour speaks of the hostility to the Union which exists "in the Southern and Western portions of Ireland." This is an odd way of interpreting the fact that geographically seven-eighths of Ireland is represented by Nationalist members. He thinks also that Ireland's geographical distinctness is of little consequence. I would answer with a question—Is there anywhere else in the world a country inhabited by over four millions of white men, with a complete maritime frontier, which does not govern its own affairs? Mr. Balfour knows very well that the effect of a sea-frontier is potent and far-reaching. You cannot get a better proof than in the fact that all natives of Ireland, however deep their political, or racial, or religious divisions, think of themselves as Irishmen, and vie with one another in pride of their country.

### **THE TWO-CAMPS ARGUMENT.**

But, finally, I come to the main head of my disagreement with Mr. Balfour. "Ireland was divided into two camps"—by English action, he admits—"and divided she remains." "The Roman Catholics of the South and West," he says, "certainly would not have considered themselves secure if, under whatever paper safeguards, they were placed in the power of Ulster Protestants."

Our answer is that for eighteen years the Roman Catholics of Ireland were in the hands of Irish Protestants, and that from a Parliament of Irish Protestants the Catholic majority obtained justice and satisfaction which England had always denied them. Ireland has never ceased to regret Grattan's Parliament, and has always believed that under its care the seed of religious equality would have ripened quickly. Mr. Balfour thinks otherwise and asks—Why should the Ulster Protestants be content to be placed in the power of Leinster, Munster and Connaught? Here, at all events, we have got beyond the stage of talking about Hottentots, or declaring that Irishmen are congenitally unfit for self-government. The modern aspect of this argument is to state that England has so mismanaged Ireland in the past that she must for ever go on controlling Irish affairs. Irishmen have been taught under the Union to hate each other so bitterly that they can never be trusted to live together in harmony without England to keep the peace.

My answer is to quote a sentence from one of the wisest and best colleagues that we have known in the Irish Party, a Quaker who, for so many years represented a constituency of Irish Roman Catholics, the late Alfred Webb :—

"So long as the centre of power lies in a people, parties and interests learn to accommodate themselves to each other. Otherwise they seek to gain their ends, not by mutual agreement and accommodation, but by working on the feelings, the fears, and the prejudices of those amongst whom is the centre of power."

At the present moment all the activities of Unionist Ireland are devoted to working on the feelings, the fears, and the prejudices of

England; and all the activity of the Unionist Press of England is devoted to teach Irishmen that under Home Rule they will certainly cut each other's throats. Under Home Rule we shall at least be relieved of the play of English parties, and the ceaseless exploitation of every petty incident in Ireland by the English Press.

### MR. BALFOUR AS CRITIC AND PROPHET.

I note further that Mr. Balfour thinks the Bill before the House of Commons "financially, administratively, and constitutionally indefensible." It may be of interest here to quote what Mr. C. F. Bastable, Professor of Political Economy in Trinity College, Dublin, a Unionist, says in summing up the financial aspects of the Bill:—

"In conclusion" (Professor Bastable says) "I may express the opinion that the financial plan of the Government of Ireland Bill, alike in its provisions for Irish expenditure under the check of due responsibility, in those for affording the revenue necessary to meet that expenditure, and finally in its arrangement of financial machinery to secure the working of the system, is carefully adapted to the conditions of the problem, and though certainly by no means perfect, is quite capable of being worked satisfactorily by reasonable human beings. Amendments will be called for if the measure comes into being, but unforeseen contingencies apart, no radical alteration of the financial basis is required."

Administratively and constitutionally, Mr. Balfour has full liberty of prophesying; but I have sufficient experience of the House of Commons to be aware that any large and complicated scheme admits of criticism, which will demonstrate plausibly the total impossibility of its working in practice. I think I could undertake to prove from a House of Commons point of view, that the British Constitution, as we know it, could not possibly go on without a deadlock for three months. I may, perhaps, be allowed to quote one of Mr. Balfour's earlier excursions into prophecy, dating from 1906. Here is what he said about South Africa:—

"I think the Government are attempting an experiment of a most dangerous description. No human being even thought of such an experiment before, that of giving to this population—a population far more homogeneous than our own—absolute control of everything civil and military . . . I refuse to accept responsibility when the Government offer what I regard as the most reckless experiment ever tried in the development of a great policy, and only from a wisdom that we can hardly hope for from the people of the Transvaal, can that danger be avoided."

Three years after these words were spoken, Mr. Balfour admitted in the most unqualified manner the success of this "reckless experiment." He said:—

"The leaders of opinion in South Africa have never allowed the bitterness, incident to such a strife as that on which they entered in 1899—they have never allowed, on whichever side they fought, that bitterness to interfere with the clear vision of what was necessary for the good of the whole population of the country, and you have men of the most divergent past, and possibly of widely divergent opinions as to the present, men who actually fought in battle, meeting now round the same Council Board in South Africa, and agreeing as to what was best for the men of their own race, and coming to the conclusion, which has been the common property here, from time immemorial, that the only possible way in which South Africa was to play its part in the world, as it most assuredly will, was by a system of equal rights and that freedom which we have given now in full measure to every Colony in which the British race is predominant in the Empire to-day."

I venture to draw a hopeful augury for the future state of Ireland from the present state of South Africa, and I am sure that Mr. Balfour will live to rejoice as sincerely and openly over the failure of his predictions in the latter as in the earlier case.



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ALSO RECOMMENDED :

Civil War in Ulster, by Joseph Johnston, B.A. 6d. Sealy, Byers and  
Walker.

# PROTESTANT CANADIAN OPINION ON THE FEARS FOR IRISH PROTESTANTS

Some attempt has been made to prejudice English opinion in regard to Home Rule by reference to the case of Quebec. A pamphlet has been circulated called "Ulster and Home Rule—a Canadian Parallel," by Mr. Robert Sellar, who is described as being a Canadian equivalent for the late Mr. Kensit. But, without going into Mr. Sellar's credentials, it is well to print some opinions from leading Protestants in the public life of Quebec, which have been collected by Senator Thomas Coffey, one of the many staunch Irish Home Rulers who are prominent among Canadian politicians.

The first of these is the Honourable Sydney Fisher, a member of the Church of England, a graduate of McGill University, Montreal, and of Trinity College, Cambridge. He represented the constituency of Brome in the Province of Quebec, and was Minister of Agriculture in the Canadian Liberal Government from 1896 till 1911, and he writes as follows :

4 RANGE ROAD, OTTAWA,

*November 27th, 1913.*

DEAR SENATOR COFFEY,

I waited to answer yours of November 2nd until I could look up one or two matters. Perhaps you noticed a little while ago that Mr. Bonar Law in a speech referred to the feeling in regard to Home Rule in Canada, declaring that it was not by any means unanimous, and making use of a reference to Ontario and Quebec in the Canadian Confederation. He said in effect, "How would the Catholics of Quebec like to be under the Protestants of Ontario, or the Protestants of Ontario under the Catholics of Quebec?" I need not point out to you what a misleading suggestion this is. There is no analogy between it and the condition of Ulster and the rest of Ireland. If there is any example in Canada for the situation in Ireland today it would be that of the Protestant English-speaking minority in the Province of Quebec. Ireland is a local entity, just as in our Confederation Quebec is. A vast majority of the people in Ireland are Roman Catholics; so they are in Quebec. There is the Protestant minority in each case, probably the richest commercial part of the community in each case, paying the bulk of the taxes, having less influence numerically in any local legislation.

Judging from this analogy our experience in Quebec is emphatic that Ulster need fear no oppression. It is true that at the time of the Confederation debate some of the representatives of the English minority in Quebec expressed fear that their interests would be jeopardised in the local legislature of the Province. Mr. Galt, who was very largely instrumental in bringing about Confederation, and Mr. John Rose, also supporting it, expressed no fear. On the contrary Mr. Holton, Mr. Sanburn and Mr. Dunkin, while distinctly saying that they did not believe the Catholic majority in the Province would desire to over-ride their rights or privileges, showed the possibility of such occurring, and used it as an argument against Confederation which they feared, and as what they considered greater grounds for opposing. They were answered by the advocates of Confederation, including Mr. Galt, Mr. Cartier, George Brown and others, that there could be no such danger, because the Federal Government in which the Protestants were largely in the majority had the right to veto and would veto any unjust invasions of the rights of the Protestant minority.

This is practically identical with the situation in Ireland to-day. From the time of Confederation up to the present day the Protestant minority of Quebec have had not the slightest reason of complaint, not one single instance of invasion of their rights has occurred. No occasion has arisen for them to appeal to the Federal Government to veto any action of the local legislature on any such ground. No effort was made to separate the English Protestant part of Quebec from the rest of it, or to cut it out from the control of the Provincial legislature. There have been a few complaints in regard to the spread of the Catholics into the Protestant portions of the Province and consequent change in the local and municipal conditions, but these are due to the force of circumstances and not to any legislative action of the majority. For instance, under the laws of the Province of Quebec, Catholic and Protestant schools have exactly the same standing. Where in a municipality the Protestants are in the majority, the Protestant schools are the public schools, and Catholic schools are separate or dissentient. Where the Catholics are in the majority, Catholic schools are the public schools and the Protestant schools are separate or dissentient. By reason of the influx or overflow of Catholic population into some of the Protestant municipalities the relative numbers in these municipalities have changed and the Catholics to-day are the majority, and the Catholic schools have become the public schools and the Protestant schools, which before were the public schools have become the separate schools. The same might have occurred, and I think in one or two instances has occurred, where the Protestants have invaded the Roman Catholic municipalities and the Protestant schools might have, or have become public schools and the Catholics changed into separate schools. The two religions are on an absolutely equal footing.

In the Province of Quebec we have had an additional difficulty of language, most of the Catholics being French-speaking and nearly all the Protestants English-speaking. This difficulty does not present itself in Ireland. With it, however, and all the fears expressed at Confederation, no difficulty has arisen. The Roman Catholic French majority has shown itself very generous. It is not at all an uncommon thing where the population is mixed, and the Protestant English in a comparatively small minority, for the French majority to elect an English Protestant to public office, mayors of towns or cities, Members of the Legislature and Parliament, and it is only occasionally that appeals are made in such elections on the ground of either religion or nationality. To my mind no more

perfect analogy could be cited for the condition in Ireland, and it is an absolute proof that Ulster need not be afraid. I had some thought of writing on these lines to the "Times," in reply to Mr. Bonar Law's analogy drawn from Canadian affairs. I did not do so, because I think, in a general way, it is unwise that Canadians should enter into a discussion of the local political affairs of the United Kingdom. If, however, you find that misrepresentations are being circulated in Ireland as to the condition of affairs in Canada, you are at liberty to use what I have here written in any way that may best correct these misrepresentations and to use my name as the author.

I am very glad to be able to answer you thus at some length, I hope not too long for your patience.

Yours very truly,

SYDNEY FISHER.

A further communication comes from **Mr. E. T. D. CHAMBERS**, who is Lay Secretary of the Anglican Diocesan Synod in the Province of Quebec. Mr. Chambers, who is now a prominent official, cannot take any part in any political controversy at present, but he has authorised the reprint of a letter which he wrote to the Toronto "Globe" in April, 1905, before he became a member of the Civil Service.

The subject in discussion then was the position of Roman Catholic minorities in Manitoba and the North-west territories. Mr. Chambers pointed out that, in the Province of Quebec, the Protestant minority had the full enjoyment of separate schools and that this privilege had been claimed for Protestants at the time of the Union under the North America Act. He pointed out, therefore, the inconsistency involved in refusing to the Roman Catholic minority in the North-west those privileges which Protestants had insisted upon for their own protection. He added a detail of instances by which the Catholics of Canada had shown that they were entitled to full consideration from their Protestant fellow citizens.

"First of all, the recollection of the gift of \$10,000 to Toronto University, after its disastrous fire, by the Legislature of Quebec at the instance of Premier Mercier, is of recent enough date to be well within the memory of many who will read this letter.

"When the Hon. Robert Baldwin, the Upper Canadian reformer, was rejected as a parliamentary candidate by a constituency of his own Province, he was elected to the Legislature in 1843 by the purely French-Canadian county of Rimouski. Other French-Canadian constituencies in this Province have been equally generous. Portneuf, at various times, has elected the late Hon. T. C. Aylwin, and the present Sir H. G. Joly de Lotbiniere. The latter mentioned was also returned for many years by the county of Lotbiniere. Rouville in 1843 elected William Walker; Gaspé, for many years, Robert Christie; Chambly, the late John Yule; Beauce, Dunbar Ross and Mr. Pozer; Arthabaska, the late Hon. Christopher Dunkin and Mr. Henry Hemming. Chicoutimi and Saguenay elected for many years the Hon. David Price, and later, Mr. William Price, while Megantic, which has a few English-speaking voters, though the very large majority are French-Canadians, elected the Hon. George Irvine for many years, and



then the Hon. Colonel Rhodes, while its present representative in the Legislature is Mr. George Smith. The French-Canadian county of Quebec elected the Hon. David Ross in preference to the Hon. Pierre Garreau.

“The Bar Association of the district of Quebec, which has only some fifteen English-speaking practitioners at present, out of a total membership of nearly 150, nevertheless elects, alternatively, an English-speaking and a French-speaking *batonnier*.

“The English-speaking population of the city of Quebec—English, Scotch and Irish combined—numbers slightly over 10,000, out of a total of about 75,000. Yet the electors return nine English-speaking aldermen to the Council out of a total of thirty, or nearly one-third, although the English-speaking population of this city is only one-seventh of the whole.

“For ten years I myself sat in the City Council of Quebec, occupying one of the seats for St. Louis Ward, where the French vote far exceeds that of the English-speaking electors. Though twice opposed by French-Canadian candidates, I was never defeated, because of the general understanding among the majority of the French-Canadians of the ward that the English-speaking ratepayers, while in a minority, were entitled to one of the seats.”

To these opinions may be added that of **Mr. F. B. ELLIS**, Secretary of the Saint John Globe Publishing Company in New Brunswick, and son of the late President of the Company. He is a Protestant, and he writes:—“My own information, gathered from personal friendship with many Quebec Protestants, and from many visits to Montreal and Quebec, is that the Protestants are really the lords of the situation. There is, as there will certainly be in Ireland, just as soon as Home Rule becomes a fact, two parties, and the English, in consequence, are given greater prominence than their numerical strength warrants. In the present Quebec Government, there is at least one Protestant Minister and two or three Irish Catholics representative of the minority in race. The same would happen in Ireland. The present Nationalist Party will have strong opposition. That fact, if no other, will always make the Protestant element strong in the political struggle; for both sides will consider and propitiate them, and their position will be better rather than worse.”



## DOES ULSTER EXPECT CIVIL WAR?

A remarkable article published in the "Economist" of 14th February points out that the only alternative to civil war is said to be a General Election, and apparently the City does not believe that a General Election is coming. "The rate at Lloyd's to ensure against a General Election within the next six months is 20 guineas per cent., so that the chances against it are reckoned at approximately four to one," says the "Economist."

On this showing, the risk of civil war ought to be grave indeed. Yet, in January, Consols rose over 4 points, and Irish Land Stock by nearly 10 points. "So far as Great Britain is concerned, finance is not nervous." "But what of Ireland herself and of Belfast, which is to be the theatre of civil war? How are the investors of Ulster behaving in the crisis? Are they getting out of local securities as the danger of civil war approaches, and putting money into safer enterprise outside their own borders?"

Belfast Corporation Stock  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. yields £4 9s. 9d. per cent. on investment; Glasgow Stock, £4 10s. 0d. per cent.; Newcastle-on-Tyne, £4 13s. 9d. per cent.; Sheffield, £4 8s. 9d. per cent. It would appear, therefore, that the security of Belfast is considered to be somewhat better than that of either Glasgow or Newcastle, and scarcely inferior to that of Sheffield. Yet none of these cities is within measurable distance of civil war.

Take again railway stocks.

The Great Northern Railway, which connects Dublin and Belfast, would lie full in the track of battle, and the tentative operations of Sir Edward Carson's scouts have indicated the probability that, for example, the great viaduct over the Boyne would be destroyed immediately at the commencement of military operations. Yet, Great Northern Railway Preference Shares yield £4 0s. 9d. per cent. The London and South Western Preference Shares yield £4 0s. 6d. per cent., and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Preference Shares £4 1s. 9d. per cent. If it were thought probable that the Great Northern line of Ireland were to be exposed to such chances as the wholesale blowing up of bridges and tearing up of rails, it is tolerably certain that their credit would not so nearly approach that of great English railways.

"Now we come to the Banks, and here, if anywhere, we might expect to find civil war discounted by a sharp fall in prices. A company that deals in credit can afford less than any other to see a thriving industrial city turned into an armed camp, and the factories deserted as workmen are called away to the front. The shares are not fully paid up, but carry a heavy uncalled liability, so that, in the event of a catastrophe, the holders might have to face something much worse than the loss of a few divi-

dends, and a fall in the Stock Exchange quotations for their securities. Clearly, shares with uncalled liability are no holding for cautious investors in times of trouble and disaster. The old shares of the Belfast Banking Company are £12 10s., with £2 10s. paid, leaving a balance of £10 per share uncalled. Throughout last year the price of the old shares did not vary by more than 10s., and the yield on them, as will be seen in our table, is £4 18s. 6d. per cent., and a trifle less on the new. The following table compares the yield on Belfast banking shares with those of a few British banks :—

|                                |     |     |     | <i>Yield per cent.</i> |    |   |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------|----|---|
| Belfast Banking,               | ... | ... | ... | £4                     | 18 | 6 |
| Lloyd's Bank,                  | ... | ... | ... | 4                      | 17 | 9 |
| London County and Westminster, | ... | ... | ... | 4                      | 16 | 6 |
| London Joint Stock,            | ... | ... | ... | 5                      | 16 | 0 |
| Metropolitan,                  | ... | ... | ... | 5                      | 15 | 6 |
| Bank of Scotland,              | ... | ... | ... | 4                      | 19 | 9 |

Here, again, it is impossible from the yields to say which is the bank of the civil war area. Belfast does not anticipate a shock to her system of credit."

"In the industrial, as in other markets, we find the same phenomenon of low yields and steady prices. For our part, we cannot understand why the investors of Belfast are content to leave their money in the old securities if the country is really overshadowed by the danger of warfare and bloodshed. It is too much to believe in civil war on a basis of 4 or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent."

It is of interest to contrast this with the state of feeling in 1886 and in 1893. In 1886, when the Home Rule Bill was introduced, there was considerable probability that it would be defeated in the House of Commons, as actually proved to be the case; and in any event there was beyond this the barrier of the House of Lords, which, in 1893, proved sufficient to arrest the measure. Yet, in both these cases, great nervousness was shown, as is attested by this letter from the Right Hon. Laurence Waldron, Government Stockbroker in Dublin :—

"Securities were subject to a panic which produced a heavy fall in the springtime of 1886, following on Mr. Gladstone's introduction of the Home Rule Bill in that year. It should be borne in mind that a steady dwindling of prices had commenced after the failure of the Munster Bank in the autumn of the preceding year, and the political position, no doubt, accentuated the fall. In 1893 there was a sharp fall over a very limited period of time. The economic position in the country was then much sounder, and prices rapidly recovered, when it was known that the Home Rule Bill had no chance of passing."

# Some Samples of Calumny.

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The campaign of calumny against Irish Catholic Nationalists is prudently conducted. Its agents are careful to make their accusations in so vague a form that detailed refutation is impossible. The only possible answer has been given by publishing a volume of letters from leading Irish Protestants, many of them Unionists, who agree in repudiating the charge that Irish Catholics show or feel ill-will to Irish Protestants as such.

BUT IN CERTAIN CASES THE ALLEGATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE WITH  
DETAIL, AND PROMPT EXPOSURE OF THEIR FALSEHOOD HAS  
FOLLOWED.

A few cases may here be recalled.

## **THE QUEENSTOWN CASE.**

In August, 1911, the "Dundee Courier" published a long article stating that in Queenstown, Co. Cork, the Roman Catholic religious authorities had issued instructions that all Protestant shop assistants were to be discharged, and that they had ruined the business of a Roman Catholic shopkeeper who had refused to discharge a Protestant employee.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese with the priests of Queenstown took action for libel against the "Dundee Courier."

## **THE CASE WAS TRIED IN EDINBURGH BEFORE A JURY OF SCOTCHMEN.**

When it came into court counsel did not attempt to substantiate a single tittle of the charges, and merely pleaded that neither the bishop nor the priests were particularly referred to. **The jury expressed their opinion by giving £200 damages to the bishop, and £50 to each of the five priests.**

## **MALICIOUS ATTACK ON ROMAN CATHOLICS OF DUBLIN.**

In the course of the same year, Mr. William Moore, K.C., M.P., asserted that police protection was needed in Dublin to protect services of the Church of Ireland from disturbance by Roman Catholic Nationalists. A question in the House of Commons elicited the fact that only one church in Dublin had ever experienced any such disturbance, and that proceeded from Protestants protesting against what they took to be ritualistic practices.

## THE METHODIST CONFERENCE IN CORK.

In June, 1913, the "Leicester Mail" published a statement that during the **Methodist Conference held in Cork** "a howling mob of five thousand Home Rulers surrounded the building in which the conference was held, and with horrible threats, and the singing of Home Rule songs so terrified the handful of men and women that the police had to be sent for. . . The sole offence of the Methodists was that they had the audacity to hold a Methodist service in a priest-ridden city."

**Enquiry elicited the following telegram: "No truth in statement that an outrage was committed against the Methodists in Cork. On the contrary the City Hall was given free of charge for the Methodist Conference by the Catholic and Nationalist Lord Mayor."**

In fact, the Conference closed with a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor and the Corporation for their courtesy.

How Irish Catholics behave even towards Protestant preachers who do what one of them, the Rev. J. Crawford Irwin, has called "aggressive work," may be learnt from the "Missionary Herald" of February 2nd, 1914. **The Rev. T. A. McElfattrick, describing the work of the Irish Mission, writes, after having addressed open-air meetings in Tyrone, Fermanagh, Donegal, Leitrim, Cavan, Queen's County, and the city of Dublin:—**

**"We encountered no opposition of a serious kind. On two or three occasions the eagerness to hear us was so marked that it proved rather embarrassing to the speakers. Two or three hundred people would crowd round us, and as the men were usually armed with heavy sticks, we could not tell to what purpose these might be put, and it was only natural that an inexperienced person like myself should fear the worst. My fears, however, were groundless. . . . All this is remarkable when we think of the high tension of public feeling at the present moment."**

Mr. McElfattrick goes on to quote from a letter of a Colporteur engaged in distributing propagandist literature. "I went to one village and visited every house in it except the residence of the parish priest. I was well received in every house. Just fancy me getting into a village of thirty or more houses and not a Protestant within it or even within miles of it. I think if a Roman Catholic Missionary tried the same work in the North he would have a different story to tell."

## ROMAN CATHOLICS OF CO. GALWAY CALUMNIATED.

**At the by-election in Keighley, in November, 1913, Mr. R. J. Kelly, B.L., wrote to Sir Stanley Buckmaster, and quoted as testimony to the action of Irish Catholics the case of five families of**



Protestants who came from Keighley to the West of Ireland; the names being Rishworth, Herd and Paget.

A sensational contradiction to Mr. Kelly's statement was published and circulated broadcast by Mr. R. H. Paget, ironmonger, of Keighley; but Mr. Paget's contradiction was, in its turn, contradicted by his brother, **Mr. George Paget, who lived not in Keighley, but in County Galway.** Mr. George Paget wrote:—

**"When we were putting our hay together our Roman Catholic neighbours invariably came to give us aid, and even bringing the horses and cars, as they have done this present year, and if you offered them payment it would be considered an insult. I do not think you would get many Yorkshire people to do that. I deemed it my duty to write this,"** he adds, **"in order that my Roman Catholic friends in Keighley may see that their co-religionists in Tuam and the neighbourhood are not vile, persecuting tyrants. The truth is always the best policy—even in by-elections."**

Mr. Kelly's story received other confirmation by telegram:—

**"From Professor Rishworth, to Sir Stanley Buckmaster—The statement that the Rishworths were persecuted in Tuam on account of religion is absolutely untrue."**

Professor Rishworth has recently been appointed to one of the most important chairs in University College, Galway, in competition against several Catholic applicants; on the board which nominated him Catholics were in a large majority, and it included the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, and the Catholic Bishop of Galway.

### REPUDIATION!

In December, 1913, when Mr. Munro was standing for re-election in **Wick Boroughs**, the towns in the north of Scotland were flooded with the emissaries from Ulster, who, as a rule, avoided a public platform, but carried their stories from house to house. One of them, however, the **Rev. S. Reid, described in public the alleged persecution to which persons had been exposed in a parish where he had been in charge. Hay ricks had been burnt, cattle had been driven over the cliffs, and church windows broken.** He was careful not to mention the name of the parish; but his statement happened to get into the Ulster newspapers, and it was recognised that the charges could only apply to the parish of Cushendall, of which Mr. Reid had been minister. Indignant protests were at once published by the present rector of the parish, by **Mr. St. Clair Dobbs, a deputy-lieutenant of the county, and a strong Unionist**, and by a Mr. Stevenson, a Presbyterian merchant in the town. **Mr. Dobbs said: "If, as you allege, Mr. Reid really made these charges, and if Cushendall is the village to which they refer, we deeply regret it, and entirely disassociate ourselves from it. I have consulted all the leading Protestants in the neighbourhood, and I know that I am expressing their feelings as well as my own."**

## THE KINGSTON CASE.

On February 14th, 1914, a more important person than Mr. Reid came forward. **Mr. Walter Long published a letter to the Press reviving the old case of Mr. Kingston, a farmer of Kilmurvy, Co. Cork.**

Mr. Kingston was in Ireland what is called a "Land Grabber," and in labour disputes is called a "blackleg." During the agrarian troubles early in the 'eighties a tenant called Murphy held the farm now occupied by Mr. Kingston. **Murphy's rent was £70, and for refusing to pay this rack-rent he was forcibly evicted.** His neighbours sympathised with him, and no man would take the farm. Mr. Kingston from another part of the country entered into treaty with the landlord, who agreed to let him have it not at £70 but at £50. For this act of land grabbing Mr. Kingston was boycotted at the time. **Murphy died heart-broken in poverty, and Mr. Kingston continued in possession;** but within the last few years a series of Acts were passed which were designed to promote peace in Ireland by restoring evicted tenants or their representatives. Murphy's son returned from America, where he had been driven to look for a living, and he set up a claim to his father's farm. **Mr. Kingston was offered ample compensation in a farm elsewhere if he would consent to move. He refused to go,** and public feeling was so strong that the boycott was renewed in 1910.

**Mr. Long, in his letter, states that Mr. Kingston was boycotted because he was a Protestant, and that Mr. Redmond, who, in 1911, publicly referred to the Kingston case, has "made himself personally responsible for this atrocious persecution."**

**One of the leading Protestant land agents in the South of Ireland wrote in October, 1911 :—**

"I am acquainted with the property and the tenants. When the property was sold I tried to induce Kingston to sell his interest to the Land Commission, and get another farm from them, but this he declined. The statement that the boycotting was on account of Kingston being a Protestant, from my knowledge of the people and the country, I regard as a statement most false and absurd. **Kingston is boycotted solely for having taken Murphy's farm, and for nothing else, and if he was the most devoted Catholic it would have been the same.**"

The Kingston story, in fact, is a rehash of the old story, which two years ago was exploded, but

## IS PRODUCED WITH NEW FEATURES.

Much interest attaches to the new details which Mr. Long thus describes :

**"Quite recently the one employee who stood by Mr. Kingston died. It was found difficult to bury him. The undertaker in Macroom, a J.P., refused to furnish a coffin."**

The undertaker in question, **Mr. John Fitzgerald, J.P.**, of Macroom, has written saying that he refused the order because he had others on hand which must be dealt with first, and told Mr. Kingston's messenger this. "He said he preferred to give me the order to anyone else, and I told him to go and see if he could get it elsewhere, and if he could not, to come back, and **I would do the best I could for him.** Mr. Williams provided the funeral and the coffin without any difficulty. **There was no secrecy or trouble about the matter."**

Mr. Long, however, continues: "**When a coffin was secretly obtained, and the dead man was carried to the grave, there were unseemly and hostile demonstrations, an effigy of the dead man was hung up, horns were blown, jeering faces mocked from behind hedges.**"

The parish priest of Kilmurry, the **Rev. Patrick Tracey**, has made the following declaration on oath:—

"At the request of the brother of deceased, I attended the funeral of the said Daniel Reilly, with the Rev. Michael Cotter, C.C., on 10th January, 1914. We first went to Mr. Kingston's house and said the usual prayers over the body before the coffin was closed. Father Cotter and I then drove with the funeral to the graveyard at a walking pace. The coffin was carried by friends and neighbours of the deceased to the graveyard. At the graveside we said the usual prayers over the grave. There was no unseemly or hostile demonstration during the funeral, or during any part of the proceedings. I did not see any effigy of the deceased man hung up. No horns were blown, and no jeering faces mocked from behind hedges. **The statements to this effect contained in Mr. Long's letter are untrue as far as I am aware, because I was present during the entire ceremony, and would have seen any such hostile demonstrations if they had occurred.**

**MR. KINGSTON DID NOT COMPLAIN OF ANY HOSTILE OR UNSEEMLY CONDUCT WHATEVER.**

He stood near me at the grave during the funeral service, but made no complaint of any kind."

**Father Tracey's declaration is corroborated in every point by Denis Reilly, the dead man's brother, and by the hearse driver, John Shea.**

Mr. Long has, since the publication of all this sworn testimony, written to the papers declaring that Mr. Kingston continues to maintain his statement upon which apparently Mr. Long's information is based. He makes, however, the material alteration that **the effigy complained of was a figure in a cottage garden a quarter of a mile from the cemetery. It had no inscription.**

It is interesting to recall an action recently tried in court. The Unionist party were anxious to employ Mr. Kingston as a speaker on English platforms, and to assist him in this purpose he employed a local solicitor, Mr. Ashe, of Macroom (like himself, a

Protestant), to draw up a statement of his case. Mr. Kingston figured on many platforms, but **when Mr. Ashe asked payment for his professional services, Mr. Kingston denied that he had instructed Mr. Ashe. In January of this year Mr. Ashe proceeded against Mr. Kingston in the County Court, and the court, disbelieving Mr. Kingston on his oath, gave a decree for payment of the sum claimed.**

### **THE WATERFORD CASE.**

Later still than the publication of Mr. Long's letter, the campaign is continued by a person even more remarkable. **Mr. Bonar Law**, speaking in the House of Commons on February 4th, 1914, brought a charge against the Roman Catholics of Waterford, Mr. Redmond's own constituency. **Mr. Law said :—**

**"There was to be a service of prayer of peace. Anywhere except in Ireland one would have thought that was harmless, but by those constituents of the Hon. Member it was regarded as an offence, and steps were taken to mark those who were there, and to indicate them."**

THE FACTS OF THIS MATTER ARE AS FOLLOWS :—

The "Waterford News," one of the three Nationalist papers in Waterford, published an announcement which was issued on the authority of the Protestant Dean of the city, that a service would be held on the date of the opening of Parliament, for the purpose of a prayer that Parliament might be guided to a right decision in the great problems which were before it. This newspaper treated this service as if it were a public meeting, and sent reporters to the door of the cathedral to take down the names of those attending, with the object, presumably, of publishing them afterwards, which it seems they did not do. In taking this action they had not the sympathy or support or approval of any sort or kind of any section of Nationalists or Catholics in the city.

**"The Waterford Star," which is perhaps the leading Nationalist paper in Waterford, protested against this interference, small though it was, with the religious service held by the Protestants of the city, and said :—**

**"The attitude adopted by the 'Waterford News' has resulted, not only in a great deal of unnecessary unpleasantness, but conveyed an absolutely erroneous impression.**

**The four Catholic priests responsible for Waterford wrote to the papers :—**

**"We think it only fair to state openly, that we do not, nor do the Catholics of Waterford, approve in any way of the 'espionage' stated to have been practised on the occasion of the 'service of prayer of peace' at the Protestant Cathedral. We believe that no person should be penalised for worshipping God according to his conscience, and we are further satisfied that no non-Catholics in**



the City of Waterford have suffered, or are likely to suffer 'damage to their material interests as tradesmen and citizens.' If proof were necessary we would point to the election of Dr. Geo. Mackesy, a Protestant, to the City Council last week, and further, that his election was proposed by two prominent city priests. Furthermore, Dr. Mackesy, on the occasion of the installation of the Mayor, last Monday, publicly testified that during his long life he never experienced any intolerance, political or religious, from his Catholic fellow-citizens, and that he was returned to the Council by a purely Catholic constituency."

Resolutions were passed by the Corporation and by the United Irish League repudiating entirely the suggestion that the service in the Protestant Cathedral was regarded as an offence, or that steps were taken to mark those who were there.

### **SUMMARY.**

The plain facts of such cases as these may best be summed up in the words of the **Rev. William MacKeown, Presbyterian Minister, Scots Church, Cork**, who says :—

"It is now nineteen years since I came to live in Cork, and during that time I have never experienced, and have never known, an uncivil or unfriendly act done by a Roman Catholic to a Protestant on account of his Protestantism.

"It is only in Ulster that people talk of intolerance. It is only in Ulster that unfriendliness exists; and I have no hesitation in saying that the cause is not to be found amongst the Roman Catholic people, who are by nature courteous and kindly.

"The fear of Roman Catholic intolerance or persecution under Home Rule is a pure bogey, invented by minds that are embittered by hate and prejudiced by political partisanship."

No.

36. Colonial Statesmen and St. Patrick's Day.
  38. The Truth about Castledawson.
  39. Letters from Irish Protestants.
  40. Home Rule and Greater Britain.
  41. The Scottish National Covenant, and Sir Edward Carson's "Covenant."
  42. Ireland and "Ulster."
  43. "Ulster" Unionists pose as "Democrats."
  44. A Personally Conducted Tour in Ulster.
  45. Will "Ulster" Fight?
  46. "Toleration" in Ulster.
  47. What is Meant by Orangeism?
  48. The Ascendancy Spirit in Ireland.
  49. The Fate of "Ulster."
  50. What "Ulster Rebels" would Lose.
  51. Will Home Rule be Rome Rule?
  52. British Anti-Home Rulers on the Campaign of Calumny.
  53. Ulster and Home Rule, Speech by Mr. John Redmond at New-castle-on-Tyne, November 14th, 1913.
  54. Mr. Balfour, M.P., on Nationality and Home Rule. A Reply by Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P.
  55. Protestant Canadian Opinion on the Fears for Irish Protestants.
  56. Does Ulster Expect Civil War?
  57. Some Samples of Calumny.
  58. What is "Ulster"?
- 

The Case for Home Rule, by Stephen Gwynn, M.P. With Preface by John Redmond, M.P. 160 pp. 1s.

The Financial Aspects of the Government of Ireland Bill, by Professor C. F. Bastable, Professor of Political Economy, and Regius Professor of Laws in Dublin University. 16 pp. 1d.

ALSO RECOMMENDED :

Civil War in Ulster, by Joseph Johnston, B.A. 6d. Sealy, Byers and Walker.

## WHAT IS "ULSTER"?

Ulster is one of the four Provinces of Ireland. In 1911, the population amounted to 1,581,696. It is represented in the Imperial Parliament by

### 17 Home Rulers and 16 Anti-Home Rulers.

In the Province of Ulster there are 9 Counties. In five of these Counties the Home Rulers are in a substantial majority. In the remaining four the Unionists have a majority.

"The truth is," wrote 'THE TIMES,' as far back as June 7th, 1884, "that Ulster is by no means the homogeneous Orange and Protestant community which it suits Orangemen to represent it."

The four Counties in which the Unionists have a majority are:—**Antrim, Londonderry, Down, and Armagh.** These Counties are situated in the North-Eastern portion of Ulster.

As will be seen from the map, by far the larger area of Ulster is Nationalist,



BUT IN THESE FOUR NORTH-EASTERN COUNTIES THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A HOMOGENEOUS PROTESTANT OR UNIONIST COMMUNITY.

Five of the Nineteen Members of Parliament returned by these four counties are Home Rulers. This gives a larger proportion for Nationalist Members in the 4 Counties than Unionist Members have in the whole representation of Ireland. Here are the population figures for the four Unionist Counties. Under the heading "Protestants" have been included even those whose religion has not been ascertained.

| Londonderry Co. |         |   |           | 'Derry City.               |        |   |           |
|-----------------|---------|---|-----------|----------------------------|--------|---|-----------|
|                 |         |   | per cent. |                            |        |   | per cent. |
| Protestants     | 58,367  | — | 58·5      | Protestants                | 17,857 | — | 43·8      |
| Catholics       | 41,478  | — | 41·5      | Catholics                  | 22,923 | — | 56·2      |
| Co. Antrim.     |         |   |           | Co. Armagh.                |        |   |           |
|                 |         |   | per cent. |                            |        |   | per cent. |
| Protestants     | 154,113 | — | 79·5      | Protestants                | 65,765 | — | 54·7      |
| Catholics       | 39,751  | — | 20·5      | Catholics                  | 54,526 | — | 45·3      |
| Co. Down.       |         |   |           | Newry.                     |        |   |           |
|                 |         |   | per cent. | (parts of Armagh and Down) |        |   | per cent. |
| Protestants     | 139,818 | — | 68·4      | Protestants                | 3,491  | — | 27·2      |
| Catholics       | 64,485  | — | 31·6      | Catholics                  | 9,350  | — | 72·8      |

**Belfast.**

|             |    |    |         | per cent. |
|-------------|----|----|---------|-----------|
| Protestants | .. | .. | 293,704 | — 75·9    |
| Catholics   | .. | .. | 93,243  | — 24·1    |

Of the Protestants, at least ten in every hundred are Home Rulers.

The claim that the four North-Eastern Counties contain a homogeneous Protestant or Unionist community is also disproved by the following facts :—

**(1) South Londonderry (a Unionist Seat)—**

In Magherafelt Rural District, embracing 25 Electoral Districts, the percentage of population is :—

|             |    | per cent. |
|-------------|----|-----------|
| Protestants | .. | 47·0      |
| Catholics   | .. | 53·0      |



**(2) North Londonderry (a Unionist Seat)—**

In Limavady Rural District 8 out of 18 Electoral Districts have a Home Rule majority.

**(3) North Armagh (a Unionist Seat)—**

In Lurgan Rural District 3 out of 10 Electoral Districts show a Home Rule majority.

**(4) Mid. Armagh (a Unionist Seat)—**

In Armagh City, the capital of the county, the percentage of population is :—

|             |    | per<br>cent. |
|-------------|----|--------------|
| Protestants | .. | 46·1         |
| Catholics   | .. | 53·9         |

The Urban Council of Armagh consists of 12 Home Rulers and 6 Unionists. On September 16th, 1913, the Council passed the following resolution in reference to Sir Edward Carson's visit :—

**“That the majority of the inhabitants of Armagh are Nationalists and supporters of the Home Rule policy of the present Government, and that this Council is by a large majority of the same view ; that the campaign in pursuance of which Sir Edward Carson proposes to visit Armagh is opposed to the earnest convictions of the majority of the inhabitants, and that as Sir Edward Carson, in pursuance of this campaign, is in the habit of delivering speeches of a seditious character threatening Civil War, we are therefore compelled to take the view that the decoration of the city to welcome a man engaged in such a campaign would be grossly offensive to the majority of the inhabitants of the city.”**

Further, Keady Urban and Rural Districts—in Mid. Armagh—also show a Catholic majority.

**(5) North and Mid. Antrim (both Unionist Seats)—**

In Ballycastle Rural District there is a Catholic majority in 8 out of 15 Electoral Districts. The Unionist constituency of North Antrim is also known to contain a large number of Protestant Home Rulers.

**(6) South Antrim (a Unionist Seat)—**

In Aghalce Rural District, embracing three Electoral Districts, the Catholics are nearly as numerous as the Protestants.

(7) **East Down (a Unionist Seat)—**

In Downpatrick, the capital of County Down, the Home Rulers outnumber the Unionists.

In Downpatrick Rural District (omitting the Electoral Districts situated in the Home Rule constituency of South Down) the Catholics are nearly as numerous as the Protestants.

County Down returns 3 Unionists and 1 Home Ruler, yet in three of the five Unions of the County there is a Home Rule majority.

The facts mentioned above relate to constituencies in North-East Ulster which are represented by Unionist Members of Parliament. They do not relate to any of the constituencies in North-East Ulster which are represented by Home Rule Members of Parliament.

### SUMMARY.

IT IS, THEREFORE, AN ABSOLUTELY FALSE STATEMENT TO MAKE THAT THERE IS ANYWHERE IN NORTH-EAST ULSTER A HOMOGENEOUS PROTESTANT OR UNIONIST COMMUNITY HOSTILE TO THE POLICY OF HOME RULE.

As a matter of fact, it is extremely doubtful, whether if all the counties in Ulster were invited to decide the question by plebiscite, any single county would vote in favour of separating from a Home Rule Ireland.

# THEN AND NOW

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**I**N March, 1887, there were extensive evictions in progress on the Ponsonby estate, Youghal, in County Cork.

Nearly 300 tenants and their families were under sentence of expulsion from their homes. The man to whom the tenants looked to most for protection and guidance was Father Keller, their parish priest. For that reason the Government were specially anxious to arrest this clergyman. Many of their attempts were frustrated by the devotion of his flock. But on March 8th, when the excitement was at its highest, a strong force of fifty police arrived. A collision between them and the crowd took place. The police charged the unarmed crowd with fixed bayonets. A young fisherman named Hanlon received a mortal wound from a policeman's bayonet. Hanlon's funeral was fixed for March 10th. *The Times* Dublin Correspondent wrote :—

**“A reinforcement of forty police arrived. The military, 200 strong, were kept in barracks ready to act if required.”**

At the same time, and with the approval of **Mr. Arthur Balfour**, then Chief Secretary, the following telegram was despatched from Dublin Castle :—

**“Message received—Deal very summarily if any organised resistance to lawful authority. If necessary do not hesitate to shoot them.”**





## **THE BOGUS "OATH" OF THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS.**

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Part of the campaign of religious calumny consists in circulating an alleged text of "The Oath of the Ancient Order of Hibernians." This "Oath" was first circulated amongst members and candidates at the last General Election. It was again put into circulation during the by-election at Crewe in July, 1912. Since that date it has done duty at meetings held in remote country places. The document was also distributed—minus the printer's name—at the by-election of N. W. Durham in January, 1914. Later still copies were posted to members of the Stock Exchange.

### **THE BOGUS "OATH."**

"In the presence of Almighty God and this my brother I do swear that I will suffer my right hand to be cut off from my body and laid at the gaol-door before I will waylay or betray a brother, and I will pursue and not spare from the cradle to the crutch, and from the crutch to the grave, that I will not hear the moans or groans of infancy or old age, but that I will wade knee-deep in Orangemen's blood and do as King James did.

"And I do further swear to own no allegiance to any Protestant or heretic Sovereign, ruler, prince, or potentate, and that I will not regard any oath delivered to me by them or their subjects, be they judge, magistrate, or else, as binding."

Should a member act as witness at the trial of a fellow-member, oaths delivered by judges, lawyers or officials may be disregarded. The bogus "Oath" then continues :—

"I will aid and assist, with all my might and strength, when called upon, to massacre Protestants and cut away heretics, burn British Churches, abolish Protestant Kings and Princes, and all other except the Church of Rome, and by this system and by virtue of this Oath I have taken, I will think it no sin to kill and massacre a Protestant whenever opportunity serves."

The longer form of this fictitious "Oath" also contains the following :—

"I further solemnly swear to aid as best I can in exterminating and extirpating all Protestants and heretics out of Ireland or elsewhere, to hunt, pursue, shoot, and destroy all Protestants or heretic landlords, proprietors or employers."

Having promised to have no commercial intercourse whatever with the "said Protestants," this precious document concludes :—

"I solemnly swear to shoot, destroy, hunt, and pursue to death any former brother who may turn informer or traitor, or who may refuse to perform any duty which may fall by lot, or otherwise, to execute."

## FACTS.

**Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, has repeatedly branded the "Oath" as a forgery.**

When informed that the concoction had been put into circulation at the Crewe by-election, Mr. Devlin sent the following telegram :—

"Please denounce handbill containing alleged oath by Ancient Order of Hibernians as an infamous falsehood. There is not a word of truth in it from beginning to end."

In spite of this exposure, Col. Hickman, M.P., resurrected the fraud at Bradley on January 17th, 1913. As a result **Mr. Devlin initiated a discussion in the House of Commons on January 22nd. He once more authoritatively repudiated the "Oath" as an "absolute concoction," and added that "no oath of any kind is taken."** On it being suggested that new members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians made a Declaration, Mr. Devlin read the actual Declaration in the House of Commons on the following day.

## THE DECLARATION.

The opening paragraphs of the Declaration read :—

"I do declare and promise I will keep inviolable all the secrets of this society of brethren from all but those whom I know to be members in good standing and the Roman Catholic clergy, and that I will support the constitution and by-laws of the Ancient Order of Hibernians to the best of my ability.

"And I further promise that I will not divulge or allow to be divulged the pass-word of the Order, not even to a member of my own division."

The Declaration then urges members to conform to the dictates of legally elected officers in all things lawful and not otherwise.

Finally, the Declaration enjoins upon members the duty of (a) being "true to the brethren of this society"; (b) aiding them "with sincere friendship when in distress"; and (c) refraining from assisting to membership any person of a bad character. It concludes :—

"I do not, and will not, while a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, belong to any Society condemned by the Holy Roman See."

**Mr. Devlin then said, "That is the only Declaration made by any member or any applicant for membership of the organisation."**

In January, 1914, the "**Cork Constitution**," the leading Unionist newspaper of the South of Ireland, made the following editorial comment on the "Oath" :—

**"We have received an assurance which we fully believe, that no such monstrous and absurd oath is known amongst Hibernians, nor is there the slightest danger that Protestants or heretics will be massacred, their churches burned, or their kings abolished by the Hibernian Order."**

Yet, in spite of this frank disclaimer on behalf of Irish Protestantism, and in spite of Mr. Devlin's overwhelming repudiation, the lying document will probably be circulated wherever it may be imagined that political advantage may be gained by its circulation.

## **THE RELIGIOUS STATISTICS OF ULSTER.**

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IN the province of Ulster as a whole, there is much talk of a homogeneous population.

No such thing exists.

Outside the cities of Belfast and Derry the population is divided with almost absolute equality between Catholics and non-Catholics. **In a total of over 1,150,000, Protestants have a majority of under 5,000.**

In the city of Derry, Catholics preponderate; but this small advantage is wiped out by the large Protestant majority in Belfast. Taking the province as a whole, Protestants make 56·4 of the entire population. This at any rate is far from homogeneous.

But though 99 per cent. of Ulster Catholics are Home Rulers, it is not true to say that every Protestant in Ulster is a Unionist—still less to say that he is an Orangeman. We have in Ulster some of the best and staunchest Protestant Home Rulers in all Ireland; many of the younger men of the Presbyterian community are staunch Home Rulers; there is a strong body of Liberals in the County of Antrim, which, with Down, is the most predominantly Protestant county in Ulster. 600 Protestant Liberals met there some months ago to proclaim their faith in Liberalism and Home Rule. Concerning this meeting at Ballymoney, the “Manchester Guardian” says:—“Application for tickets had been received from over 20 miles radius. A building three times the size could have been easily filled, but the promoters desired to confine the attendance to the people of Ballymoney and the immediate district, and were compelled to refuse the tickets.”

In all probability the Parliamentary representation of Ulster is truly representative—seventeen for Home Rule against sixteen Unionists.

But a table shall be given to show exactly the religious divisions of the province.

TABLE I.—THE ENTIRE PROVINCE.

|                               | Catholics. |           | Non-Catholics (including those who refused information). |           |
|-------------------------------|------------|-----------|--|-----------|
|                               | Total.     | Per cent. | Total.   | Per cent. |
| <b>COUNTIES.</b>              |            |           |  |           |
| Antrim .. ..                  | 39,751     | 20·5      | 154,113  | 79·5      |
| Armagh .. ..                  | 54,526     | 45·3      | 65,765   | 54·7      |
| Londonderry ..                | 41,478     | 41·5      | 58,367   | 58·5      |
| Down .. ..                    | 64,485     | 31·6      | 139,818  | 68·4      |
| Tyrone .. ..                  | 79,015     | 55·4      | 63,650   | 44·6      |
| Fermanagh ..                  | 34,740     | 56·2      | 27,096   | 43·8      |
| Cavan .. ..                   | 74,271     | 81·5      | 16,902   | 18·5      |
| Monaghan ..                   | 53,363     | 74·7      | 18,092   | 25·3      |
| Donegal .. ..                 | 133,021    | 78·9      | 35,516   | 21·1      |
| Total for Counties            | 574,650    | 49·7      | 579,319  | 50·3      |
| <b>CITIES.</b>                |            |           |  |           |
| Belfast ..                    | 93,243     | 24·1      | 293,704  | 75·9      |
| 'Derry ..                     | 22,923     | 56·2      | 17,857   | 43·8      |
| Total for Cities..            | 116,166    | 27·1      | 311,561  | 72·9      |
| Total Population of Ulster .. | 690,816    | 43·6      | 890,880  | 56·4      |

But let us examine in more detail the claim to homogeneity. A table is given opposite showing the distribution of religions in the various Parliamentary divisions.



TABLE II.—PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS.

| COUNTY DIVISIONS                | Catholics. |           | Non-Catholics (including those who refused information). |           |
|---------------------------------|------------|-----------|--|-----------|
|                                 | Total.     | Per cent. | Total.   | Per cent. |
| Antrim N. ..                    | 10,657     | 24.5      | 32,830   | 75.5      |
| E. ..                           | 6,626      | 12.3      | 47,074   | 87.7      |
| M. ..                           | 9,512      | 21.4      | 34,893   | 78.6      |
| S. ..                           | 12,501     | 25.4      | 36,648   | 74.6      |
| Down N. ..                      | 7,047      | 12.0      | 51,413   | 88.0      |
| E. ..                           | 16,125     | 36.0      | 44,683   | 64.0      |
| W. ..                           | 7,661      | 17.9      | 35,089   | 82.1      |
| S. ..                           | 24,510     | 53.4      | 21,316   | 46.6      |
| Armagh N. ..                    | 13,957     | 30.3      | 32,091   | 69.7      |
| M. ..                           | 16,937     | 42.8      | 22,558   | 57.2      |
| S. ..                           | 23,423     | 68.2      | 10,888   | 31.8      |
| Londonderry N.                  | 18,523     | 34.9      | 34,434   | 65.1      |
| S.                              | 22,955     | 48.9      | 23,933   | 51.1      |
| Donegal N. ..                   | 33,511     | 81.7      | 7,554  | 18.3      |
| E. ..                           | 24,658     | 62.2      | 14,985   | 37.8      |
| W. ..                           | 42,165     | 91.0      | 4,174  | 9.0       |
| S. ..                           | 32,687     | 78.8      | 8,803  | 21.2      |
| Tyrone N. ..                    | 20,160     | 54.7      | 16,645   | 45.3      |
| E. ..                           | 20,566     | 54.8      | 16,943   | 45.2      |
| M. ..                           | 22,354     | 62.6      | 13,341   | 37.4      |
| S. ..                           | 15,935     | 48.7      | 16,721   | 51.3      |
| Monaghan N...                   | 24,373     | 66.8      | 12,139   | 33.2      |
| S. ..                           | 28,990     | 83.0      | 5,953  | 17.0      |
| Cavan E. ..                     | 36,459     | 82.5      | 7,756  | 17.5      |
| W. ..                           | 37,812     | 80.6      | 9,146  | 19.4      |
| Fermanagh N.                    | 15,782     | 50.7      | 15,322   | 49.3      |
| S.                              | 18,958     | 61.7      | 11,774   | 38.3      |
| BOROUGH DIVISIONS               |            |           |  |           |
| Belfast N. ..                   | 18,609     | 18.3      | 83,004   | 81.7      |
| E. ..                           | 24,732     | 18.2      | 110,876  | 81.8      |
| S. ..                           | 13,188     | 16.2      | 67,991   | 83.8      |
| W. ..                           | 36,605     | 54.5      | 30,523   | 45.5      |
| Derry .. ..                     | 22,923     | 56.2      | 17,857   | 43.8      |
| Newry (part of Armagh and Down) | 9,350      | 72.8      | 3,491  | 27.2      |

It will be seen from the foregoing table that in the County of Down Protestants have an overwhelming majority: yet the Division of South Down is strongly Catholic and Nationalist.

Again, in the two counties of Armagh and Derry, the Protestants have a slight majority, and can therefore, **if they are all Unionists and homogeneous**, exclude their counties by the terms to which Irish Nationalists have agreed. Yet in South Armagh Catholics are 68·2 of the population, and in South Londonderry they are a half. There are no stronger Nationalists in Ireland than these, to whose possible exclusion for a time the Irish Party has, in its desire for peace, most unwillingly consented.

What corresponding concession have the Unionists made? It is said they will abandon their claim for the province, and ask a "clean cut" for six counties. They will be claiming Tyrone and Fermanagh. It is a monstrous pretension.

In North Fermanagh the Catholics have a majority—small, it is true, but it is a majority; but in South Fermanagh the Catholics are 61·7 of the population. Taking the two divisions together—which is certainly fair in one county—the Catholics have 56·2.

Take again the County of Tyrone—all of which the Tories are now said to be actually claiming—and look at the figures. In three of the Parliamentary divisions, North, East, and Mid, Catholics have 54·7, 54·8, and 62·6. In only one division—the South—the Protestants have a small majority; they are 51·3 against 48·7, and three of the divisions out of the four are represented by Home Rulers. Taking the county as a whole, the Catholics are 55·4 of the population. That is practically the same proportionate majority as the Protestants have in Derry and Armagh, with this additional fact: that the combined Catholic minority in the Counties of Derry and Armagh are more numerous than the combined Protestant minority in those of Fermanagh and Tyrone.

### **The Orange Theory.**

This, then, is the Orange theory. **Wherever in these six counties the Protestants are in a majority they shall have the right to exclude a minority, however large, if they be Catholic; and wherever the Catholics are a majority, they have to submit to the rule of a minority if it be Protestant.** It is the same with regard to the last claim of the Orangemen, namely, to Derry City. In Derry City the Catholic population is 22,923 and the Protestant 17,857; the Catholics, that is to say, have 56·2 and the Protestants 43·8.

Such, then, are the demands of the Orangemen. What possible answer can be given by the Government or the Liberal or the Irish Party to such demands but a decisive "No!"? No other answer could be given or will be given, unless we have arrived at that state of mind in which any bully can intimidate us into any surrender.

# The Kaiser's Ulster Friends

## PRO-GERMAN SPEECHES

BY PROMINENT CARSONITES.

### Disloyal Loyalists.

It is generally admitted that but for the Kaiser's belief that Britain's hands were tied by the prospect of 'Civil war in Ulster,' Germany would not have rushed so eagerly to war. What the British public do not so fully realise is, that the leaders of Ulster Unionism have on repeated occasions given the Kaiser good ground for belief that in the event of war, the sympathies of the disaffected "loyalists" of Ulster would be with Germany. For over three years sentiments of this kind have been publicly uttered by leading Unionists in Ulster and of course at once transmitted to Berlin. We purpose to give chapter and verse of the more glaring of these utterances so that the British public may see the true value of the loyalty of the self-styled Ulster loyalists and the responsibility which rests upon Carsonism for the Kaiser's conviction that Britain was too much torn with domestic strife to interfere with his dastardly designs on France and Belgium.

### Pro-German "Loyalists."

**The Right Hon. Thomas Andrews, P.C., Honorary Secretary, Ulster Unionist Council,** in the course of an interview with the Belfast Correspondent of the *Morning Post*, which appeared in that paper of December 19th, 1910, said:

"I repeat that at all costs we will defend ourselves and if the worst comes to the worst, I can only say for myself and I believe for my colleagues, that if we are deserted by Great Britain, I would rather be governed by Germany, than by Patrick Ford and John Redmond and Company."

**Captain Craig, M.P.,** who is Sir Edward Carson's confidant and right-hand man, in an interview published in the *Morning Post* of January 9th, 1911, said:—

"There is a spirit spreading abroad which I can testify to from my personal knowledge that Germany and the German Emperor would be preferred to the rule of John Redmond, Patrick Ford, and the Molly Maguires."

**Major F. Crawford,** who was publicly thanked by Sir Edward Carson at Larne, County Antrim, on 11th July last, for the leading part he played in running the cargo of Mausers from Germany into Ulster last April, speaking at the first (1912) annual meeting of the Bangor (Co. Down) Unionist Club, on April 29th as reported in the *North Down Herald* (Unionist) for 3rd May, 1912, said:

"If they were put out of the Union . . . he would infinitely prefer to change his allegiance right over to the Emperor of Germany or anyone else who had got a proper and stable Government."

**Mr. James Chambers, Unionist M.P. for South Belfast,** addressing a meeting of his constituents on 23rd May, 1913, as reported in the *Belfast News-Letter* (Unionist) of 24th May, 1913, said:—

As regards the future, what if a day should come when Ireland would be



clamouring for independence complete and thorough from Great Britain? . . . What side would they take then? (A Voice: "Germany.") He (Mr. Chambers) bound no man by his opinions. They owed to England allegiance, loyalty and gratitude; but if England cast them off then he reserved the right as a betrayed man to say: "I shall act as I have a right to act. I shall sing no longer 'God save the King.'" . . . He said there solemnly that the day England cast him off and despised his loyalty and allegiance, that day he would say: "England, I will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh."

**The Irish Churchman**, the organ in Ulster of the Church of Ireland and a paper with strong Unionist sympathies, under issue of November 14th, 1913, gave prominence in its columns to a letter signed "H. G." in which the following statement occurs:—

"It may not be known to the rank and file of Unionists that we have the offer of aid from a powerful Continental monarch who, if Home Rule is forced on the Protestants of Ireland, is prepared to send an army sufficient to release England of any further trouble in Ireland by attaching it to his dominion, believing, as he does, that if our King breaks his Coronation Oath by signing the Home Rule Bill he will, by so doing, have forfeited his claim to rule Ireland. And should our King sign the Home Rule Bill the Protestants of Ireland will welcome this Continental deliverer as their forefathers, under similar circumstances, did once before."

### **Sir E. Carson Visits The Kaiser.**

Most significant of all, perhaps, is the fact that while these sentiments were finding daily expression on the Unionist platform and in the Unionist press in Ulster and amongst the Carsonite rank and file, Sir Edward Carson actually had an interview with the German Emperor. The following appeared as a news item in the *Belfast Evening Telegraph* (Unionist) of 27th August, 1913:—

"Sir Edward Carson had the honour of receiving an invitation to lunch with the Kaiser last week at Homburg."

It is further remarkable that while he was in Germany, Sir Edward Carson was constantly communicating with Ulster Unionist headquarters as to further steps in his 'civil war' campaign.

### **Note the three significant events:—**

First, Captain Craig admits a strong pro-German feeling in Ulster.

Second, Sir E. Carson lunches with the Kaiser at a time when this feeling is at its height.

Third, Mausers are landed in Ulster from Germany and the man employed to buy and run them is Major Crawford who had boasted that in the event of Home Rule he would transfer his allegiance to the German Emperor.

In the Spring and early Summer of the present year, Ulster was over-run with German correspondents and agents of the German Government, who sent back glowing accounts, gleaned from Ulster Unionist sources, of the progress and strength



of the rebel movement in the province. Since the outbreak of the war, two Germans have been arrested, one in Belfast who was a member and drill instructor of Ulster Volunteers and one in London who was a member of the British League for the support of Ulster.

### Disloyal Threats.

We print a selection of further disloyal utterances and threats in which Germany is not directly referred to. In every case we are indebted to a Unionist paper for the quotations.

"After what happened the other day in the House of Commons, regarding the pronouncement of policy of the Government in relation to Ulster, he intended when he went over there to break every law that was possible. Let the Government take their own course. He was not a bit afraid of them, for a more wretched, miserable, time-serving opportunist lot never before sat in Parliament.—Sir Edward Carson at Women's Amalgamated Unionist and Tariff Reform Association, London, 24th June, 1912.

"We tell the Radicals that Ulster will remain loyal to its trust, but we will not be loyal to it if it comes to any tampering with our ancient rights."

—Captain Craig, M.P., Lisburn, December 24th, 1910.

"If Home Rule is passed I would not care whether the British Empire went to smash or not."

—Rev. Chancellor Hobson, at Kilmovarity, Portadown, Easter Monday, 1913.

"It has been said that we want another King William the Third. Well, take care that the present King is not to be another King James, but I ask you to give King George a chance before you come to any decision."

—Captain F. H. Watt, D.L., at a meeting of Londonderry Orangemen, August, 1910.

"You know what John Redmond said in Dublin the other day. How he spoke of the inevitable day in the near future when 'Mr. Asquith would return in attendance on the Sovereign to assist in the ceremony of re-opening the Parliament of a free and reconciled Ireland.' . . . If by any chance both that day should come and our King should be there of his own free will, then I for one will feel myself justified in no longer regarding him as my King."

—Rev. T. Walmsley, Irvinestown, Co. Fermanagh, August 13th, 1912.

"Can King George sign the Home Rule Bill? Let him do so, and his Empire shall perish as true as God rules Heaven . . . Therefore let King George sign the Home Rule Bill—he is no longer my King."

—An Open Letter to Mr. Asquith in *Coleraine Constitution* (leading Unionist paper in Mr. H. T. Barrie, M.P.'s, constituency), July, 1913.

"If Home Rule was granted it would not matter a row of pins whether they were separated from Great Britain or whether they were not."

—Mr. C. C. Craig, M.P., at Derriaghy, 17th October, 1911.

"If I were an Ulster Protestant, I would rather be ruled from Constantinople, by the Sultan of Turkey, than by a politician like Mr. Devlin."

—Mr. F. E. Smith, at Cloughfern, Belfast, 12th July, 1912.

"They were not only prepared to meet their enemies in that country, but at the last resort—he was saying what they would perhaps think to be a wild thing—they would fight the British Army."

—Rev. Dr. Wright, of Newtownards, at Bangor, Co. Down, 12th July, 1912.

"They had nothing to thank England for. They would take the field, if necessary, against any foe that would force Home Rule upon them."

—Major Crawford, at Bangor, Co. Down, April 29th., 1912.

It may be urged that the foregoing utterances should be allowed to sink into oblivion since Unionist Ulster now unconditionally supports the Government in the crisis which the Empire is facing. If this were so we would gladly refrain from resurrecting them. But militant Ulster Unionism is still as irreconcilable and as "conditionally loyal" as ever. As illustrations of this attitude take the following. Among the numerous letters which the *Belfast News-Letter*, the organ of Ulster Orangeism, has been publishing reflecting this spirit, there was one published in its issue of August 24th, 1914, signed "Ulster Volunteer," which contains the following sentence:—

"Sir Edward Carson has repeatedly said that if the Government put Home Rule on the Statute-book the Provisional Government would be set up. We look for fulfilment of this promise."

The *Northern Whig*, the other daily organ of Ulster Unionism, on the same date, published an article containing the following threatening words:—

"When the Home Rule Bill . . . becomes an Act three-fourths of the people of Ulster must become either traitors to the Covenant which they have solemnly signed or rebels to the Crown."

The *Belfast Evening Telegraph*, the leading Unionist evening paper, commenting in an editorial on August 25th, 1914, on the suggestion to "put the Home Rule Bill upon the Statute-book with a time reservation," wrote:—

"To do that would create a serious position. It would drive Ulster Loyalists into this position that much as they desire to assist Britain's armed forces abroad at this juncture, and much as their help in that direction is needed, they would be compelled, through the Government's action, to remain here for the defence of their hearths and homes against an enemy no less deadly and embittered."

In face of this how can we draw a veil over the pro-German attitude of Ulster Unionism?

This, then, is a sample of the much-vaunted loyalty of Ulster Unionism for which the British people are asked to betray the rest of Ireland. We may well apply to the Carsonites the words of Kipling:—

"If black is black and white is white, in black and white its down  
They're only traitors to the King and rebels to the Crown."

## WILL ENGLAND SUPPORT DISLOYAL "ULSTER"?







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